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H I S T O R Y
O F
G R E E C E



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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
G R E E C E,
FROM THE
ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER OF MACEDON,
TILL ITS
FINAL SUBJECTION TO THE ROMAN POWER;

IN EIGHT BOOKS.

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ΠΑΤΡΙΣΤΕΟΥ
ΑΥΕΘΝ ΑΡΙΘ.

BY JOHN GAST, D. D.

ARCHDEACON OF GLANDELAGH.

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ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΙΩΑΝΝΙΝΩΝ
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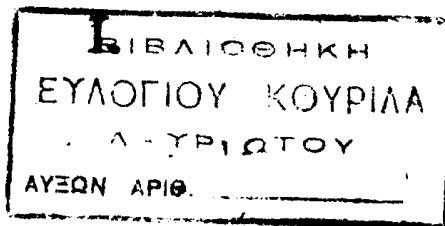
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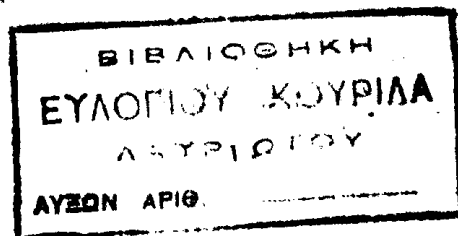
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HISTORY



HISTORY OF GREECE.

B O O K I.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ
ΕΥΛΟΓΙΟΥ ΚΟΥΡΙΛΑ
Α ΥΠΙΟΤΟΥ
ΑΥΕΩΝ ΑΡΙΘ.

SECTION I.

C O N T E N T S.

Character and death of Philip of Macedon—State of Macedonian affairs, foreign and domestic, at the accession of Alexander—His activity and vigour in surmounting the difficulties with which he was surrounded—Appointed Captain-general of Greece against the Persians—Humbles the northern borderers—Executes exemplary vengeance on the Thebans, who had revolted upon a report of his death—Settles his European affairs—Passes the Hellespont—Defeats the Persians on the banks of the Granicus—Reduces the lower Asia—Advances into Silicia—Is detained at Tarsus by a dangerous illness—Recovers—Meets Darius in battle at Issus—Defeats him—Takes the Persian camp, with the wife and daughters of Darius—Behaves nobly to the captive princesses—Damascus surrenders to him, with the Embassadors, formerly sent by some of the Grecian States to Darius—His treatment of them—Lays siege to Tyre—Takes it—Spare
B Jerusalem



HISTORY OF GREECE

Jerusalem—Takes Gaza—Enters and reduces Egypt—Visits the temple of Jupiter Ammon—Tampers with the priests of the Oracle, and pretends to be a God—Gives battle to Darius at Gaugamela—Defeats him with great slaughter.

BOOK I.
SECT. I.

Abilities of
Philip of Ma-
cedon.

THE deep policy of Philip of Macedon, and the artful use he made of the mutual jealousies and contests of the several Grecian States, of the venality of their orators and leaders, and of that decay of public spirit which was become general throughout Greece, had, during the course of his reign^a, raised the Macedonian kingdom to a degree of power far beyond what its late humility of fortune seemed to promise. His military character was little inferior to his political. And if, to the sagacity of the statesman and the vigour of the warrior, he had joined those virtues which give to the regal dignity its brightest lustre, all remains of independence had probably been lost to the Grecian people.

His private
character.

PHILIP'S own misconduct prevented it. Intemperate in the pursuit of sensual gratifications, he had, for some time before his death, rendered his court a scene of strife and distraction. In order to wed Cleopatra, a young Princess of whom he happened to be enamoured, he had endeavoured to throw suspicions on his wife Olympias. His son Alexander, impatient of his mother's wrongs, he had driven from his presence, and forced him to seek for refuge among the enemies of his country. From his partiality to the creatures of his young queen, he had treated with neglect some

^a He reigned about twenty-four years.

of



of his most faithful servants; and at last, by his iniquitous protection of one of his new favourites, he provoked the blow which put an end to his life. Pausanias, a young Macedonian of noble birth, had been injured in a most sensible manner by one of Cleopatra's kinsmen, and upon applying to the king for justice, had found his complaint disregarded. Pride, mortification, and resentment, rendered him desperate. He marked his opportunity; and as Philip, on a day of public festivity, was entering into the theatre, he plunged a dagger into his heart. There are historians who pretend, that he was encouraged to this deed of violence by some of the king's own family; and that his accomplices were numerous². But neither the one nor the other seems to be true. Possibly some persons, obnoxious on other accounts, may have been

BOOK I.
SECT. I.

His death.

² The death of Philip seems to have furnished much matter of accusation, which the voice of faction, of private animosity, and even of ambition, occasionally employed against whatever persons they thought it was their interest to destroy, or to blacken. When Alexander invaded Asia, he charged (Arrian, l. ii. c. 14.) the Persian court with the guilt of it, alledging it as one of the injuries that had called him forth against Darius. At the same time, Alexander himself did not escape; and, in the treatment he had received from his father, and the spirit with which he had resented it, his enemies discovered reasons sufficient for suspecting, that he had shared in a crime, to which he owed his security, and the throne he was in possession of. The like suspicions had place against Olympias; and her passionate excesses strengthened them. Severely injured by the late king, and of a temper violent and vindictive, she saw, with exultation, in Philip's death, the overthrow of a faction which had insulted her, and of a rival whom she abhorred. His fall was her triumph, and she indulged it. With her own hands she placed a golden crown on the head of his assassin, when hanging on the gibbet, and consecrated the very dagger which had drank his blood in the temple of one of her gods. Historians have often pronounced from slighter proofs. Such a decided conduct was considered as an unquestionable argument of her having directed the blow she rejoiced in; of which, however, had she been really guilty, probably she had been more artful in disguising her sentiments.—See Just. l. ix. c. 7.



BOOK I. involved in the suspicion; and, to have rejoiced at the success of the crime, which, doubtless, was the case with many, may have been considered as an argument of their having shared in the guilt.

Sect. I.

Temper of the nations bordering on Macedon, at the time of Alexander's accession.

THE abilities and enterprising spirit of Philip, had rendered him the terror of his neighbours. They hastened to avail themselves of the favourable change of circumstances, which his death, the defenceless state of Macedon, the embarrassments and the supposed inexperience of his successor, presented to their view. The Thracian borderers, who had been lately reduced, threw off the yoke. Illyricum followed the example. In Thessaly, all was in commotion: and such was the ferment throughout the rest of Greece, as seemed evidently to forebode a total revolution of interests.

State of affairs in Macedon.

AT home also, the Macedonian affairs were in much confusion; most of the chief men being either suspected of treasonable practices, or prosecuting private animosities one against another. The blow which had proved fatal to Philip, was supposed to have come from a formidable party, of which Pausanias was only the instrument. The princes of the blood had each their pretensions. Olympias had her adherents: the young queen Cleopatra hers. And the uncle of the latter, Attalus, who, together with Parmenio, had the command of the forces in Asia, was said to entertain the most ambitious and criminal views*.

* See Arrian, l. i. c. 1 & seq. Diod. Sic. l. xvii. Justin, l. xi. Plutarch: in Alexand. et Demosthene.

ALEXANDER.



ALEXANDER perceived the dangers that threatened him without being dismayed. He began his reign with revenging his father's death ; he suppressed different factions that threatened the domestic peace of his kingdom ; and contrived to have Attalus taken off, before he could carry his designs, whatever they were, into execution.

Book I.
Sect. I.

Vigorous
measures
pursued by
Alexander.

GREECE employed his attention next. The Thessalians had possessed themselves of the defiles, which lay between their country and Macedon. He eluded them, by passing over the craggy top of mount Ossa ; and was already in Thessaly, before it was imagined he had entered upon his march. Without loss of time, he proceeded to the Corinthian isthmus, where the general convention of the States of Greece was held, and laid before them his claim, requiring, that they should appoint him Captain-general against the Persians, with the same powers they had granted to his father. Most of the Grecian States were secretly inimical to his interest. The deputies of Sparta, nevertheless, were the only persons in this assembly who had the firmness to avow their sentiments. " The Lacedæmonians," said they, " are accustomed to lead the way to glorious exploits, not to follow the lead of others."

Baffles the
people of
Thessaly,
and enters
Greece.

Their representations, however, had little weight. The presence of the young King, the activity and vigour he had displayed, together with his insinuating address, made all opposition fall before him.

Is appointed
Captain-ge-
neral against
the Persians.

ALEXANDER returned with expedition to the north, in order to secure his frontier on the side of Thrace. The Thracians

Reduces the
Barbarian
tribes to the
north of Ma-
cedon.

* Olymp. cxi. 1. Before Christ 336.

were.



Book I. were a fierce people, of remarkable strength of body, whose
Sect. 1. dwellings were in fastnesses and mountains exceedingly high,
 and difficult of access. Alexander attacked and dispossessed them of their strong holds; and reduced them to the necessity of submitting to what terms he was pleased to impose. These terms, in appearance void of severity, shew, that, to the spirit of the young warrior, Alexander had already joined the profound policy of the old chieftain. He required, that their principal leaders, with a chosen body of their bravest men, should attend his banners; thus strengthening himself with the accession of the most warlike people then known, and at the same time taking with him the surest pledges of their future fealty⁹. The adjacent nations, the Triballi, the Getæ, and the several Celtic tribes on both sides of the Danube, he attacked in the same vigorous manner, and with the like success¹⁰. Thence he moved on to Illyricum. The Illyrians had assembled a powerful force, and stood prepared to meet him; they were nevertheless totally defeated, and Clytus, their King, who had encouraged the defection, was obliged to abandon his kingdom, and take refuge among the neighbouring Barbarians.

Report of his death.

DURING these transactions, a report prevailed, that Alexander had fallen in battle against the Illyrians. The Greeks in general, the Thebans and Athenians especially, received the

⁹ Frontin. Stratagem. l. ii. c. 11.

¹⁰ Alexander asked the Celtes, "What they feared most?" He expected, it seems, a compliment; but these rough sons of freedom made answer, "They had no fear but one, lest the sky should fall on them." Pleased with their spirit, he pronounced them his friends and confederates; adding, however, "the Celtes are an haughty people." Arrian, l. i. c. 4.



tidings with an eager credulity, and the most intemperate joy. BOOK I.
 At Athens, the event was celebrated as the restoration of SECT. I.
 public liberty; the most spirited decrees were proposed; and
 the Macedonian name was treated with great indignity. At
 Thebes, they proceeded still farther. Cadmea, the citadel,
 was garrisoned by Macedonians. The Thebans put immedi-
 ately to the sword all the Macedonian officers they could
 seize; and having summoned the garrison to surrender, upon
 refusal, laid siege to the citadel.

ALEXANDER had not left Illyricum, when the news of this Alexander
marches to
Thebes;
 revolt reached him. He instantly marched with the utmost
 expedition; and was within sight of Thebes before the The-
 bans would believe that he was alive. At first, he was un-
 willing to proceed to extremities, in hopes, that a sense of
 danger might induce the Thebans to adopt more moderate
 councils, and only demanded, that the promoters of the re-
 volt should be delivered up. But perceiving that, instead of
 being reformed by this lenity, they treated him with greater
 insult, he at length gave a loose to his resentment; and having takes it by
storm,
 taken the city by storm, abandoned to military execution
 all those who were found in arms. The rest of the inha-
 bitants he sold for slaves; the priests excepted, with those to
 whom the Macedonians were bound by the ties of hospitality;
 the descendants of Pindar, and such as had opposed the late
 tumultuous measures. It is said, that the number of Thebans
 thus doomed to slavery, amounted to thirty thousand. The
 city also the victor levelled with the ground, not suffering and levels it.
 one building to be preserved, but the temples, and the house
 where Pindar had been born.

THE.



BOOK I. THE manner in which the Athenians acted on this occasion, does them great honour. They were guilty, as well as the Thebans, and had every thing to fear from the victorious Macedonian. They nevertheless made public lamentations for the overthrow of Thebes, suspending on that account, even the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, the most highly revered festival at Athens; and afforded protection to all the Thebans that fled to them, notwithstanding Alexander's express injunction, "that no Grecian state should presume to give them shelter."

Generous conduct of the Athenians.

The impression it makes on Alexander.

It is probable, the generous compassion which Athens exhibited to this unfortunate people, made an impression on the mind of Alexander himself. Historians observe, that, though at first he appeared much displeas'd, he afterwards received the embassy, which they sent to apologize for their disobedience, with marks of singular esteem. "Your Athenians," said he to Phocion, "should look to themselves; for, were any misfortune to befall me, they alone, of all the Greeks, are worthy to command." The only punishment he inflicted on them, was, that they should banish Charidemus, and seven other orators, who had been most active in stirring up the people. Upon a second application, he remitted much even of this, contenting himself with the exile of Charidemus, the sharpness of whose invectives had given him particular offence⁷. Charidemus accordingly left Athens, and fled to the court of Persia. We shall have occasion to mention him hereafter.

Charidemus the orator is banished.

⁷ Plutarch in Phocion.

⁸ Plutarch in Demosthene.

THE



THE extreme severity with which the Thebans were treated, is not to be justified upon any ground, perhaps, but that of political necessity. As an intimidating example, it undoubtedly had its use. Greece was thereby completely humbled: for whatever might be the secret inclinations of the different States, they saw it was not now the time to assert their liberties against a Prince, whose power was not to be resisted, and at whose hands no mercy was to be expected.

BOOK I.
SECT. I.

The fate of
Thebes terrifies
Greece.

THE affairs of Greece being thus composed, and the security of his kingdom provided for, Alexander found leisure to pursue his favourite plan of carrying his arms into Asia. Little more than a year had elapsed since Philip's death, and already had his son, though but twenty years old when he ascended the throne, struck terror into the most formidable of the surrounding nations, and dissipated every league that had been formed against him. Upon his return to Macedon, he declared his intention of entering on the Persian war the ensuing spring. Parmenio and Antipater would have persuaded him to defer it, until he was married, and had male offspring; but Alexander was too eager for military glory to brook delay. It is also probable, that his situation did not admit of it. His forces were ripe for action; they had been formed by a succession of hardy achievements; and should they now be suffered to sink into inactivity, they might lose much of their present vigour. His finances, besides, were nearly exhausted; and the very means of supporting such an army were only to be derived from the conquests he had in contemplation.

Alexander
prepares to
pass into
Asia.

C

THE



BOOK I.
Sect. 1.

Settles the
affairs of his
kingdom.

THE intervening winter was employed in making the necessary arrangements previous to his departure, and in settling the internal concerns of his kingdom. The attention he bestowed on these domestic matters, and the wisdom of his measures, speak him not less intelligent in the arts of peace than in the business of war. He had reason to fear, that some remains of disaffection were yet lurking in many parts of his dominions; and that the feuds, which had disturbed the beginning of his reign, might burst out afresh. He, therefore, made it his study to establish himself in the hearts of his people, to efface, if possible, every remembrance of party-distinction from among them, and to make them all conspire in advancing the public happiness and tranquillity. With this view, he appointed solemn festivals to be held at Aegae¹, which were celebrated with great magnificence, and to which all Macedon was invited. He afterwards distributed his whole patrimony among his friends and principal subjects; giving to one a village, to another a district of land, to a third a portion of the royal revenues. "What then do you reserve for yourself?" said Parmenio to him. "My hopes," answered the Prince. "Permit us then, who mean to share in your dangers," replied Parmenio, "to share also in your hopes;" and refused to accept the estate which Alexander would have bestowed on him. There were others who followed the example of Parmenio.

¹ Or Aegae, the city of the goats; so called in memory of an old tradition, that Caranus, a prince of the house of Hercules, who first led a colony of Greeks into this country, and was the founder of the kingdom of Macedon, was conducted thither by a flock of goats, which the oracle had commanded him to follow. Justin. L. vii. c. 1.

ALEXANDER



FROM THE ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

11

ALEXANDER next committed the regency of his kingdom to Antipater, an aged nobleman of distinguished abilities, who had been one of his father's chief counsellors; and provided a sufficient body of troops to answer any sudden emergency.

Book I.
Section 1.

ALL things being now in readiness, he prepared, upon the first opening of the spring, to pass the Hellespont. His whole army amounted to about thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse, with provisions only for one month, and in the military chest there was no more than seventy talents¹⁹. Agreeable to this slender provision was his naval equipment, consisting mostly of transports, with a few ships of strength: the Macedonians having never had a powerful navy, the expense of which, indeed, they were not able to maintain. Yet from so inconsiderable a force as we have described, was the greatest empire of Asia to receive its overthrow.

Passes the Hellespont.

UPON Alexander's passing into Asia, all Greece seemed to have passed over with him, such an universal inactivity succeeded to the usual bustle of this busy nation; the hopes or fears of the several Grecian States turning to that important field, where their fortunes were now to be decided. If Alexander suffered discomfiture, Greece had still a chance for her liberties; if he proved victorious, her subjection was inevitable. The history of Alexander at this period, is the history of Greece.

The effect this expedition had in Greece.

It seems amazing, that the Persians, who could not but have intelligence of his designs, and might easily have covered

Inattention of the Persians.

¹⁹ L. 13,562. 10 s. 0 d.—Arbuthnot.



BOOK I. the sea with fleets, made no attempt to interrupt him in his
 Sect. I. passage. But this devoted people were infatuated; of which
 their history, at this period, affords frequent instances.

Alexander
lands in Asia.

ALEXANDER, having landed without opposition, made it his first business to visit the ruins of Troy, and the monuments yet remaining of those heroes whom Homer had sung; as if to please his imagination with a view of the seat where Greece, in antient days, had triumphed over the powers of Asia. In the same spirit, he caused games to be celebrated, and extraordinary honours to be paid, at the tombs of several of those illustrious Greeks who had fallen in that memorable war; particularly at the tomb of Achilles, whom he numbered among his progenitors, and whose military character he affected to imitate. His situation, it might be imagined, called for other thoughts. But to a mind of such a temper as Alexander's, these scenes afforded allurements too powerful to be resisted.

Darius's generals are divided about their plan of operations.

MEAN while, Darius's generals were divided in opinion about their plan of operations. Memnon of Rhodes, the ablest and most faithful officer in the Persian service, counselled to avoid battle with the Macedonians; and to lay waste the country, in order to deprive them of subsistence. Had this wise measure been adopted, Alexander had soon found himself in great perplexity. But the vain confidence of the other commanders, and their jealousy of Memnon, saved the Macedonians. Artabanes, satrap of the lower Phrygia, vaunted that, "not the smallest village in his government should suffer inconvenience on account of this contemptible band of adventurers."

It



It was accordingly determined to wait for the Macedonians at the passage of the Granicus. And, if a battle was to be fought, it must be owned, the Persians could hardly have chosen their ground more advantageously. The Granicus is a deep and rapid river; its banks are steep; the soil crumbling; and its bottom, from the nature of the mud that covers it, exceedingly slippery". Across this river lay the way into Upper Phrygia. The Persians, besides, were far superior to Alexander in horse; and it was not supposed, that the Macedonian infantry could perform much service, from the unavoidable delay that must be incurred in their passing the river..

BOOK I.
Sect. I.

Resolve to
dispute the
passage of the
Granicus.

ALEXANDER, who had exact intelligence of the motions of his enemy, nevertheless held on his march ¹². On sight of the enemy drawn up on the opposite bank, and of the difficulties to be surmounted before he could close with them, his generals began to be apprehensive of the issue, and would have dissuaded him from the attempt; beseeching him, at least to delay the attack till next day. But Alexander saw, how disreputable to his arms, and, therefore, how prejudicial to his affairs, any appearance of hesitation must prove at this juncture; and moving forward with his cavalry, he immediately commanded the forlorn hope to enter the river; he himself, amidst the acclamations of his army following at the head of the right wing, whilst Parmenio, at the same time, advanced at the head of the left. That his men, however, might not have both the rapidity of the current and the weight of the enemy to contend with, he, with great judgment,

¹¹ See Tournefort Voyage au Levant, Let. 22.

¹² OLYMP. CXI. 3. BEFORE CHRIST 334.

instructed:



Book I. instructed them not to go directly across, but to march obliquely down the stream, in order to have leisure to form, before they reached the opposite bank.

Sect. 1.

Battle of the Granicus.

THE Persians were not wanting to themselves; and, assisted by their situation, pressed on the Macedonians with such vigour, that the foremost ranks of the latter, found it impossible to carry the bank, and were falling back in confusion. Alexander observed their distress, and rushing amidst the thickest of the enemy, restored the battle, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Persians; who disputed the ground inch by inch, opposing man to man, and horse to horse; and having marked where the King fought, poured their bravest troops towards that quarter. Accordingly, several of the King's guards, and those nearest his person, were slain; and he himself, had it not been for the quickness and address of Clitus, had lost his life. For Rhœsaces, a Persian officer of distinction, having discharged his falchion on the King's helmet, and cut off part of his crest; as Alexander turned upon him, Spithridates, another noble Persian, came up behind, which Clitus perceiving, he sprung forward, and with one blow severed the Persian's arm from his body, at the instant it was raised to strike the King. The perils to which Alexander had been exposed, served only to inspire him and his Macedonians with fresh ardour. They were now irresistible; and, bearing down all before them, obliged the Persians, who were breaking on every side, to betake themselves to flight. One body of infantry only remained, of about ten thousand Greek mercenaries; who, whether through amazement at the sudden discomfiture of their friends, or in hopes of obtaining favourable terms, continued



tinued on the field of battle. But Alexander, having com-
manded his troops to surround them, put most of them to
the sword; after they had, for some time, made a gallant
resistance. Two thousand were taken prisoners, whom
Alexander condemned to slavery and transported into Ma-
cedon to be employed in the public works; to intimidate
by this act of severity the Greeks from serving in the
armies of the Persian King; whose best troops he knew
were composed of such mercenaries.

BOOK I.
Sect. I.

The Persians
defeated.

WHAT the numbers of the Persians were, upon this occasion,
historians are not agreed; some making them amount to an
hundred thousand; some to six hundred thousand. Arrian,
whose relation seems to deserve most credit, makes the account
much lower. According to him, the Persian cavalry amounted
to twenty thousand, and their infantry nearly to the same
number; of whom were slain two thousand five hundred of
the cavalry; and of the infantry, ten thousand.

Their
strength.

ON the side of Alexander, there were five thousand horse,
who, together with a few of the light-armed infantry, were
the only part of the Grecian army that engaged; for the
battle appears to have been over before the Macedonian
phalanx had crossed the river.

The numbers
of the Mace-
donians.

ALEXANDER took care, that his troops should see the
sense he had of their gallant behaviour. One hundred and
fifteen Macedonians had fallen. Orders were issued, that
their families should enjoy the most ample privileges, and
be for ever exempt from service and tribute. Of this num-
ber, twenty-five were of the King's guards, who fell in the
beginning

Alexander's
gratitude.



BOOK I. beginning of the action, fighting around his person. Their
 Sect. I. memory he honoured in a particular manner. Their statues were cast in brass, and placed at Diium in Macedon; where Metellus, when the Romans subdued that country, found them, and removed them to Rome.

Honours paid to the Greeks who had fallen.

Recompenses the living.

THE rest of the army were not forgotten. They received every recompence, which a victorious and grateful general could bestow; public acknowledgments, military honours, pecuniary rewards. He even visited in person the wounded, taking care that they should be treated with great attention and tenderness.

Sends trophies to Greece.

HE was also ambitious, that Greece should be fully informed of the success of his arms. Presents of the richest of the spoils were sent to Olympias and his Macedonian friends; and three hundred complete suits of armour to Athens, with suitable inscriptions, to be hung up in the temple of Minerva.

Gallant behaviour of some of the Persian chiefs.

IN justice to Alexander, it must be confessed, that to his conduct and spirited example, this victory is chiefly to be ascribed. It appears also, that many of the Persian chiefs acquitted themselves with great courage, and might have turned the fortune of the day, had they been properly supported. Memnon and his sons distinguished themselves among the foremost combatants, and for a time rendered the issue doubtful. That gallant commander, though the action had been brought on contrary to his sentiments and opinion, did what valour could perform, and retired only when he saw that all was lost. Arsites, by whose counsel

the



the battle had been fought, was so deeply affected at the unfortun-
ate event, that he laid violent hands on himself.

Book I.
Sect. 1.

THIS victory was attended with important consequences. Sardis, the chief city of Lydia, and once the royal seat of the Lydian kings, submitted immediately. The several cities likewise of Phrygia, Lydia, Pamphylia, Caria, Ionia, opened their gates to the conqueror, Miletus and Halicarnassus excepted; and of these also he soon made himself master, though vigorously defended, the latter even by Memnon. Within the course of a few months, therefore, from his passing the Hellespont, he had reduced most of the provinces of the Lower Asia.

Several of the
provinces of
Lower Asia
submit.

SOON after the reduction of Miletus, he dismissed his fleet; a measure seemingly rash, but the result, nevertheless, of mature deliberation. A naval armament required an expence, which he could not well defray; with the utmost pains, he would, after all, have found it impossible to maintain a superiority at sea against the powerful navies of Phœnicia and Cyprus: and to have attempted an engagement, and been defeated, though nothing worse had followed, would probably have encouraged the Greeks to rise against him. His only road to victory was, therefore, by land; and, if all the sea-ports were once subdued, the shipping must, in the end, be his also.

HIS wisdom, in improving the advantages¹³ which his arms had obtained, was not less conspicuous than his valour

The wisdom
of Alexander,
in improving
the advantages obtain-
ed.

¹³ See Chandler's Travels in Lower Asia, chap. ix.

D

had



Book I. had been in obtaining them. He took care that agriculture and civil government should succeed to the devastations of war. Those Macedonians in whom he could best confide, he appointed governors over the several provinces; instructing them to strengthen the new establishments by the lenity of their administration; and to make the nations over whom they were to rule, feel the difference between the Grecian laws, and the arbitrary oppressions under which they had recently groaned. In the Greek cities, he restored the democratical form of government, to which the citizens were fondly attached, recommending it to them, that, whatever wrongs they had suffered under the late administration, they should not seek for revenge. At the same time he visited in person those places which seemed to demand his presence, attentive to what the circumstances of each people required, and studious to heal the breaches that yet remained; imposing no new tribute, and even lightening the burden of those who appeared to want relief¹⁴. These noble cares employed him until the return of the season fitted for military operations. †

Gordian knot.

† It was in the course of this progress, that he is said to have performed the famed achievement of the Gordian knot. At Gordium in Phrygia, the capital city of old Midas, in one of the temples was the yoke of a chariot, suspended to a beam, the knot of which was contrived with such

¹⁴ At Ephesus particularly, he applied the tribute which the citizens were wont to pay, to the rebuilding of the temple of Diana, the favourite Goddess of the Ephesian people, which had been consumed with fire on the night on which he was born. †

¹⁵ See Arrian, L. ii. c. 3. Quint. Cur. L. iii. c. 1.

art,



art, that it was not possible to discover the ends. And, "to the person who should unloose it," said the Barbarians, "the oracles had destined the empire of the world." Alexander, according to some historians, cut the knot; determined, if he could not fulfil the oracle, that no other person should. But Aristobulus, who accompanied the King, relates the story in a different manner. The pin which fastened the yoke to the beam, was passed through the knot: the pin, therefore, taken out, the charm was dissolved, and Alexander drew out the yoke without difficulty. If the incident is true, it is plain Alexander did not disdain to avail himself of the superstition of the vulgar, as well as of the artifice of the priests, from whom, doubtless, he had received instructions before he ventured on an attempt in which it had been dangerous for him to have failed. †

Book I.
Sect. i.

†MEAN while, Memnon died. This was the severest loss Darius had yet sustained †. Previous to his death, that General had formed a plan, the only one that could have saved the Persian empire, and of which his royal master had approved, to remove the war into Greece. In order to effect this, he had already begun to reduce those islands, which had revolted to the Macedonians, and was before Mitylene at the time of his death. From thence he was to have passed into Euboea, and from Euboea into Peloponnesus, where having formed a confederacy with the several Grecian States to whom the Macedonian was become formidable, he was to have poured the war into Macedon, and

Memnon
dies.

His advice to
Darius.

† See Arrian, L. ii. c. 1. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. †



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BOOK I. have obliged Alexander to attend to the defence of his hereditary dominions. But the supreme Arbiter of events had pronounced, that the empire of the Medes and Persians should be no more; and removed from Darius the only resource he had left to avert the blow. †

The consequence of his death.

† WHILE Memnon lived, Alexander had confined his attention to the security of the Lower Asia. Upon his death, as if relieved from all farther apprehensions on that side, he declared his resolution of penetrating into the upper provinces. What enabled him the better to attempt it, was, that the returning spring had brought him large reinforcements. At the close of the former campaign, he had granted to his army an indulgence, from which he now derived considerable benefit. In the spirit of the Jewish law (of which, probably, he had information from Aristotle, who could not but have some acquaintance with the sacred Writings) he had given his Macedonian soldiers, who were lately married, permission to return home, and spend the winter with their wives¹⁷. In the effusion of their gratitude, they had reported the King in so advantageous a manner, and spread such splendid accounts of the exploits achieved, and the rich conquests made, that numbers crowded to a service, in which such noble rewards were to be obtained. †

Darius marches against Alexander.

† AT the same time Darius, who had no general whom he could employ in the place of Memnon, had determined to

† ¹⁷ Arrian. L. i. c. 23. †

march



march in person against the enemy, and prepared to leave
Susa. †

Book I.
Sect. I.

† THE splendor, or rather pageantry, that Darius affected on this occasion, gives us the highest idea of the wealth and of the folly of the Persian monarch. His army numbered six hundred thousand men. Their dress, the trappings of their horses, the ornaments of their elephants, their very armour, exhibited, we are told, the most costly display of silver, gold, and precious stones. The chariot of Darius, its materials and curious workmanship, the richness of his royal mantle, vest, and tiara, and the profusion of jewels with which he was covered, were such, that history has not disdained to record them particularly¹⁸. The retinue by which he was attended, was suitable to this state. He carried in his train, in the greatest abundance, all those ministers and implements of luxury, in which the Asiatics have been always known to delight. Their women made part of their military train; and besides Darius's mother, wife, and children, he had with him three hundred and sixty concubines. It may be supposed, that the officers of his army but too faithfully copied their master's example. †

Pageantry of
his march.

† CHARIDEMUS was among the attendants of the Persian King. He had been obliged, as we have seen, to leave Athens, and enjoyed a considerable share of the royal favour. Darius, full of confidence in his numbers, and who beheld, with great complacency, the gay appearance they made, asked him, "What he thought would now become of Alexander and his

Charidemus
ventures to
advise Da-
rius.

†¹⁸ See Quint. Cur. L. iii. c. 3. †



BOOK I.
Sect. 1.

handful of men?" The generous Greek, though an exile, though severely injured by the King of Macedon, and a daily witness of the abject servility with which, whatever fell from Darius, was received, could not suppress his honest indignation. He told him, "He was much mistaken, if he imagined, that this vain parade could avail against the men whom he was marching to attack; the rough Thracians, the hardy Illyrians, the resolute and well-disciplined Greeks; men, to whom no dangers were new, and who had been long inured to every kind of toil—that, if he hoped for victory, instead of lavishing his vast treasures in the support of this effeminate multitude, he had better send to Thrace, to Illyricum, to Greece, for forces which he might safely oppose to those of Alexander, as they had the same hardiness, the same vigour, the same expertness in arms—that, would he vouchsafe to intrust him, he was ready to undertake the charge; and, if he was only enabled to raise among those valiant nations, an army equal to one sixth part of the numbers which the King had with him, he would cheerfully stake his life on the issue." Darius, it is said, hesitated. He felt the truth of Charidemus's observations. But his courtiers got the ascendant over him. They represented Charidemus as a dangerous person, who had perfidious views. He was weak enough to believe them; and was at last prevailed on to have him put to death¹⁹. Darius, like most unfortunate princes of his character, perceived his mistake when it was no longer to be repaired. †

Darius's history;

DARIUS was, nevertheless, accounted a sensible, brave, and generous Prince, at the time he ascended the throne of

¹⁹ Quint. Cur. L. iii. c. 2.

Persia;



Persia; and this was only the fourth year of his reign²⁰. His name, before he was King, was Codomannus. He was descended originally from a distant branch of the royal family, and for some years in a very humble station, having been reduced to accept of the office of *Istanda*, or royal courier. His life was even, for some time, in great danger, Ochus, the king then reigning, having put to death the father of Codomannus, with most of his family. How Codomannus escaped, historians do not say. He afterwards obtained the government of Armenia for his gallant behaviour against the Cadusians, with whom Ochus was at war: A champion belonging to the enemy had challenged any Persian to single combat; and Codomannus engaged and slew him. Soon after this, Ochus was taken off by Bagoas, his favorite eunuch; and Arses, his youngest son, was placed on the throne, Bagoas having put all his other sons to death. But Bagoas, who thought to govern the young King, finding himself in danger of being disappointed, caused him to be murdered, and advanced Codomannus to the throne, in hopes that the favour which he had conferred on him, would fix him his dependent. Codomannus, nevertheless, apprized of his guilt, held him in abhorrence; and judging from his former treasons what he had to expect, watched him so narrowly, that he detected him in the very act of attempting his life by poison, and compelled him to swallow the potion he had prepared.

Book I.
Sect. 1.

BUT, whatever had been the virtues of Codomannus, or Darius, as we shall now call him, in a private station, the

and character.

²⁰ Diod. Sic. L. xvii. Just. L. x. c. 3.



BOOK I. Sect. 1. corrupted manners of the Persian court, and the seductions of flattery, had soon taught him other sentiments. History has even charged him with practices, that speak great baseness of mind. He scrupled not to suborn traitors against Alexander, offering large rewards to the person who should kill him; and he had nearly succeeded. The assassin was Alexander, the son of Aeropus. He owed his life to his master's clemency, having lain under the suspicion of being privy to the conspiracy against Philip, for which his two brothers had suffered. The King had conferred many favours on him, and had lately appointed him to the command of the Thessalian horse, an office of great trust and dignity. But it would appear, that the offers which Darius had caused to be made to him, of ten thousand talents (near two millions sterling) and the kingdom of Macedon, had seduced him from his allegiance. And the treason was on the point of being carried into execution, when it was discovered by the sagacity of Parmenio**.

Suborns a traitor to kill Alexander;

who is discovered.

Alexander advances into Cilicia.

+ WHILEST Darius was on his march through Assyria, Alexander had advanced into Cilicia as far as Tarsus. Cilicia forms a large plain, extending itself from the foot of Mount Taurus to the sea; on the south, it is washed by the Aegean; its other sides are bounded by mountains, which have three openings or narrow passes, named by historians *The gates of Cilicia*. One pass, to the north-west, opens into Cappadocia; the other, to the east, into Syria; and the third, to the north-east, into Assyria, by the side of the mountain Amanus, and it is therefore known by the name

** Arrian, L. i. c. 26.

of



of the *gate* or *pass* of *Amanus*. Alexander had marched through this pass, which leads from Cappadocia. A small body of men might have interrupted him; and a sufficient force had been placed there accordingly. But his very name defeated all opposition. As soon as they heard that Alexander was approaching, they fled. Entering Cilicia, he gave orders to Parmenio to seize the pass on the Syrian side, purposing to march on with all possible expedition in quest of Darius. †

BOOK I.
SECT. I.

† AN accident delayed him at Tarsus. Through this district runs the river Cydnus, remarkable for its beauty and exceeding coldness. Alexander, to whom, as to all the Greeks, it was customary to throw himself, however warm, into whatever river was nearest, had, immediately upon his arrival, when in a glow of heat, promoted by his march and the sultry season, plunged into the Cydnus, the cold of which struck through him in such a manner, that his life was despaired of. The whole army remained in the deepest consternation; and what rendered their situation the more alarming, advice had been received, that Darius was approaching. †

Is dangerously ill at Tarsus.

† AMONG the attendants of Alexander was Philip of Acarnania, a physician of eminence. In the general perplexity, he offered to prepare a potion, exceedingly violent in its operation, but from which he had reason to expect the most salutary and speedy effects. Alexander, impatient of confinement, desired the experiment might instantly be made; and already was the medicine prepared, when dispatches arrived from Parmenio to the King, “not on any account to trust Philip, for he had sold himself to the Persians.” †

Philip of Acarnania offers to relieve him;

is suspected.

E

ALEXANDER



BOOK I.
Sect. I.

Magnanimity of Alexander.

ALEXANDER, with magnanimity superior to all praise, concealed the packet under his pillow; and the potion being brought him, swallowed it without emotion, delivering at the same time, Parmenio's dispatch into the hands of Philip, marking his countenance as he read it. The firmness and honest indignation with which he perused it, fully satisfied the King; he embraced him, assuring him in the warmest terms, of the entire confidence he had in his fidelity. Whilst Philip, with the most ardent protestations of his unalterable attachment, conjured the King to assist the operation of the medicine, by keeping up his spirits, and banishing every gloomy doubt ²². ↯

Recovers.

† THE strength of the medicine, notwithstanding, having overpowered him, he remained for some time speechless, discovering scarcely any signs of life. But the faithful Philip, who watched every change, soon relieved him, and in three days he was enabled to shew himself to the Macedonians, whose distress did not abate until the King appeared before them. †

Confidence of Darius.

† ALEXANDER's illness had increased the confidence of Darius ²³. His courtiers had assured him, that the Macedonians would not dare to meet him in battle; and their not appearing confirmed him in this vain belief. He now looked upon it as certain, that the Greeks were flying; accordingly, he prepared to pursue them through Cilicia, and had entered the pass of Amanus at the same time Alexander

²² Arrian, L. ii. c. 4. Just., L. xi. c. 8. Quint. Cur. L. iii. c. 6. Plutarch: in Alexand.

²³ Arrian, L. ii. c. 7 & seq.

had



had struck off by that of Syria, and was thus leaving Darius behind him. When advice of the enemy's motions was brought to Alexander, he would scarcely give credit to the report. But finding it sufficiently authenticated, he began with thanking the Gods, who had confounded the counsels of Darius, and by shutting him up in these defiles, had delivered him into his hands. He then commanded his troops to march back into Cilicia, and to prepare for battle.

BOOK I.
SECT. I.

DARIUS had already crossed the Pinarus, which divides Cilicia, and was encamped near the city of Iffus. When the Persians found that Alexander, of whose flight they entertained not the least doubt, was advancing against them, they were in the utmost confusion. Pent up within narrow defiles, they found themselves deprived of all the advantages which they expected to derive from their multitudes, and in a manner reduced to fight upon an equality with the enemy. Darius particularly, who some hours before was elated with confidence, was now struck with such terror, that he commanded the banks of the river to be fortified with stakes, lest the Greeks should break in upon him. This cowardly precaution, Arrian tells us, provoked the scorn of the Macedonian soldiers; "He has already," said they, "the spirit of a slave in him!"²⁴ But, whatever cause Alexander might have to hold the Persians in contempt, it did not make him negligent of any one of the duties of a general. With consummate skill, he extended his front from the foot of the mountain to the sea; so that the Persians should not have it in their power, by their superiority of numbers, to surround him: some of their detached

His terror.

²⁴ Τῆ γνάμῃ διδουλωμένος. Arrian, L. ii. c. 10.



BOOK I.
Sect. 1.

parties had occupied the heights above him ; he sent a body of archers to dislodge them previous to the engagement: he examined attentively every disposition the enemy had made ; and wherever he saw their best troops placed, he added to the strength of that part of his line which was to oppose them. He then rode through the ranks, reminding those, who had distinguished themselves by any former exploit, of what achievements they had performed, and calling by name upon every brave soldier, to support, on that day, the glory he had already acquired.

Battle of
Issus.

THE command of the left wing, which reached to the sea, he assigned to Parmenio ; and began ^{as} himself the attack at the head of the right, directing his men to move up slowly, until within a certain distance of the enemy, and then to rush vigorously on, before the Persians should have time to discharge their missile weapons. This manœuvre had the desired effect. The foremost ranks of the enemy, finding their arms, in which they were most expert, rendered useless, and pressed by the violent onset of the Greeks, who charged them sword in hand, fell back on the ranks behind them ; these likewise on those next to them, until the confusion spread throughout the whole left wing ; the Macedonians still urging on with dreadful execution. Darius, who was only conspicuous by the height of his splendid chariot and the richness of his dress, seeing his left wing broken, and that the slaughter began to threaten the spot where he was stationed, turned from the field of battle, and fled with the foremost.

⁸⁵ OLYMP. CXI. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 333.

THE



THE Greek mercenaries, who composed the main body of the Persian army, still bravely maintained their ground, though against the Macedonian phalanx. But Alexander, after routing the enemy's left wing, having taken them in flank, they were at length worsted with great slaughter.

BOOK I.
SECT. I.

Greek mercenaries.

ON the right wing the Persians had considerably the advantage at the beginning of the engagement, their cavalry on that side being much stronger than the Greeks, until a seasonable reinforcement of Thessalian horse enabled Parmenio to turn the fortune of the day against them; when seeing the general dispersion, they consulted their safety by flight.

Total discomfiture of the Persians.

THE pursuit which Alexander, though wounded in the thigh, continued till the close of day, proved not less fatal to the Persians than the battle, on account of their multitudes, and of the narrow defiles and rugged mountainous paths through which they had to pass. So that Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who accompanied Alexander on this occasion, declared, that through the whole way they had trodden on nothing but dead carcases† As for Darius, he remained in his chariot for some time; but his fears suggesting to him, that this method was not sufficiently expeditious, he alighted, and relinquishing his royal mantle, mounted on horse-back, and fled with the utmost precipitation, hardly stopping for refreshment, until he had got beyond the Euphrates.

Alexander pursues them.

Darius escapes.

† OF the Persians there fell, according to Arrian, ninety thousand foot and ten thousand horse. Of the Greeks, if Diodorus

The Persian camp, and Darius's family, taken.



BOOK I.
SECT. I.

Magnificence
of Darius's
tent.

dorus may be depended on, only four hundred and fifty. The Persian camp was taken; in which were found the mother and wife of Darius, with his son and two daughters. The greater part of the baggage and treasure of the enemy had been left at Damascus. The plunder, however, was very considerable, every part of the camp affording proofs of Asiatic luxury and opulence. †The tent of Darius, especially, the Macedonians beheld with amazement. Its spacious apartments were laid out in the most elegant manner, adorned with costly furniture, and on every side were placed vases of gold, from whence the richest odours issued; sumptuous preparations also for bathing and for the royal banquet, awaited Darius's return from the battle; and the officers of the household, splendidly attired, attended in their respective stations. †

Alexander's
opinion of it.

† IT was thought proper to reserve this piece of magnificence for Alexander himself. He viewed it with much indifference, and having smelled the rich essences, turning to his followers, "This then," said he, "it was to be a king!" †
† Out of all the precious things he selected only a casket, ornamented with jewels and of curious workmanship, in which Darius was wont to keep perfumes. "I use no perfumes," said he, "but I will apply it to a nobler purpose;" and accordingly used it as a case for Homer's Iliad, a copy of which, corrected by Aristotle and Callisthenes, he always

²⁶ Dacier and others understand Alexander's words, as if spoken in admiration of what he saw. Dr. Langhorne considers them as the words of indignation. And this idea, which seems the most natural, and gives to the passage a peculiar beauty, is accordingly the one here adopted. See Langhorne's Plutarch.

carried



carried about with him. Hence is this copy of Homer, BOOK I.
SECT. I. which appears to have been in high estimation among the ancients, known by the name of *the copy of the casket* ²⁷.

† HISTORICAL writers make the most honourable mention of the temperate manner in which Alexander enjoyed his victory.† To Darius's family he behaved with singular magnanimity. He took care, that their persons, and whatever belonged to them, should be saved and secured from insult. The night succeeding the battle, hearing of their distress upon the supposed death of Darius, whose mantle one of the eunuchs had seen in the hands of a soldier, he immediately sent Leonatus to assure them, that Darius was living, and that themselves, though now captives, should enjoy the same royal state to which they had been accustomed in their highest splendor. †The ensuing day he visited them in person, his friend Hephæstion only accompanying him. As they entered, Syfigambis, the mother of Darius, fell at Hephæstion's feet, supposing him to be the king; but one of the attendants having informed her of the mistake, she in great confusion, turning to Alexander began to excuse herself. "You are not greatly mistaken, madam," replied he, raising her up, with great affection, "for *he* also is Alexander."†

His noble
conduct.

† FROM that day, to avoid every injurious suspicion, he laid it down as a law, never to visit the wife of Darius more; who, it is said, was the most beautiful woman of her time. So that, as Plutarch observes, she and the rest of the

His generous
demeanor to
the family of
Darius.

²⁷ Ἡ ἐν τοῦ βαζυλικοῦ. Strab. L. xiii. Plutarch in Alexand. †



BOOK I. princesses "lived, though in an enemy's camp, as if they
 Sect. 1. "had been in some holy temple, unseen and unapproached,
 "in the most sacred privacy." Syfigambis particularly, was
 treated by him with a respect and attention not less than she
 could have expected from Darius himself. He permitted her
 to order the funeral honours that should be paid to those of
 the royal family who had fallen in the action; and often
 afterwards granted favours at her request, even forgiving,
 upon her intercession, some Persian lords, who had deserv-
 edly incurred his displeasure. †

Damascus
surrenders.

THE victory of Issus was followed by the surrender of
 Damascus¹⁸; the governor, without waiting to be attacked,
 having delivered up to Parmenio the city, and the treasures
 it contained, to a vast amount; together with thirty thousand
 prisoners, among whom were the wives and daughters of the
 first nobles of Persia; and, what is worthy of notice, embassa-
 dors, deputed from Thebes, Athens, and Sparta, to Darius, who
 had taken up their residence here, as in a place of security.

Grecian em-
bassadors
found there.

Alexander's
treatment of
them.

ALEXANDER commanded the ambassadors to be imme-
 diately sent to him. Two of them, Thebans, he treated
 with remarkable lenity. "He wondered not," he said,
 "that they should be found among the enemies of
 "Greece, deprived, as they had been, of their native home,
 "and driven to seek for refuge in a foreign land." From
 this and other instances it is evident, that Alexander re-
 pented of his severity to the Theban people, and sought to
 remove the unfavourable impressions which that rigorous

¹⁸ Arrian, L. ii. c. 15.

procedure



procédure had left on the minds of most of the Greeks. Another of the embassadors was Iphicrates of Athens, son to the illustrious general of the name. He forgave him also. "He had known," he said, "and honoured his father. The respect, besides, that he had for Athens, would not permit him to shew resentment to her citizen, though employed in so improper a business." But the fourth, Euthycles, the Spartan, he ordered immediately into confinement. "The Spartans were his professed enemies, and deserved no favour at his hands." In a little time, however, he released him²⁹. The truth is, Alexander was sensible, that he was far from enjoying the affections of the several States of Greece; and was cautious of exasperating them. He well knew, that it must be a matter of much difficulty to make that republican spirit, with which they were animated, submit to the chains to which he had destined them. And should he declare his purpose at once, and avow himself for their lord and master, it might be the means of forcing them to unite in defence of their common liberties, and of provoking an opposition, with which he was not yet in a condition to contend. We shall see him assume a very different deportment after the final destruction of Darius.

ALEXANDER had now the prize of empire before him, and resolved to employ his utmost vigour in pushing on the pursuit. He proceeded first to reduce the maritime nations of Syria, Phœnicia, and the islands adjacent. This was an object to him of considerable moment. They were powerful at sea; he wanted a navy to secure and to extend his con-

Alexander reduces the maritime nations of Syria, &c.

²⁹ Arrian, loc. cit.

F

quests;



Book I. Sect. 1. quests; and by reducing them into subjection, he cut off from Darius many important resources he derived from them. The success corresponded to his expectations. Byblus, Marathus, the prince of Aradus on the Phœnician coast; and, of more moment still, the people of Sidon, revolted to him. The Sidonians particularly hated the Persian yoke; they had suffered much oppression in the days of Ochus; and hailed Alexander as their deliverer.

The Tyrians refuse to admit Alexander.

THE Tyrians also made a shew^o of submitting, and presented him with a golden crown. But he found they meant^o to preserve their independence. Confiding in their situation and naval strength, they thought they had little to fear, and refused to admit any Macedonians within their walls, whilst the fate of the Persian empire was yet in suspense. Alexander, on the contrary, was determined, that the proudest power of Asia should not defy him with impunity. †

Strength of Tyre.

To reduce Tyre was, nevertheless, a work of difficulty. It was seated on an island at the distance of four furlongs from the Phœnician shore; it was surrounded with walls, remarkable for their height and solidity; and the sea, where it washed the foot of these walls, was of the depth of three fathoms. The Tyrians besides were strong in men, hardy, experienced, well-appointed; they were the boldest mari-

+ ^o The King of Tyre, Azelmicus, was at this very time on board the Persian fleet with Autophradates, one of Darius's admirals. Arrian, L. ii. c. 15. †

^o Arrian, L. ii. c. 17 & seq. Plutarch in Alex. Quint. Cur. L. iv. c. 24. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. c. 4.

ners



FROM THE ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

35

ners then known, and possessed immense wealth from the extensive commerce they had long enjoyed ; from their numerous fleets, they had the means both of annoying at pleasure the enemies that should attack them, and of receiving constant supplies of whatever was necessary for their defence: And they had a right to expect powerful succours from their several colonies.

Book I.
Sect. I.

ALEXANDER was not to be intimidated. He began by running a mole from the continent to Tyre, in order to have firm ground on which to raise machines and carry on his works. †Laborious as the undertaking was, the soldiers, inspired by the presence and example of their Sovereign, thought no fatigue too severe ; earth, timber, and every necessary material, were collected in abundance ; and the mole soon appeared above the surface of the sea. Whilst the Macedonians wrought near the shore, they met with no obstruction ; but as they approached towards Tyre, they found themselves so much exposed to attacks from the enemy, and so sharply galled by the stones and missile weapons, which their engines discharged against them, that Alexander was obliged to raise wooden towers to protect his work, and to cover the workmen. The Tyrians, on their part, lost no time. They prepared a ship filled with combustible stores, and towing her to the place where the towers were reared, set them on fire with the other machines which the Macedonians had constructed, whilst armed men from the city, in small boats, attacked the mole on every side, and laid it in ruins. †

Siege of Tyre.

F 2

BAFFLED



BOOK I. BAFFLED in this attempt, Alexander found it necessary to
Sect. I. alter his plan. He determined to give his mole more

Alexander
summons the
maritime
powers to his
assistance.

breadth, that, by having it in his power to raise a greater number of towers on it, he might provide the more effectually for its defence. Observing, that without a sufficient naval force, it must be impossible to keep the Tyrian fleet in awe, he summoned the several maritime powers which had lately submitted, to furnish him with ships. They obeyed. Even Cyprus joined him. That island had hitherto followed the fortunes of Darius; but, deterred by the success of the Macedonian arms, declared now for Alexander. The Tyrians, who had been preparing for a naval engagement, were astonished to behold the sea covered with the vessels of the enemy, and retired within their ports.

Obstinate de-
fence of
Tyre.

THE Macedonians, thus reinforced, completed their mole, and urged on the siege with great activity. But the more vigour they exhibited, the more spirited was the defence which the Tyrians made, as if resolved to preserve their liberties or perish. A continual discharge of destructive and deadly weapons poured from every part of their walls upon the ships or men that dared to approach them. And whatever instruments of offence the enemy invented, the Tyrians straitway contrived others to disappoint their effect. The Greeks had constructed towers of wood equal in height to the battlements of the city, which they moved close to the walls, so as to fight the besieged hand to hand, and sometimes, by throwing spontoons across, passed on to the very battlements. The Tyrians prepared hooks and grappling irons, with which they caught hold of the soldiers that appeared.



peared on these towers, and dragged them off. Those, who attempted scaling-ladders, had poured on them vessels of scalding sand, which penetrated to the bone. Against whatever place the battering engines were directed, green hides or coverlets of wool were instantly spread, to render ineffectual the blow. And if in any part of the walls an opening was made, a number of combatants immediately rushed forward to guard the breach.

BOOK I.
SECT. I.

THE siege had now continued seven months. And it is likely the Macedonians began to be tired out; if we may judge from the extraordinary artifices, which it appears were made use of to raise their drooping spirits. One while, an account had been received, that Apollo was about to leave Tyre, and that the Tyrians had fastened him to his pedestal with golden chains, to prevent his elopement. At another, it was said, that Hercules had appeared to Alexander, and invited him to pass into Tyre. And again, the King dreamed, that a Satyr³² was playing before him, and, as he endeavoured to lay hold of him, eluded his grasp; but that at last, won by his solicitations, he surrendered to him. The Augurs, in whom the Macedonian army had been taught to place implicit faith, and who were, therefore, Alexander's general resource in his difficulties, affirmed, that these

The aids of superstition employed to encourage the Macedonians.

³² One can hardly forbear smiling at the paltry equivoque, with which we are told the Augurs satisfied their employers on this occasion. The Greek word *Σάτυρος*, a Satyr, may be divided into two syllables, *Σὰ Τύρος*, Tyre is thine. "'Tis the very interpretation of the King's dream;" pronounced the Augurs. "The appearing of the Satyr says, that the gods have delivered Tyre into thy hands." Plutarch (in Alexand.) relates this solution as a notable piece of ingenuity. Probably, both the dream and the interpretation were the contrivance of the Augurs themselves.

were:



BOOK I. were all notices from Heaven, that Tyre was on the point
 Sect. I. of falling into his hands.

A general
 assault.

IT was thought adviseable to take advantage of the confidence which these assurances produced in the minds of the soldiery. Large breaches had been made in the walls. And it was natural to suppose, that the long fatigue, and many sharp engagements, which the Tyrians had sustained, must have diminished their numbers considerably. Alexander accordingly determined to make another effort, and gave orders for a general assault by sea and land; the Macedonians to penetrate the breaches, and the fleet at the same time to attempt the different ports, of which Tyre had two, the one opening towards Egypt, the other towards Sidon.

Tyre taken.

IT is difficult to say which deserves most the warrior's praise, the skill exhibited in planning the several attacks, or the spirit with which they were executed; and the Tyrians, notwithstanding a resistance to which they seem to have been animated by despair, were at last overpowered on every side³³. The gallant defence of the besieged had exasperated Alexander. He gave orders, that all who were found in arms, should be put to the sword, and the rest of the inhabitants sold for slaves³⁴, those excepted who had taken refuge

Cruel treatment of the Tyrians.

³³ OLYMP. cxii. 1. BEFORE CHRIST 332.

³⁴ There was the *Old Tyre* and the *New*. The *Old Tyre*, known by the name of *Palatyrus*, was situate on the continent of Phœnicia, and by means of its extensive trade, rose to such power, that it held out a siege of five years against Salmeser, king of Assyria, who was at last obliged to raise it. It was again besieged by Nebuchadnezzar, who took it, after a siege of thirteen years, and overthrew it.

Upon



refuge in the temple of Hercules, the patron god of Tyre; in gratitude, doubtless, for the vision with which he wished to have it believed the god had honoured him. The Sidonians, however, in compassion to their kindred city (for Tyre was originally a Sidonian colony, and is therefore called by the prophet *the daughter of Sidon*³⁵) secreted a number of the inhabitants, to the amount of fifteen thousand, and carried them off in their ships. By these, Tyre was afterwards raised from her ruins³⁶. Some historians have recorded, that Alexander's cruelty went beyond what we have related, and that he crucified two thousand of this unhappy people. If so, Ariftobulus and Ptolemy, from whose memoirs Arrian compiled his history, chose to pass this action over in silence; for there is no mention of it in Arrian. Probably they were ashamed of such horrid barbarity³⁷.

DARIUS found, that Alexander was becoming every day more formidable, and sought to engage him to an accommo-

Darius applies to Alexander.

Upon which, the Tyrians built them a new city, that which we now treat of, on an island opposite to old Tyre.

Commentators are not agreed, whether the prophecies of Isaiah xxiii. and of Ezekiel xxvi. and xxvii. relate to the calamities they suffered from Salmaneser and Nebuchadnezzar, or to those which Alexander brought on them. Grotius supports the former opinion. Prideaux the latter. Bishop Newton (Dissertat. xi.) thinks that these prophecies relate both to the one and to the other.

³⁵ Isaiah, xxiii. 12.

³⁶ Tyre soon recovered; for in about nineteen years after, it was able to withstand the fleets and armies of Antigonus, and to sustain a siege of fifteen months before it was taken. It owed this wonderful encrease of strength to its commerce; and chiefly to its purple trade; the purple shell-fish being found on this coast in great abundance.—See Strabo. Casaub. L. vi. p. 521.

³⁷ See Quint. Cur. L. iv. c. 4.

dition.



BOOK I.
Sect. I.

dition. He had applied to him soon after the battle of Issus; but the manner was such, that Alexander thought himself rather insulted by it. He summoned him, "to behave to the Princesses he held captive, as it became a King to behave to a King, and to deliver them up immediately to Darius."—He reproached him with "having undertaken the present war, unprovoked by any wrongs; whereas Darius had armed in defence of his hereditary realms;—adding, that "he nevertheless offered Alexander his friendship, and was ready to accept of his, whenever it was properly tendered."

Alexander's
answer.

ALEXANDER replied, by "enumerating all the grievances, real or imputed, which Greece had at any period of time suffered from the Persian Kings, demanding reparation at the hands of Darius for them all;—that, if he had any boon to ask of Alexander, he should come in person, and solicit it;—that, if he entertained any doubt, there should be given sufficient hostages for his security; and his wife and children should no longer be withheld from him;"—he concluded with "requiring, that, should he henceforth write to him, to remember he was writing, not to his equal, but to the lord of Asia and of Darius; that, if he was unwilling to admit the claim, Alexander was ready to support it by force of arms."

Darius ap-
plies again.

DARIUS now used an humbler style¹⁸. He offered him "his daughter in marriage; a ransom of ten thousand talents for the rest of the Princesses; and the cession of all the provinces of Asia, from the Hellespont to the Euphrates."

¹⁸ Arrian, L. ii. c. 25.

Parmenio,



Parmenio, we are told, advised Alexander to accept of these terms: "I would," added he, "were I Alexander"—"And so would I," replied Alexander, "were I Parmenio." Alexander answered Darius, "That he stood not in want of any treasures Darius had to give; that the provinces which he proposed to cede, were no longer his to offer; that nothing less could now be accepted of, than the cession of the whole empire. With respect to marrying his daughter, Alexander, regardless of the consent of Darius, would consult only his own inclination; and that the last resource of the Persian King was, to surrender himself to Alexander, and make trial of his clemency."

BOOK I.
Sect. 1.

without success.

FROM Tyre³⁹ Alexander directed his march towards Jerusalem. The Jews had offended him. Under pretence of fealty to Darius, they had excused themselves from furnishing him with provisions during the late siege, and at the same time had sent supplies to the Tyrians. When they heard, that Alexander was approaching, Jaddua, the high-priest, instructed by an heavenly vision, arrayed himself in the sacerdotal vestments; and, together with the other priests in their sacred habits, and the rest of the people clothed in white, went forth to meet Alexander. The Macedonians beheld them, in earnest expectation of what would follow;

Alexander advances towards Jerusalem, with hostile purposes;

is pacified at the sight of the high-priest;

³⁹ Josephus, in whose writings the account of the high-priest Jaddua is found, supposes, that Alexander did not set out for Jerusalem till after the taking of Gaza; but Eusebius, in his Chronicon, says, he went thither from Tyre. Archbishop Usher (consult Usserii Annal. p. 301.) is of the same opinion. And this is entirely consonant with what Arrian expressly says, that, before he set out for Gaza, on his way to Egypt, he had brought into subjection all Palestine; ἢ αὐτὸ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῆς Παλαιστίνης καλούμενης Συρίας προσεχωρηκότα ἔδη. Arrian, L. ii. c. 25.

G

they



Book I. they knew the King to be violent in his resentments; and imagined this humiliation would avail little. When, all at once, **Sect. 1.** Alexander stepping forth, prostrated himself before Jaddua. Parmenio, amazed, would have stopped him. "What!" said he, "shall you, whom all hold in veneration, prostrate yourself before a man!"—"Not before a man," replied the King, "but before the God whose minister he is." "When at Dium in Macedonia, the same venerable personage whom I now see, appeared to me, and commanded me to pass into Asia, promising, that the God whom he served should be my conductor ⁴⁰."

Shews favour to the Jews; EMBRACING then the high-priest, he held on his way towards Jerusalem, where he spent some days, shewing himself exceedingly gracious to the Jewish nation, and granting them a confirmation of their several privileges; particularly, of their exemption from all tribute on every seventh year, or year of the Sabbath, on which, according to their law, they were neither to sow nor reap.

Sees the prophecies of Daniel. JOSEPHUS ⁴¹, from whom we have taken this account, tells us, that the Macedonian saw at Jerusalem the prophecies of Daniel ⁴², in which was foretold, "the overthrow of the Persian empire, by a Prince of Greece;" which the high-priest took care to explain to him ⁴³.

THE

⁴⁰ See the authenticity of this whole account fully vindicated in Bishop Newton's *Dissertations on the Prophecies*. Dissert. xv.

⁴¹ Consult Josephi *Antiq.* L. ii. c. 8. Sect. v. p. 504. Edit. Hudf.

⁴² Dan. viii. 7. 20, 21.

⁴³ It may seem strange to some, that Alexander, after having had such convincing proof of the power of the True God, should have continued an idolater, and especially



THE Samaritans, whose jealousy and hatred of the Jewish people are well known, and who had distinguished themselves in the service of Alexander, applied for the same favours as the Jews had received; but he declined listening to the request, excusing himself for want of leisure, on account of Egyptian affairs, which occupied his attention.

BOOK I.
SECT. I.

Histreatment
of the Sama-
ritans.

ON the road to Egypt, at the entrance of the desert that divides it from Phœnicia, stood Gaza, a city strong and well garrisoned, of which Batis was governor. The cowardice or infidelity of other Persian governors were no examples to him. He defended the city against the whole Macedonian army for the space of two months; and when at last it was taken by storm, he and his men continued fighting to the last gasp of life, not a man surviving ¹⁴. Alexander,

Takes Gaza
by storm.

cially have pursued his visionary plan of having himself acknowledged for the son of Hammon. But, in the first place, *the incompatibility of the worship of the True God with that of the gods of the nations*, was a doctrine which few of the Pagans could be brought to apprehend rightly, and from which even the better-informed nations of Israel and Judah were but too apt to depart, debasing often the worship of the Almighty with the mixture of heathenish rites. And, in the second place, Alexander's real motive for claiming divine honours, was not any idolatrous principle (for it was an impious violation of the very religion of his own country) but merely the lust of conquest, which in him was so strong, as to absorb all other considerations. It was not possible he should ever have brought himself to believe sincerely, that he was a god. But it is very possible he might wish, that others should believe him one; because such a belief was an useful instrument for the establishing of that empire which he had in view.

¹⁴ Quintus Curtius (iv. 6.) in express contradiction to Arrian, tells us, that Batis (Betis, he calls him) was yet alive when taken, though grievously wounded; and that Alexander, after loading him with reproaches for the gallant defence he had made, fastened him to his chariot by cords passed through his feet, and, in imi-



Book I. ander, however, provoked partly by this obstinate defence,
 Sect. 1. and partly by some slight wound he had received in the
 course of the siege, wreaked his vengeance on the women
 and children, all of whom he condemned to slavery.

Egypt sub-
 mits.

EGYPT was soon reduced. Even before Alexander's arrival, the Persians were held in abhorrence there, on account of their late oppressions and profane treatment of the Egyptian gods, in the reign of Ochus ⁴⁵. Alexander cultivated these favourable dispositions; he shewed particular attention to the prosperity of the country; and laid the foundation of a great city, to be called after his own name; the situation of which, he said, had been pointed out to him by Homer ⁴⁶, and which proved the principal source of that immense opu-

tation of what Achilles is said to have done to the dead body of Hector, dragged him, while life yet remained, round the walls of Gaza. Probably this is fabulous.

⁴⁵ He had profaned the most revered rites of their national religion, and had even slain their god Apis. See Bishop Lowth on Isaiah xix. 1.

⁴⁶ According to Plutarch, a personage of venerable aspect appeared to him (so at least reported the voice of Flattery) and repeated the following lines (Odyss. iv.)

Νῆσος ἰσητά τις ἰστί πολικλίστη ἐνὶ πόντῳ,
 Ἐγύπτου προπάρουθι (Φάρου δὲ ἰ κελήσουσι.)

High o'er a gulphy sea, the Pharian isle
 Fronts the deep roar of disemboguing Nile.—POPE.

The difficulty is, in the lines that follow, Homer places the Pharos at the distance of a day's sail from the continent; and, on the contrary, it is generally allowed that the Pharos is only seven stadia, scarcely a mile, distant from Alexandria. To reconcile the matter, Mr. Pope would suppose, that the Poet meant to specify the *Pelusian* mouth of the Nile, from which the Pharos stands a day's sail.

lence,



lence, of which the Egyptians became possessed in succeeding ages.

Book I.
Sect. I.

His next atchievement was of a different kind. In the depths of Lybia was situated the oracular temple of Jupiter Hammon. What was the origin of this superstition, is an enquiry foreign to the present purpose. It is sufficient to notice, that the antiquity of the establishment, which seems to have had its beginning in very remote and ignorant ages, together with the situation of the place, where the priests were secured from observation and controul, and where every circumstance promoted the amazement and reverence of those votaries who resorted thither to worship, naturally contributed to the propagating of the many strange fictions concerning it which history has recorded.

Temple of
Jupiter Ham-
mon.

ALEXANDER formed the plan of rendering these fictions subservient to his views. The way to the oracle lay ⁴⁷ through a vast desert, inhospitable and pathless; where the intense heat of the climate was rendered tenfold more violent by burning sands, the only footing the traveller had, and where none but persons well acquainted with the dreary wild, could find out the line by which they were to march. From the entrance of the desert to the temple, it was two hundred and thirty miles. Through this desert Alexander undertook to march his army. The very attempt had in it somewhat of prodigy. To give it more strongly this appearance, he with great art concealed from his men, that he had employed any guides to conduct him;

Alexander
resolves to
visit it;
for what pur-
pose.

The artifice
employed.

⁴⁷ Arrian; L. iii. c. 3, 4. Quint. Cur. L. iv. c. 7.



BOOK I. in order to dispose them the better to believe that his instructions came from heaven, and that the gods themselves appointed supernatural guides; "two dragons," according to Ptolemy, "two ravens," according to Aristobulus⁴⁸; the difference between whose accounts may be considered as a proof, that Alexander kept the matter even from those in whom he confided most on other occasions. Probably his trusty Augurs were the only persons in the secret.

in consulting
the oracle.

BEFORE he reached the temple, he had in like manner prepared every thing for his reception. The priests had received their lessons; and the oracle pronounced what Alexander wished it should. Most historians⁴⁹ agree, that the minister of Hammon saluted him as the son of the god; that when he enquired, whether any of the murderers of his father had escaped, the oracle replied, that *his* father was not mortal, but that the death of Philip was fully avenged. Upon his enquiring again, whether he was destined to conquer the world, the answer was, that Jupiter granted him that glory. Arrian omits these particular responses, and tells us in general, that Alexander declared, "the god had left him nothing more to desire"⁵⁰. Ptolemy and Aristobulus were perhaps unwilling to disgrace themselves, by recording what they knew to be impious forgeries. It certainly appears, that from this period, Alexander began to discover to what a chimerical height his ambitious thoughts were soaring.

⁴⁸ A flock of crows, says Plutarch (in Alexand.)

⁴⁹ Plutarch in Alexand. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. Quint. Curt. ubi sup.

⁵⁰ Ἀκούσας ὅσα αὐτῷ πρὸς θεοῦ ἦν, ὡς ἔλεγετο Arrian, L. iii. c. 4.



With the Greeks, however, for some time at least, he used more caution, not daring to expose his favourite claim to divine honours to the severity of their ridicule.

Book I.
Sect. I.

WHILST Alexander was thus employed, Statira, wife to Darius, died. His demeanor towards her had been always noble. He paid her memory every honour in his power; expressed the deepest concern at her death, and commanded, that her obsequies should be solemnized with as much magnificence as they could have been, had she died in full possession of royal splendor.

Statira dies.

Statira. TIRGUS, one of Statira's eunuchs, upon her death made his escape from the camp, and brought Darius the account. The King, who loved her tenderly, broke out into the most passionate lamentations, bewailing her loss, that she should have ended her days in such an abject state oppressed with the miseries of captivity, and that after death she was likely to be deprived of those honours, which should have graced her obsequies. "Lament not for these things, O King!" said the eunuch; "for neither did Statira, while she lived, nor do any of the royal captives, feel the least diminution of their former fortune, except it be the having lost the light of thy countenance, which the great Oromasdes will again cause to shine upon them: and, far from being deprived of her due obsequies, Statira was honoured with the tears of her very enemies; for, terrible as Alexander is in battle, he is equally mild in using his victories."

The tidings
are brought
to Darius.

²¹ Plut. in Alexand. Quint. Cur. L. iv. c. 10. Arrian, L. iv. c. 20.



Book I. THE eunuch's words excited the darkest suspicions in the
 Sect. 1. mind of Darius. "Tell me then," said he, taking the
 His suspi- eunuch aside, "if thou hast not yet revolted to the Mace-
 cions; donians, as the fortune of Persia has; tell me, as thou re-
 "verest the light of Mithra, and this right hand of thy
 "King, is not the death of Statira the least of what I have
 "to lament? and, amidst all our calamities, had not our
 "disgrace been less, if we had met with a more savage foe?
 "For, what but the tenderest engagement could induce a
 "young Prince thus to honour the wife of his enemy!"

removed.

TIR^EUS, humbling his face to the earth, entreated Da-
 rius not to harbour a thought so unworthy of himself, so
 injurious to Alexander, and so disrespectful to the memory
 of his excellent Queen; nor to deprive himself of that re-
 flection, which must administer the highest consolation to
 him, that Alexander, whose superiority in arms he had felt,
 was superior also to human nature; assuring him with the
 most solemn oaths, that Alexander was even more to be
 admired for the propriety of his behaviour to the cap-
 tive Princesses, than for the valour he exerted against
 Darius.

Darius's ad-
 miration of
 Alexander.

DARIUS, lifting up his eyes to heaven, is said to have
 thus expressed himself: "Ye gods, the guardians of our
 "births, and who watch over the fortunes of kingdoms,
 "grant me to re-establish the State of Persia, and to leave
 "it prosperous as I found it, that, blessed with victory, I
 "may have it in my power to return to Alexander the
 "kindnesses which my dearest pledges have experienced from
 "him. But if the fated term of this Empire is now come, and
 "the



“ the glory of the Persians must have an end, may none but
 “ Alexander sit on the throne of Cyrus !”

BOOK I.
 Sect. I.

WHEN we meet with these sentiments, we can scarcely forbear wishing, that the prince capable of having uttered them, had never known the baneful influence of absolute power.

SOME historians tell us, that upon this event the Persian King sent a third embassy to Alexander, with much larger offers than before. But neither Arrian nor Plutarch make mention of that particular.

DARIUS, who saw no other decision than that of arms was to be expected, and still possessing the fond notion, that the strength of an army consisted in its numbers, sent to levy forces through all his provinces. There assembled, accordingly, a prodigious multitude ; a million of foot, says Arrian, and forty thousand horse, with some elephants, and two hundred armed chariots. And as the successor of Cyrus had been encouraged to believe, that the defeat at Issus was altogether owing to his having been shut up within narrow defiles, where he could not avail himself of his superiority, he now chose for his ground a plain of great extent, near the village of Gaugamela ¹² in Aturia, a province of Assyria; having given directions, that every hillock should be levelled, for his army and chariots to have room to act without interruption.

Darius prepares again for battle.

¹² The name signifies *the house or body of the camel*; so called, because Darius Hystaspis appointed this district for the maintenance of the camel, to which he owed his preservation in his flight out of Scythia. Strab. xvi. Plut. in Alex.

H

ALEXANDER



BOOK I.

SECT. I.

Formidable
appearance
of the Persian
army.

ALEXANDER was on his march through the Upper Asia³³, and had passed the Tigris in search of Darius, when advice was brought him, that the Persians were near. At sight of them, the Greeks, accustomed as they had been to engage with numerous armies, were in some degree astonished. As far as the eye could reach, nothing was to be seen but arms, military ensigns, chariots, and all the parade of war. And from every part of the plain below, arose a deep murmur, hoarse as the surges of a tempestuous sea. Alexander had advanced in order of battle. He thought it nevertheless adviseable to encamp, and to postpone the engagement till the ensuing morning, that his men might have an opportunity of viewing the enemy at leisure, and of recovering from the impression which, it appeared, the fight had at first made on them. The remainder of the day, besides performing³⁴ the proper sacrifices³⁵, he employed with Par-

³³ Arrian. L. iii. c. 7 & seq. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. Plutarch in Alexander. Quint. Cur. L. iv. c. 12 & seq.

³⁴ Plutarch says, that, after the Macedonian army were gone to repose, Alexander, attended by Aristander the Augur only, went through certain private rites, and performed a sacrifice $\phi\omicron\iota\varsigma\epsilon\upsilon$ to Apollo, as it stands in the printed text; but Amyot, as Xylander informs us, instead of $\phi\omicron\iota\varsigma\epsilon\upsilon$, found in several manuscripts $\phi\omicron\iota\varsigma\epsilon\upsilon$ to fear. If this is the true reading, as there is reason to believe it is, it shews what Alexander himself thought of the consternation of his army, and what induced Parmenio to give the advice, which we find he afterwards gave.

See Plut. Xylandri in Alex.

³⁵ It was perhaps on this occasion, that Alexander employed the artifice mentioned by Frontinus (L. i. c. 11.) by means of some medicated liquor, he inscribed the hand of the Aruspex with certain characters, inverted, importing a promise of victory, which being laid on the warm liver of the victim, left there a legible impression. The miracle was immediately communicated to the army with great success.—See also Polyæni Stratagem. L. iv. c. 3.



menio in reconnoitring the situation of the opposite army, and in examining the ground on which the battle was to be fought. Book I.
Sect. I.

* WHEN he had retired to his tent, Parmenio came to him again, and counselled him to take advantage of the night to attack the enemy. Parmenio himself was doubtful of the event, and thought the boldest heart must be appalled at encountering such an host of foes in open day. "No, Parmenio," replied Alexander, "I will not *steal* a victory." This spirited answer, historians observe, though in appearance that of a young man, was the result of cool and judicious thought. The enemy, he reflected, might be apprehensive of such a design, and therefore on their guard against it; many disasters might befall his own men in the dark; they might mistake friends for foes; they might lose each other amidst such a confused multitude, and be overpowered; the enemy could not have before their eyes the bold onset and dreadful execution of his troops; and therefore the darkness would be void of terror, which would otherwise operate on them with full force: the Macedonians, besides, were ignorant of the country; and, if successful, could not pursue the enemy; if unsuccessful, they could not escape.

Parmenio's
advice.

Alexander's
answer:

wisdom of it.

It appeared afterwards⁵⁶, that Alexander had conjectured rightly. The Persians, apprehensive of a surprize, had remained under arms until morning, which very circumstance was of considerable detriment to them. Wasted with fa-

⁵⁶ Arrian. L. iii. c. 10, 11.



BOOK I. tigue, and, subdued by repeated alarms in the night,
SECT. 1. they were less able to execute the business of the ensuing day; whereas the Macedonians, to whose refreshment Alexander had paid particular attention, approached in full vigour of mind and body.

Battle of Gaugamela.

A MINUTE detail of this battle ⁵⁷ belongs rather to the military science. It will be sufficient to mention the more remarkable incidents.

Darius's plan.

DARIUS's design was, to inclose the Greeks by his superiority of numbers; and by means of his armed chariots, to penetrate the Macedonian phalanx, in which Alexander's principal strength was supposed to consist.

Alexander's judicious arrangements,

ALEXANDER was aware of this intention. He placed, therefore a number of slingers and bowmen in the front of his line, with orders, that as the chariots moved towards them, they should, by frightening the horses, and plying them with stones and darts, endeavour to drive them back on the enemy. If this failed, they were to aim at disabling the horses, or to kill the drivers, in order to get possession of the chariots; but in case any of them still escaped, and reached the phalanx, then the Macedonians were to open to right and left, and permit them to pass to the rear, where there was a corps of reserve appointed to take care of them.

HE had also disposed a number of detached parties, whose instructions were, to observe the enemy's flying squadrons, and prevent their taking him in flank.

⁵⁷ OLYMP. cxii. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 331.

IF



If the Persians should carry their point, and inclose him, in that case the extreme ranks, flank and rear, were to face about instantly, to front the enemy on every side.

Book I.
Sect. 1.

His orders were punctually executed. The chariots bore down on the Macedonians, and they were soon rendered useless. Repeated attempts were made to take him in flank without effect. Whilst Alexander, at the head of the right wing, after having broken the left wing of the enemy, though composed of the Scythian horse, by far the best corps Darius had, turned directly on the main body of the Persian army; and drawing up his men in the form of a wedge⁵⁸, upon a small front, supported by a great depth, opened to himself a way into the midst of them, pushing on to the center, with loud shoutings and great slaughter; probably with a view of taking the King prisoner, who, according to the Persian custom, had his station there, and was, as usual, easily distinguished by his magnificent dress and stately chariot.

attended with
success.

DARIUS had hitherto preserved⁵⁹ some appearance of firmness; but as soon as he saw this torrent of war rushing towards him, his strength of mind forsook him, and he betook himself to flight; which completed the defeat of his army in this part, every man following the King's example.

Flight of Darius.

⁵⁸ Ὀσπριε ἔμβολον. Arrian *Γρονου*. L. iii. c. xiv. p. 124.

⁵⁹ According to Diodorus, Darius for some time shewed both conduct and valour; but his charioteer having been slain, and a report prevailing, that the King himself had fallen, the Persians fled, and Darius was obliged to follow their example.

ALEXANDER



BOOK I. **ALEXANDER** immediately pursued, and had probably soon
SECT. I. come up with Darius, if a courier from his left wing had
 not brought him back to the field of battle. This wing,
 of which Parmenio had the command, had been sorely
 pressed by the enemy, and was giving way. Alexander flew to
 his general's assistance; but that movement was unnecessary;
 the dispute was already decided, and a total discomfiture of
 the Persians had taken place.

Alexander
 pursues, but
 is recalled by
 Parmenio.

Renews the
 pursuit in
 vain.

INTENT on overtaking Darius, as soon as he saw the vic-
 tory secure, he allowed his men but a few hours repose, and
 set off again at midnight, continuing the pursuit as far as
 Arbela⁶⁰, upward of seventy miles from the field of battle;
 but was at length obliged to desist, Darius having outstrip-
 ped him.

The Mace-
 donians infe-
 rior in num-
 bers.

By the best accounts, the Macedonians had only forty
 thousand foot, and seven thousand horse, not a twentieth
 of the enemy. But on the one side, were a tumultuary mul-
 titude, on the other, was experience, and discipline, and
 valour.

⁶⁰ Gaugamela being only an inconsiderable village, and Arbela a place of some
 note, historians have thought proper to name the battle from the latter, though
 fought at such a distance from it. Arrian (vi. 11.) ridicules this affectation. "As
 well," says he, "might they call the battle of Salamis the battle of the Corinthian
 Isthmus."

Archbishop Usher (Annal 312.) thinks, that the distance could not be more than
 about thirteen or fourteen miles, somewhat beyond an hundred stadia. Arrian, who
 seems to have been well informed, and with whom the several ancient writers agree,
 affirms expressly, that the distance was not less than from five to six hundred fur-
 longs.

ALEXANDER



ALEXANDER himself certainly deserves great praise, not merely for his personal courage, in which he seems generally to have exceeded, but for his discernment and judicious precautions before the engagement began; and especially for that admirable presence of mind, the natural companion of intrepidity, which he appears to have preserved through the whole action. His answer to Parmenio deserves particularly to be remembered: during the heat of the battle, when apprised by Parmenio, that the enemy had fallen on the camp, and were pillaging it. "Bid him not mind them," replied Alexander, "let us make sure of victory; the pillage will of course be ours."

Book I.
Sect. I.

Alexander's
discernment
and intrepidity.

WHAT the loss was on either side, ancient writers are not agreed. Arrian relates, that of the Persians there fell three hundred thousand, and that the number of prisoners was greater. Whereas Alexander, he says, lost only an hundred men and a thousand horses; most of the latter being destroyed in pursuing the enemy. But this account seems to be incredible.

The loss on
the side of the
Persians, and
on that of the
Macedoni-
ans.

B O O K



B O O K I.

SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

Surrender of Babylon; of Susa; of Persepolis; and of Pasargadae; with their treasures—The effects of this rich plunder—Darius treated perfidiously by Bessus; and murdered by the associates of that traitor—Change in the manners of Alexander—He puts to death Philotas; and Parmenio—Kills Clitus—Feels compunction—Is corrupted by flatterers—Seeks to obtain divine honours—Is opposed by Callisthenes—Repents it—Callisthenes charged with encouraging a conspiracy against Alexander—Is put to death—Alexander finds it necessary to divert the attention of his army to other scenes—Reduces several of the Indian tribes—Is opposed by Porus—Defeats him—Spreads devastation to the Hyphasis—Proposes to pass on to the Ganges—And to conquer the whole world—His soldiers refuse to proceed—He is highly displeased—Obliged to yield to their wishes—His vanity.

BOOK I.
Sect. 2.

Consequences of the defeat of Darius.

THE victory of Gaugamela put an end to the empire of Darius. The several nations of Asia, who had hitherto followed his fortunes, now considered him as a lost Prince, to whom allegiance was no longer due; and most

¹ Quint. Cur. L. v. c. 1. Arrian, L. iii. c. 16 & seq. Plutarch in Alexand. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. c. 7.

10

of



of them prepared to pay their homage to the conqueror. Among other persons of distinction, Mazaeus, a Persian satrap of high rank, who, by his gallant behaviour in the late battle, had nearly wrested the victory from Parmenio, made his submission, inviting the King to Babylon, of which he was governor. The peaceable surrender of such a city, the capital of Assyria, the siege of which might have retarded the progress of his arms considerably, and whose example promised to be of extensive influence, could not but be exceedingly flattering to Alexander. He made his entrance into it, in all the magnificence of triumphal pomp, attended by the magi and great men of Babylon, amidst loud acclamations of joy from the inhabitants, who had long borne impatiently the Persian yoke. He spent some days among his new subjects, to whom he made himself highly acceptable, by commanding, that their temples should be rebuilt; particularly that of Belus, which Xerxes had laid in ruins.

Book I.
Sect. 2:

Surrender of
Babylon:

He then passed on to Susa, which in like manner opened its gates to him. And from Susa he advanced towards Persepolis. The way into Persia lay through narrow streights, formed by the mountains that encompass it. The Uxii, a nation of mountaineers, who had preserved their independence even under the Persian monarchs, had possessed themselves of one of these defiles. The Macedonian soon dislodged them, and would have put every man to the sword, had not Syngambis interceded in their favour. At her intercession, Alexander contented himself with imposing on them an annual tribute of cattle, all the wealth known among them. At the pass called *the gates of Persia*, Ariobarzanes,

of Susa,

Alexander
defeats the
Uxii.

Forces the
gates of Per-
sia.

I

with



BOOK I. with a considerable force, had intrenched himself. But this
SECT. 2. difficulty the son of Philip also surmounted, and, without
 further opposition, reached Persepolis.

Enters Persepolis.

SOME historians * tell us of Alexander's being met here by certain Greeks, whom the Persians, in the course of former wars, had carried into captivity, and had disfigured and maimed with a savage barbarity. But there is reason to believe this account to be fabulous, Arrian not making the least mention of it. Probably it was invented as an apology for those cruel executions of the Asiatics, of which Alexander appears to have been afterwards frequently guilty.

Takes Pasargadae.

THE treasures which he found here, and at Pasargadae, a city not far from Persepolis, where the Persian Kings were wont to be inaugurated, together with the riches of Susa and Babylon, surpassed what his most sanguine hopes could have promised him. The silver and gold alone amounted to upwards of thirty millions sterling; besides jewels and precious things of inestimable value, in so vast a quantity, that, if Plutarch † may be believed, there was sufficient to load twenty thousand mules and five thousand camels. He also found at Susa the brazen statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which had been carried away from Athens by Xerxes: Alexander took care to have them sent back to that city.

their effect on Alexander and the Macedonians.

THIS excessive opulence had been a source of corruption and ruin to the Persians; and it now proved fatal also to the

* Diod. Sic. Quint. Cur.

† In Alexand.

Greeks.



Greeks. The rough Macedonians began to have a relish for Asiatic luxuries; and many of them, in the sumptuousness of their dress, the delicacy of their tables, the elegance and number of their attendants, and the profusion and richness of their perfumes, had already assumed more of the appearance of effeminate satraps, than of the leaders of a warlike nation †. Alexander himself, however he may be said to have censured these excesses, had given but too much occasion for them; the profuse manner in which he had bestowed those treasures among his servants, furnishing them with temptations to voluptuous indulgences, and with the means of enjoying them; thus making wealth the reward of military merit, which must always, in the end, prove destructive of it.

His own conduct also, after some time, was far from displaying an example, which a good Prince should exhibit to his people; and, whether from natural inclination, or corrupted by Asiatic manners, he appears to have been too often fond of mixing in scenes of revelry and intemperance.

It was on such an occasion, as Plutarch informs us, that he was prevailed on by Thais, the courtesan, to set fire to the royal palace of Persepolis; a structure held in universal admiration for its beauty and magnificence, even in that country, where the eye was familiarized to such objects.

The palace
of Persepolis
burnt,

† See Plutarch's Alexander.



BOOK I. THE King, on a certain day, had made a great entertain-
 Sect. 2. ment for his friends, to which, such was the indelicacy of
 at the insti- manners, women of Thais's character were admitted. When,
 gation of flushed with wine, "This day," cried Thais, "has made
 Thais. "me amends for all my toilsome travels through Asia, by
 "putting it in my power to trample on the proud courts of
 "Persia's Kings. But how much more glorious would it
 "be, to fire the palace of Xerxes, who laid Athens in
 "ruins; and to have it said in future times, that the women
 "of Alexander's train have more signally avenged the cause
 "of Greece against the Persians, than all the generals before
 "him have been able to do!"

THE proposal was received with loud applause, and car-
 ried into immediate execution; the King himself snatching
 up the first torch, and leading the way. Arrian³ makes no
 mention of Thais. He only tells us, that Alexander laid
 the palace of Persepolis in ashes, in revenge of what Xerxes
 had an hundred and fifty years before done to Greece. Par-
 menio endeavoured to prevent this act of phrenzy. But
 Alexander would not be controuled; though he afterwards,
 it is said, repented of it.

Alexander
 resumes the
 pursuit of
 Darius.

IT was now time for him to turn his thoughts to Darius,
 who, assisted by able and faithful servants, might have im-
 proved to useful purpose the long interval which Alexan-
 der's dissipation afforded him. A report, that the Persian
 monarch had raised numerous forces, and was preparing to

³ L. iii. c. 18.



renew the war, called the Macedonian from Persepolis⁶; possibly the artifice of some honest Macedonian, who saw with concern his present inactivity.

BOOK I.
SECT. 2.

THE unhappy Darius had the fate which all despotic princes in their fall generally meet with. Bessus, who attended him in his flight, under a semblance of zeal, concealed the most treacherous designs. He had advised him to take refuge in Bactriana, of which he was governor, where he promised powerful resources, that would enable him to dispute the prize of empire once more. His real design was, to keep possession of his person, and, under sanction of his name, to usurp the regal authority, secure of removing him out of the way, when no longer necessary. Darius soon found reason, in the insolence with which he was treated, to suspect Bessus, and refused to follow him. Provoked at which, the villain, throwing off all disguise, had the assurance to put his sovereign in chains, and to force him along with him.

Bessus's perfidy.

SUCH was the state of things, at the time Alexander resumed the thought of pursuing Darius⁷. Before he had proceeded far, he received information of the treason of Bessus; and, immediately taking with him a body of light horse, gave directions for the rest of his army to hasten after him, and pressed the pursuit with the utmost expedition. He had proceeded in this manner some days, when a Macedonian, named Polystratus, found Darius in his chariot at a small distance from the road, pierced with wounds and

⁶ Arrian, ubi sup.

⁷ Ibid. Quint. Cur. L. v. c. 13. Plut in Alexand.
bathed



BOOK I.
Sect. 2.

Darius murdered by his subjects.

bathed in his blood. It seems Satisbarzanes and Barzaentes, two Persian lords of Bessus's party, had shot him through with their darts, because he did not hasten on with that precipitation which their fears made them think necessary; and had disabled the cattle, and killed the servants that drove them. The only attendant he had left was a favourite dog, whom he had bred*. He had just strength enough to ask for some drink to quench his thirst. And Polystratus having brought water from a neighbouring spring; "Now indeed," said the unfortunate Prince, "do I feel myself completely wretched, since I am not able to reward thee for this act of kindness. But Alexander will not let thee go unrewarded. The gods also will recompense Alexander for his humanity to my mother, my wife, and my children. Tell him, I give him my hand, for I give it to thee in his stead;" so saying, he expired. When Alexander came up, he lamented affectionately over him; and, covering the body with his robe, commanded it to be removed to Persia, and interred in the royal sepulchre.

Fate of Bessus:

ALEXANDER continued his pursuit of Bessus, who had assumed the ensigns of royalty, together with the name of Artaxerxes⁹; a circumstance which probably made him appear still more guilty. It may be sufficient here to observe, that vengeance at length overtook this perfidious traitor, and in a manner worthy of his crime. After flying from province to province, and using every artifice to elude his pursuers, his associates in guilt delivered him into the hands of Ptolemy, by whom he was brought to Alexander; who

* Aelian. hist. animal. L. vi. c. 25.

⁹ Arrian, L. iii. c. 25.



took care to vindicate the majesty of kings by the exemplary punishment inflicted on him ¹⁰. It is, however, matter of surprise, that Satisbarzanes, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign, was, upon his submission, pardoned and promoted. Are we to think, it was not so much the shedding of Darius's blood, as the usurpation of sovereignty, that Alexander thought himself interested in punishing?—The reader will, doubtless, have pleasure in being informed, that, notwithstanding this favour, Satisbarzanes did not escape unpunished. He proved as perfidious to Alexander, as he had been to his own prince; and fell, as he deserved ¹¹.

Book I.
Sect. 2.

of Satisbarzanes:

THERE is one circumstance ¹² in the close of Darius's fortunes, which deserves notice. At the battle of Guagamela, he had near him a body of Greek mercenaries, mostly Phocians. When, urged by his fears, he fled from the field of battle, this faithful band continued to attend him; and not only rejected the proposals, with which Bessus and his accomplices endeavoured to gain them over to their party, but even made offer to Darius, if he would intrust his person to them, to defend him, at the hazard of their lives, against the violence which they perceived was in agitation; but that unfortunate and too generous prince refused to be indebted to strangers for a protection, which he could not obtain from his own subjects;

of Greek mercenaries in Darius's service.

¹⁰ Arrian, L. iii. c. 30. Aristobulus and Ptolemy, from whose memoirs Arrian wrote, relate his death differently. Plutarch also, and Quintus Curtius, give us a circumstantial account, but altogether different, of the manner of his death.

¹¹ See Arrian, L. iii. c. 25 & 28.

¹² Quint. Cur. L. v. c. 12.

thinking,



BOOK I. thinking, perhaps, that to avow his distrust of Bessus would
 Sect. 2. only precipitate matters, and serve as an excuse for the trea-
 son he meditated. When these gallant Greeks perceived that
 Darius's fate was not to be prevented, they declined to have
 farther connection with the traitors, and struck into another
 road¹³. They proceeded afterwards to Alexander, who, in
 consideration of their noble spirit, forgave them, and employ-
 ed most of them in his service.

Fidelity of
 Artabazus
 and his sons.

It is also remarkable, that of all the Persians, none pre-
 served their allegiance inviolate to Darius in his misfortunes,
 but Artabazus and his sons. Their fidelity had its recom-
 pence. Alexander received them at his court, and held them
 ever after in the highest esteem.

Alexander
 reduces a
 number of
 extensive
 provinces.

Bessus seemed to be the principal object of the expedi-
 tion in which Alexander was now engaged, the important
 purposes of conquest¹⁴ were, however, not forgotten. In
 the course of his progress, Alexander saw a succession of
 extensive provinces still opening before him; and he took
 care, as he passed through them, either to accept the sub-
 mission of the several nations, or to reduce them to obedi-
 ence¹⁵. Of this number were the inhabitants of Hyrcania,
 Bactriana,

¹³ Arrian, L. iii. c. 18.

¹⁴ See Arrian, L. iii. c. 23 & seq.

¹⁵ It was in the course of this expedition, when he was at Zadracanta in Hyrcania, that he is said by certain romantic writers of his history, (See Quint. Cur. L. vi. c. 5.) to have had an interview with Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, who, drawn by the fame of his exploits, came with a numerous retinue from the banks of the Thermodon, to visit him, in hopes of having lineage by him. But, besides that neither Aristobulus nor Ptolemy make mention of such an adventure, there



Bactriana, Ariana, Drangiana, Arachosia, Sogdiana, and, in general, of all the countries from the Caspian sea to the Indus, as far northward as the river Jaxartes¹⁶, which, in those days, was the Scythian boundary on this side. Some of these nations, nevertheless, seem not to have been wanting in natural courage, and to have had the advantage of strong holds, which might have bidden their enemies defiance. The rock of Sogdiana, particularly, and that of Chorienes, in the country of the Paraetacae, (if the accounts of antient historians may be depended on) seem to have been nearly impregnable. They were both of an amazing height, and of so steep an ascent, that (even when there was no enemy) the foot could scarcely find a step to rest on; and being surrounded also by rapid torrents and by vast precipices, in which the winter snow remained collected to an immense depth, whosoever slipped in attempting the dangerous path, fell, never to rise again. These rocks, besides, were well garrisoned, and supplied with provisions for a length of years. Alexander, however, partly by stratagem, partly by the terror of his arms, got these and every other place of strength into his power; the wretched inhabitants, wherever he met with resistance, being put to the sword without mercy. It were of little use to follow him

there is good reason to doubt, whether such a people ever existed. The fable, it seems, was the invention of Onesicritus, who served in these very wars, but was fond of the embellishments of fiction. One day, when he was reading this part of his history to Lyfimachus, one of Alexander's chief captains, at that time King of Thrace, "Where was I," said he, smiling, "when all this happened?"—See Plutarch in Alexand. Consult also Arrian, L. vii. c. 13; and Strabo Casaub. L. xi. p. 348.

¹⁶ The Greeks mistook it for the Tanais. Arrian, L. iii. c. 3b.—Consult Strabo, L. xi. p. 356, 357.

K

through



Book I., through all the scenes of carnage and desolation, of which his
 Sect. 2. plan of operations was productive. It may be sufficient to say,
 that not only those, who might be supposed to have shared
 in Bessus's crime, but also every people, who appeared to
 be in possession of any portion of liberty, and had the
 spirit to defend it, felt the utmost severity of relentless
 war¹⁷.

Attempts the
 Scythians :

THE Scythians, famed as they were for their poverty
 and simplicity of manners, could not escape. This people,
 known since by the name of Tartars, occupied, as some of
 their descendents still do, a vast tract of country to the
 north and north-west of Europe and Asia; and were said to
 have been victorious over every nation, that had attempted
 to subdue them. And, what might have induced the Ma-
 cedonian the more to peace, their adjoining tribes had sent
 him an embassy with a tender of friendship. In return, he
 commissioned certain persons to pass into Scythia, and to re-
 port their manner of living, and in what way he might most
 effectually reduce them into subjection. With this view, he
 built a city on the Jaxartes, by means of which he might
 have commanded, at pleasure, a passage into their country.
 But his wonted success failed him here. After making re-
 peated inroads into their borders, and destroying a few of
 their towns, he saw it availed nothing. They drew him in-
 to situations, where he and his troops were in danger of
 perishing: they harrassed him by the abruptness of their
 attacks, and the quickness of their retreats: they surrounded
 parties of his men, when they least expected it, and cut

baffled by
 them.

¹⁷ Arrian, L. iv. c. 1 & seq.

them:



them in pieces without mercy¹⁸: and if ever he joined battle with them, though victorious, he found it impracticable to penetrate those deep defarts, of which none but Scythians could tell the extent, and in which they were always secure of finding refuge. Arrian¹⁹ says, they at last offered peace, which Alexander accepted. If such an offer was ever made, there is reason to believe, that a few only of the least considerable of their tribes, were concerned in it. Probably Alexander was not displeas'd to have a pretence, whatever it might be, for turning his arms against other nations, less capable of resistance.

BOOK I.
Sect. 2.

WHILST the son of Olympias was employed in adding to the number of his conquests, he was losing ground in the affections of his people. Many causes contributed to this; the haughty port he assumed; his absurd ambition of being accounted a god; the contempt he affected to have for Macedonian manners; the pleasure, which he seem'd to take in the servile honours he received from the Asiatics; and, above all, that suspicious and cruel disposition, which now began to appear strongly in him, and of which he had lately given fatal proofs in the case of the unhappy Philotas, and especially in that of Parmenio. This melancholy transaction happened soon after Darius's death, when Alexander was on his expedition in pursuit of Bessus; and was then omitted,

Becomes
haughty, sus-
picious, and
tyrannical.

¹⁸ In one action, it appears from Curtius (vii. 7.) he sustained such loss, that it was made death to those who survived, to divulge what had happened. Probably, this is the action spoken of (Arrian, iv. 6.) in which he tells us, only forty horse and three hundred foot escaped.

¹⁹ Arrian, L. iv. c. 15.



Book I. that it might not break in upon the narrative of the opera-
Sect. 2. tions depending on that expedition. It may, not improperly,
have its place here.

Character of
Parmenio:

PHILOTAS was son to Parmenio, who had served with great distinction under Philip, and had been always honoured with particular marks of confidence by his royal master. When Alexander passed into Asia, Parmenio, in like manner, continued on every occasion to approve himself a faithful and zealous servant; and he enjoyed so large a share of confidence, that in the three great battles, which completed the overthrow of the Persian empire, it was to him the command of the left wing was intrusted, whilst the King himself charged at the head of the other. In all these actions, the only imputation that ever lay against him was, that his anxiety for his master's safety sometimes betrayed him into over-cautious counsels. He was at this time upwards of seventy years of age; of three sons, he had only Philotas left (the two others having fallen in the service of Alexander;) and he had been lately sent to command in Media, which office he discharged with the strictest vigilance and most unblemished integrity.

of his son
Philotas.

WHAT Parmenio had been in his days of vigour, Philotas was now; of acknowledged courage; generous; polished; perhaps somewhat too magnificent in his manner of living; beloved by the soldiers; and highly in favour with Alexander, who had advanced him to the first military honours.

A CERTAIN.



A ²⁰ CERTAIN Macedonian, named Cebalinus, had informed Philotas of some design carried on against Alexander's life by one Dymnus ²¹, and other persons unknown, desiring he would acquaint the King with the particulars. Philotas promised he would; but whether he thought the information frivolous, or whether, as his enemies pretended, from worse motives, he neglected to perform that promise. Cebalinus, discovering this neglect, contrived to have his information conveyed to the King through another channel; at the same time acquainting Alexander, that he had first made his application to Philotas, but without effect.

Book I:
Sect. 2.

Philotas sus-
pected

on slight
grounds :

THIS account had already raised doubts of Philotas in Alexander's mind, when an unlucky incident added to them. Dymnus, the accused person, was sent for; who, to prevent the extorting any confession from him, laid violent hands on himself. This indication of guilt, convinced the King, that some dark purpose had been in agitation; and not knowing on whom to fix his suspicions, he turned them on Philotas, whose motive for concealing the information was now interpreted into an argument of his being privy to the treason. Philotas had nevertheless owned his fault to the King, with the strongest protestations, that his imprudence arose altogether from his mean opinion of the informer; and, in appearance, had satisfied Alexander of his innocence.

²⁰ Arrian, L. iii. c. 26. Quint. Cur. L. vi. c. 7 & seq. Plutarch in Alexand. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. c. 8.

²¹ Quintus Curtius, according to custom, has set off this story with many romantic circumstances.

IT.



Book I. It was exceedingly improbable, that a person, with such
 Sect. 2. means in his power as Philotas possessed, should, during two
 whole days (for this time had elapsed between the first and
 second information) have remained altogether indifferent
 about the matter, had he really been engaged in such a con-
 spiracy; and should have taken no step either to remove
 Cebalinus, or to apprize Dymnus and his accomplices of the
 danger that threatened them.

tortured,

and put to
 death.

BUT his services and merit were too conspicuous, to be
 seen without attracting envy. Some officious counsellors,
 among whom history mentions even Craterus, under pretence
 of concern for Alexander's personal safety, took advantage of the
 King's weak moments, and prevailed on him to have Philo-
 tas examined by torture. He bore this cruelty at first with
 great fortitude, and persisted in asserting his innocence. His
 enemies, nevertheless, were too much interested in his de-
 struction, to permit him to escape. They renewed the
 question, with every circumstance of barbarity, which that
 inhuman mode of examination admits of: exhausted by an-
 guish, he confessed whatever they would have him confess,
 and probably what never had existed, and was instantly shot to
 death.

Parmenio
 put to death.

PARMENIO, Philotas's aged father, still remained. It
 was thought expedient to involve him also in his son's guilt.
 Some historians²² relate, that Philotas had criminated his
 parent when in the agonies of torture; but the falsehood of
 this appears from Arrian²³. There were, however, power-

²² See Quint. Cur. L. vi. c. 11.

²³ See Arrian, L. iii. c. 26; and Plutarch in Alexand.

ful



ful reasons why Parmenio should not escape. He was a man of exalted character; adored by the army; and had been injured in such a manner, that it was not to be imagined he could ever forgive it. Book I. Sect. 2.

THE mean stratagem, indeed, made use of in order to hasten his destruction, proves abundantly, that the King himself was conscious of his innocence. The person pitched upon to go into Media on this errand, where Parmenio commanded, was Polydamas, Parmenio's friend! of whom the old general could not entertain suspicion. To effect his purpose the more securely, he received directions to arrive at an hour when Parmenio might be supposed to have retired to rest; and, before he saw him, to communicate his instructions to certain trusty persons, who might be easily wrought upon to assist in the bloody business which was meditated.

The treachery employed against him.

THUS prepared, in the morning he waited on Parmenio, as if just arrived, and delivered him a letter from the King, and another as from his son, the King having sealed it with Philotas's signet. The King's letter Parmenio, from respect, opened first, which, being written in his usual style of regard and confidence, he read with much pleasure; and, turning to Polydamas, "Will the King," said he, "never put an end to his toils! he tells me, he purposes marching against the Arachosians." He was then preparing to open the letter from Philotas, when Polydamas, and the assassins who had accompanied him, plunged their poniards into his body, and laid him dead at their feet. A few soldiers at a distance were spectators of the deed; who spreading



BOOK I.
Sect. 2.

ing the alarm among the troops, they were ready to tear Polydamas, with his associates, in pieces; and could hardly be restrained, even when convinced that it had been done in obedience to the King's orders.

Alexander
gloomy and
violent;

IN what light the Macedonians regarded these proceedings, was no secret to Alexander. It was still in his power to have removed much of the odium, under which he laboured, by assuming a more gentle and conciliating deportment. But his pride would not permit him. The more he found himself the object of censure, the more gloomy and irritable did he become. He even persisted in avowing his disregard of the Macedonian customs, by the change of his dress, appearing now generally in the pompous garb of an eastern monarch. And, what rendered his conduct yet more offensive, he married a strange woman, Roxana, induced to it merely by the exterior charms she possessed; though in her situation there was somewhat exceedingly humiliating: she was among the prisoners taken at the surrender of the Sogdian rock; and was daughter of Oxyartes, a Bactrian, one of the associates²⁴ of the perfidious Bessus. These several circumstances the Macedonians did not fail to dwell upon with aggravation—A strange woman! a Barbarian! and the daughter of a traitor!

SUCH was the general temper of his army, when Alexander's violence betrayed him into another action²⁵, which, though it had not the same guilt of premeditation as that

²⁴ See Arrian, L. iii. c. 28.

²⁵ Arrian, L. iv. c. 8 & seq. Plutarch in Alexand. Quint. Cor. L. viii. c. 1.

against



against Parmenio, was attended with circumstances not less
aggravating.

Book I.
Sect. 2.

CLITUS has been already mentioned. He was a general of approved valour, and had saved Alexander's life at the Granicus. His sister, also, had nursed Alexander. On these accounts he was particularly dear to his master, notwithstanding his retaining all the roughness of the Macedonian character, which well became the gallant soldier, and in which the now prevailing Asiatic mode had not the power of making the least alteration. It was now a custom with the King, to give frequent entertainments to his officers, at which the laws of sobriety were not often observed. To one of these Clitus had been invited. When warmed with wine, the King's flatterers began to extoll his exploits above those of all the antient heroes and chieftains of Greece, ascribing every success, that had attended his arms, to him alone, and, at the same time, depreciating whatever Philip and his Macedonians had achieved. Clitus was fired. He answered them. Alexander, meanly enough, supported the sycophants. And Clitus again, without due regard to the condition in which he saw the King, retorted with great asperity; reproaching his master with his Persian robe, and the favour now shewn to barbarians, without whose intervention, he said, Macedonians could not even have access to their sovereign; "and yet, despised as we are," continued he, "it was this arm that saved you from the sword of Spithridates; and these very Macedonians are the men, at the expence of whose blood you are now become so great, as to disdain to own Philip for your father, and to pretend yourself the son of Hammon."

provoked by
Clitus,

L

ALEXANDER



BOOK I. ALEXANDER became transported with rage; and, looking
Sect. 2. round for a weapon, had instantly wreaked his vengeance on
 the offender, had not their common friends compelled
 Clitus to retire. But he, not to be restrained by any re-
 presentations, forced in again; when Alexander, wresting
 a javelin from the hand of one of his guards, smote him
 with it as he entered.

kills him.

Alexander's
 compunc-
 tion.

THE bloody deed was no sooner committed, than Alexan-
 der recollected himself. The guilt of the action rushed upon
 his mind with all its aggravations—he had killed, with his
 own hand, his friend! his preserver!—and, snatching the
 javelin out of Clitus's body, he would have pierced himself
 with it, had not his guards interfered.

Improper
 means em-
 ployed to
 pacify him.

EVERY means that humanity or adulation could suggest,
 were employed to pacify the King. Even the aids of super-
 stition were called in. It was Bacchus²⁶, they told him,
 who had wrought the mischief. The King, it seems, had
 omitted certain sacrifices usually celebrated in honour of
 this god; and, in resentment for the neglect, he had taken
 this method of punishing him. Of what the King, therefore,
 seemed to have done, the god was the author. Wretched
 the state of princes, when even their crimes are thus ex-
 plained away! and the sources of instruction stopped
 up!

Wife repre-
 sentations of
 Callisthenes.

THERE was, however, on this occasion, an instance still
 more affecting, of the pernicious influence of servility and

²⁶ See Arrian, L. iv. c. 9, 10,

flattery.



flattery²⁷. Among the King's attendants were two philosophers, Callisthenes and Anaxarchus. The first was a man of rigid virtue. He had been recommended to Alexander by Aristotle, as a valuable sage, on whose wisdom and integrity he might safely depend; and he appears to have supported this character, though his austere manners were not always acceptable to his master. At this conjuncture he behaved to the King with much tenderness, but without disgracing his principles. Incapable of attempting to justify the excesses, of which Alexander had been guilty, he endeavoured to bring him back to a proper sense of what he owed to the dignity of the regal office, with which he was invested, and to convince him, that the only reparation he had now to make was, to be more on his guard in future, against those fatal violences into which he had been hurried.

BOOK I.
SECT. 2.

THE other, Anaxarchus, rather a vile sophist than a philosopher, talked to his master as if he sought to erase from his mind every humane and generous sentiment. "What!" said he, "is the King cast down thus! Does not Alexander know, that justice is what he wills it to be? that his pleasure is the measure of right and wrong? *and therefore have the poets feigned, that JUSTICE IS SEATED ON THE THRONE OF JUPITER, because, wherever Supreme Power is, Justice is there also.*" Historians have observed, that Anaxarchus succeeded but too well. Alexander readily believed what the flattering sycophant inculcated, and became every day more haughty and more despotic.

The servile
flattery of
Anaxarchus:

²⁷ Arrian, ubi sup. Plutarch in Alexand.



BOOK I. FROM this time, he certainly appears to have expected
 Sect. 2. from the Macedonians themselves, a more abject submission
 than he had hitherto ventured to require. The adventure of the
 temple of Hammon shews, even at an early period, what his
 views were. He could not seriously suppose himself a god ;
 but he wished that others should believe him one. And in
 this idea, he had suffered himself to be fortified by the mean-
 adulation of the sophists he was surrounded with, and by
 the servile prostrations with which the slavish Persians ap-
 proached him.

Anaxarchus
 proposes that
 Alexander
 should re-
 ceive divine
 honours ;

It was agreed²⁸ to try, whether the Macedonians might
 not be prevailed on to imitate the example. Accordingly,
 at a royal banquet, when the company began to be elevated,
 and every heart to open to festivity and cheerfulness, the
 proposal was made in form by Anaxarchus. " There was
 " no doubt," he said, " but such glorious exploits as Alex-
 " ander had achieved, challenged every honour the Mace-
 " donians had to bestow. Neither Hercules, nor even
 " Bacchus, had equalled what he had performed ; and yet
 " Macedon numbered them, though both of foreign ex-
 " traction, among her gods. How much more justly
 " might the like honours be paid to a prince, who was
 " their own, and in whose glories they were directly in-
 " terested ? — When he was removed from among them,
 " divine honours must of course be his ; and there-
 " fore to pay them now, was only an anticipation of
 " zealous homage, which must be the more acceptable to

²⁸ It is evident from Arrian, (L. iv. c. 10.) that the matter had been concerted
 with Alexander.

" Alexander,



“ Alexander, as he should thereby have an opportunity, Book I.
 “ whilst present with them, of enjoying their grateful Sect. 2.
 “ adoration.”

SURPRISE and indignation sat painted on the countenance of every honest Macedonian. Whilst the persons who had been appointed to be the principal performers in the farce answered Anaxarchus's proposal with a burst of applause, and were preparing to carry the scheme into immediate execution; when Callisthenes interposed:

“ Whatever honours can be paid to mortals, are, I confess, O Arxarchus, justly due to Alexander. Among all the commanders recorded in the annals of time, he is, I acknowledge, the first in counsel, the first in valour; and of all the princes of the earth, he is beyond comparison the most illustrious. But still the immortal gods are far above him; and very different are the honours due to them. It were blasphemy to confound the one with the other. What would Alexander himself say, should any person presume to usurp those exalted honours of royalty,

Callisthenes
opposes it.

Speeches of this kind are often considered as the wanton sportings of the historian's fancy. This speech deserves to be thought of differently. From the principles avowed in it, and the fate of Callisthenes in consequence of those principles, we are warranted to conjecture, that Arrian had it from those respectable memoirs of Aristobulus and Ptolemy, which are known to have been the ground-work of his history. The cause, which Callisthenes pleads here, was in fact the cause of Greece, that those sons of freedom should not have their necks bent down to the same servile yoke, to which the Asiatics had been subjected; and therefore it was a cause to which those two officers, at least at that time, must have wished well, and the defence of which they must with pleasure have recorded.

This noble monument of Grecian manners, the learned reader will find at length in Arrian, L. iv. c. 11.



Book I. " which belong to him. And shall the gods be less jealous
 Sect. 2. " of what belongs to them, and neglect to vindicate their
 " majesty?—Were it even to be supposed, that the King
 " could be capable of entertaining such presumptuous
 " thoughts, you yourself, O Anaxarchus, who are admit-
 " ted to share his private hours, should be the first to re-
 " claim him from an error so prejudicial to his fame, so in-
 " consistent with his piety.—You surely must have forgot-
 " ten, who he is, to whom you propose to pay adoration ;
 " not a Cambyfes, not a Xerxes, but the son of Philip,
 " the descendent of princes who governed Macedon, not
 " with arbitrary sway, but according to the rule of law.—
 " If, however, O Alexander, you are taught to believe,
 " that you owe regard to the customs of those numerous
 " Asiatic nations among whom you are ; and that we Greeks,
 " because few in number, are to be looked upon as of no
 " account, let me recall to your remembrance, that this
 " war was undertaken by you, not that Greece should be-
 " come dependent upon Asia, but Asia the dependent of
 " Greece.—Consider besides, in what difficulties such claims
 " must involve you, when you return home. For is it
 " to be imagined, that the gallant Greeks, those spirited
 " sons of liberty, will ever fall prostrate before you ? or, is
 " this reproach meant only for your Macedonians ? or, shall
 " the barbarians alone honour you as a god ? and, from all
 " the rest of your empire, will you be content to receive
 " what a mortal ought to be content with ? — Neither
 " let the practice of the princes of this empire tempt
 " any one to imitate them. Cyrus, they tell us, had di-
 " vine honours paid to him. Admit that he had ; god as
 " he was, the Scythians, poor but free, chastised his inso-
 " lence.



“lence. Others of the same nation put Darius, though
 “equally honoured, to flight. Xerxes, revered likewise as
 “a god, escaped with difficulty from the vengeful arms of
 “Athens and Sparta. Clearchus and Xenophon bade defi-
 “ance to Artaxerxes, who, like his predecessors, was also
 “adored; and the last Darius, before whom so many na-
 “tions prostrated themselves, has our Alexander, though
 “but a mere mortal, brought to destruction.”

Book I.
 Sect. 2.

THE severity of this remonstrance made Alexander himself shrink beneath it. The mention of the chastisement of the Persian Kings by the Scythians; by those very Scythians who had checked the arms, and tarnished the glory, of the son of Philip, sunk deep into his mind. He read, at the same time, in the faces of those Macedonians around him, who had not yet bowed their necks to the yoke, the same independent spirit, and the same free principles. He saw the danger of pressing the unmanly proposition. His haughtiness forsook him. He whispered to his creatures to waive the point. They were to confine their endeavours to personal and private solicitation; and he appeared to content himself with the prostration of those alone, who seemed willing to debase the dignity of human nature.

Alexander's
 conduct on
 that occasion.

It was, however, evident, that the disappointment mortified Alexander severely. He refused to Callisthenes the kiss, with which it was customary for the King, at the conclusion of the banquet, to honour his guests. “Then,” said the philosopher, “I retire one kiss the poorer.” And one of his principal officers having ventured to ridicule some person, who, in the act of adoration, beat his chin against the

His resent-
 ment against
 Callisthenes.



Book I. the ground, by bidding him "strike with more fer-
Sect. 2. vency," the pleasantry had nearly cost him his life; the
King with great difficulty having been prevailed on to for-
give him.

Hermolaus
feverely treat-
ed by Alex-
ander;

conspires
against him.

Callisthenes
accused of
having en-
couraged the
conspiracy,

CALLISTHENES soon felt the effects of the King's resent-
ment. There was a band of youths of the first families of
Macedon, whose office it was to attend the King's person,
from which corps they were advanced, as they grew up,
to some military command. One of these, named Hermo-
laus, had, in the heat of the chace, struck down a boar just
as the King was taking aim at him. Provoked at which,
Alexander commanded him to be scourged, and his horse
taken from him. The indignity sunk deep in the mind of
the youth; and, having communicated his grief to some of
his intimates, he prevailed on them to assist in revenging
him on the King.

THE conspiracy having been discovered, it was suggested
to Alexander ³⁰, that Hermolaus and his fellows were ad-
mirers of Callisthenes, and often resorted to him. This
was enough for Alexander. "His instructions," said he,
"have taught them to conspire against me." The philosopher
was immediately taken into custody, and, unconvicted, un-

³⁰ Some writers, among whom Arrian mentions Aristobulus and Ptolemy, say,
that Hermolaus and his associates, in the agonies of torture, charged Callis-
thenes. Others deny this, and impute his condemnation to the resentment Alex-
ander had conceived against him, on account of his freedom of speech.—See Arrian,
L. iv. c. 14.

heard,



heard, was sentenced to death. There is reason to believe he was executed privately³¹. The manner in which Hermolaus had behaved at the time of his death, made Alexander cautious of venturing another public execution. Undaunted at his approaching fate, he keenly reproached the King with all his late violences and excesses, which had disgraced him—his condemnation of Philotas, upon presumption of guilt, unsupported by proof—his murder of Parmenio—his killing of Clitus—his affectation of Persian fashions—his arrogant and insulting deportment—his frequent and dissolute banquetings—his contempt of the laws of his country.

BOOK I.
Sect. 2.

put to death.

Hermolaus's
boldness at
the time of
his execution.

+ALEXANDER saw the expediency of drawing the attention of his subjects away from these gloomy scenes, which but too plainly discovered to their view the fierce despotism he was preparing for them. +The occupations and bustle of war were now become a necessary resource. After having therefore provided for the peace of the newly-conquered provinces, by quelling domestic insurrections, and securing their frontiers against the inroads of the neighbouring Scythians, he determined to employ his arms in the reduction of the Indies; an expedition which seemed to promise a large field for adventure and enterprize, and was also well calculated to

Alexander
invades the
Indies.

³¹ This may be collected from the different accounts we have concerning the manner of his death. Plutarch relates it one way; Diogenes Laertius in another; Quintus Curtius in another; Ptolemy, Arrian tells us, pretended he had been put to the rack, and then crucified. Aristobulus said, he had been kept in chains for a considerable time, and at last died a natural death. Consult Arrian in the place last quoted. Consult also Diogenes Laertius in Aristotele.



BOOK I. soothe the vanity of the Greeks. An idle report was
Sect. 2. propagated, that this country had been visited by Hercules
 and Bacchus ¹², and that here many of their achievements
 had been performed. Alexander took care, at entering upon
 the present expedition, to encourage this belief. The city
 of Nyssa, they were told, had been founded by Bacchus
 himself. In one place was shewn to them the identical
 boundaries that Hercules had set up; and in many parts they
 met with the descendants of the Greeks who had fought under
 the banners of these deified heroes. †

Fictions con-
 cerning the
 exploits of
 Bacchus and
 Hercules.

Alexander's
 successes.

† It does not appear, however, that Alexander respected much
 these pretended traces of Grecian lineage. He reduced in-
 to subjection every people he visited; sparing none who pre-
 sumed to oppose him. At Massaga particularly, the chief
 city of a nation called the Assaceni, he carried his cruelty to
 an excess, which those historians, who favour him most,
 find it difficult to palliate. He met here with a vigorous
 resistance, the city being of some strength, and the sovereign
 of the country having called in a reinforcement of seven
 thousand mercenary Indians. At length Alexander compelled
 him to surrender, the garrison having first stipulated, that
 they should *march out* in safety. They *marched out* accordingly;

¹² It seems difficult to fix, with any degree of precision, who the Indian Hercules
 was: it only appears from Arrian (Hist. Ind. 9.) that he was posterior to Bacchus by
 fifteen generations. Probably he was Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia (Strabo, L. xv.
 calls him Tearcon.) His invasion of the Assyrian provinces was prior to Alexander's
 by about 400 years.

The Bacchus of the Indies is supposed to have been S-sostris or Sefac king of
 Egypt: his expedition into India was about 650 years before that of Alexander.

See Sir I. Newton's Chron. of Ant. Kingdoms.



when Alexander basely pretended, that his promise extended no farther, and had them afterwards, when at some distance from the city, surrounded and cut to pieces. Arrian ³³ says, they had engaged to enter into his service, and that he was informed they meant to escape back into their own country. Plutarch allows ³⁴ that this transaction has left a lasting stain on the memory of the conqueror. †

Book I.
Sect. 2.

† BUT of all his exploits, that which flattered Alexander's vanity most, was the taking of the Aornos ³⁵, a vast rock, near the sources of the Indus. The Greeks had given it this name, on account of its stupendous height, which, together with its situation, and the steepness of its ascent, seemed to render it impregnable. Hercules himself, fiction related, had failed before it. The most warlike of the inhabitants of the country had, besides, stationed themselves here, with every means of defence within the compass of their military science. Alexander, notwithstanding, did what Hercules could not perform. After some attempts of little moment, the Indians, struck with wonder at the execution of the machines which the Macedonians used, and the boldness of their works, abandoned the place ³⁶. †

Takes the
Aornos:

³³ L. iv. c. 26, 27.

³⁴ In Alexand.

³⁵ This word, evidently of Greek extraction, is probably a translation of the Indian name, *beyond the flight of bird*; an exaggerated manner of expression, which, from what little we know of their language, seems to have been familiar to them.

³⁶ See Arrian, L. iv. c. 28.



BOOK I. + THE people, against whom all these martial terrors were
 Sect. 2. employed, are nevertheless represented ³⁷ to have been
 Character of strictly just; humane; peaceable; inoffensive; and such
 the inhabi- religious observers of the rights of mankind, that the name
 tants, of slavery was unknown among them. They were remark-
 able for their police; the whole nation being divided into
 seven *casts*, or distinct professions, which were continued
 down from father to son, no person being permitted to pass,
 or even to marry into another. Of these, they who were em-
 ployed in the cultivation of the land, or the tending of flocks,
 were held in particular honour, and enjoyed a perpetual ex-
 emption from military service. Over the several *casts*
 inspectors were appointed, who reported to the King the
 conduct of each individual, and who, says Arrian, admini-
 stered their trust with such unblemished integrity, that no
 instance had ever been known of their having been guilty
 of a malicious representation. The modern ³⁸ traveller sees
 with admiration, the remains of this order of establishments
 subsisting at this day among the tribes of Hindostan. But
 neither from the wisdom of their institutions, nor from the
 innocence of their manners, could they obtain protection. +

The Indian
 chieftains,
 from the In-
 dus to the
 Hydaspes,
 submit to
 Alexander.

+ THAT portion of India, which was the scene of Alexan-
 der's operations, lay far to the westward of the Ganges, and,
 according to Arrian, may be divided into three parts; that
 situated to the west of the Indus; that between the Indus
 and the Hydaspes; and that between the Hydaspes and the

³⁷ Arrian Hist Ind. c. 10 & seq. See also Strabo, L. xv. p. 484 & seq.

³⁸ See L'Abbé Raynal, Hist. Phil. L. i. c. 4.



Hýphasis. The first of these districts Alexander soon reduced, the natives being unable to make much resistance; the fate of two or three of their cities having intimidated the rest. He then passed the Indus. Taxiles reigned here. He appears to have been a warlike prince, and possessed of an extensive and powerful kingdom; but the fame of Alexander's arms had already subdued him.[†] He submitted himself and his dominions to be disposed of as the conqueror pleased. [†]His neighbour, Abissarus, king of the Indians of the mountains, hastened in like manner to avert the destruction that threatened him: and such was the terror which had fallen on the whole land, that there seemed to be an end of all opposition ³⁹. †

†PORUS, who reigned beyond the Hydaspes, had other thoughts. He assembled his forces, and, regardless of the name and power of his foe, resolved to preserve his independence, or to perish in the attempt. Instead, therefore, of seeing him a tame suppliant, Alexander beheld him guarding the passes of the river, at the head of a formidable army, and directing his operations with all the capacity and spirit of an experienced and undaunted warrior. It was now the summer-solstice, when the several rivers under the equator, swollen by the melting of the mountain-snows, and the heavy rains which fall during that season, especially on the higher grounds, overflow their banks; so that the Hydaspes, from its vast breadth, had rather the appearance of a sea than a river. It was, besides, uncommonly deep and rapid, whilst the narrower and more shallow parts,

Porus resolves to oppose Alexander's progress.

Alexander attempts to pass the Hydaspes,

in vain.

³⁹ Arrian. L. v. c. 8.

.which



BOOK I. which cavalry might have attempted to cross, were, on the
 Sect. 2. opposite side, defended by lines of elephants, to which
 horses have a strong and almost invincible antipathy. †

He has re-
 course to ar-
 tifice.

† AFTER many fruitless efforts, Alexander, finding it impos-
 sible to gain his point by open force, determined to try
 whether he could deceive the enemy ⁴⁰. Accordingly, for
 several days he presented himself, as if preparing to pass
 over; which, as often as it was done, brought Porus to the
 edge of the water, threatening a vigorous resistance. This
 manœuvre having been repeated time after time, without
 any farther attempt, was at length considered by the Indian
 as a feint, of which the intention was only to harass his
 troops. Instead, therefore, of following Alexander in all
 his motions, he contented himself with sending parties up
 and down the river to reconnoitre. In this situation of
 things, Alexander set about the execution of his plan. †

His plan.

† A FEW miles higher up, a part of the river ran much
 narrower, by means of a jutting rock, and the winding of
 the land; and about the middle of the channel, opposite to the
 rock, lay a small desert island. This spot Alexander had fixed
 upon, in hopes, that, if he could get his troops over to the
 island, he might easily from thence penetrate further. In
 this view, some large barges, with a number of rafts, and
 stuffed leathern bags, for the purpose of ferrying over the
 army, had been privately conveyed at different times to a
 wood, which skirted that part of the river, and there lay
 concealed. Having given directions, that the usual appear-

⁴⁰ Arrian, L. v, c. 10. Plut. in Alexand.



ances should be kept up throughout the camp; that the royal tent, which was within view of the Indians, should have the same parade of guards and attendants, as if he were there in person; and that, as soon as night came on, they should keep the enemy in continual alarm, by lighting fires in different places, by frequent shoutings, and the tumult and trampling of men and horses, as if the army was preparing to cross over; Alexander, towards the decline of day, filed off for the appointed rendezvous, at the head of a considerable body of troops, by a road leading from the back part of the camp, not within observation of the enemy's scouting parties. Fortunately, by the time he got to that part of the bank from whence the attempt was to be made, the night became exceedingly tempestuous, so that, though the river happened to be much deeper, and the passage far more difficult, than he expected, yet the darkness of the night, and the violence of the storm, concealed him so effectually from the enemy, that, before they were apprized of his purpose, he had already reached the island. +

+ FROM this island, he had imagined the passage to the opposite shore admitted of no difficulty. He now found there was another island to be crossed, and beyond it a considerable gut, in which the swell was so high from the late fall of rain, that the horses were up to their necks. By this time too it was day-light; and the weather having cleared up, he perceived that the enemy had full view of him, and were hastening from every part to oppose his landing. +

He passes the Hydaspes.

NOTWITHSTANDING.



BOOK I. + NOTWITHSTANDING all these difficulties, Alexander
 Sect. 2. passed on, and was already on firm ground, when the first
 detachment of Porus's troops came up with him; whom he
 instantly charged and cut to pieces. +

defeats a
 party of In-
 dians.

+ UPON receiving notice of the Macedonians passing the river, Porus, who thought it was only a small detachment of little consequence, had dispatched against them his son with a party of horse and some armed chariots; but a second account informing him, that this party was defeated, his son slain, and the enemy led on by Alexander himself, he immediately formed his army in order of battle, and advanced to meet him. +

Porus marches
 against
 him.

+ THE intrepid manner ⁴¹ of the Indian chieftain, and the skilful disposition he had made, shewed Alexander that he had not a common enemy to contend with. Porus's cavalry, flanked by a number of armed chariots, formed the wings of his army. His infantry, in number about thirty thousand, composed his main body, in the front of which he had placed his elephants, at such distances, that it was not possible for Alexander's cavalry to make impression on this line, the very sight and smell of these animals deterring the horses from approaching; whilst the foot, had they attempted to break in upon this disposition, were not only in imminent danger of being trampled down by these tremendous creatures, but were exposed to the deadly aim of numbers of Indian marksmen ⁴². +

⁴¹ Arrian, L. v. c. 15 & seq.

⁴² OLYMP. cxiii. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 327.

ALEXANDER



+ALEXANDER perceived at once what was proper to be done. His main body he commanded to halt at some distance from the main body of the enemy; and, having detached Coenus to attack the right wing, with directions to wheel round as soon as possible, and fall on the enemy's rear, he at the same time, in person, charged their left wing. This unexpected operation threw the Indians into confusion. Attacked both in front and rear, their cavalry, in which they were weakest, were soon dispersed; and Alexander, having thus laid open the flank of their main body, pushed on, whilst the Macedonian phalanx, who had now orders to advance, took advantage of the enemy's broken condition, and, getting between the elephants, inclosed them, and either disabled, or drove them back upon the Indian troops. +

BOOK I.
SECT. 2.

Alexander
attacks and
defeats him.

+BUT what completed the ruin of the Indian army, was a movement of Craterus, who commanded in the Macedonian camp. As soon as he saw the battle incline in favour of Alexander, he instantly crossed the Hydaspes, pursuant to instructions left with him, and pouring in his fresh troops on this fatigued and dispirited enemy, made dreadful havock, and fixed decisively the fortune of the day. +

+PORUS, amidst this general discomfiture, still preserved an unconquered mind; and though wounded, and left almost alone, refused to quit the field of battle. Alexander, who saw his danger, and admired his valour, wished to save him, and sent Taxiles to persuade him to surrender. "Base betrayer of thy country!" said Porus to him, as soon as he approached; and would instantly have slain him, had he

Porus's spirit;

N

not



BOOK I.
Sect. 2.

prevailed on
to surrender
to Alexander.

not saved himself by flight. Meroes, an Indian, who was on terms of friendship with Porus, was then sent, who, having represented how ineffectual any farther opposition was, with the gracious treatment he might be assured of, he at length prevailed on him to approach Alexander. The conqueror beheld the vanquished Prince with admiration. Porus had, as historians tell us, an uncommon dignity in his appearance; his stature was much above the usual size, and his eye betrayed nothing of his present fortune. "How do you require I should treat you?" said Alexander to him. "As a King," answered the other. "As a King, I shall, doubtless," replied Alexander; "the regard I owe to myself demands it of me. But have you nothing to ask on your own private account?"—"To be treated as a King," said the royal prisoner, "implies every thing." Moved by this greatness of spirit, Alexander restored him to his kingdom, and endeavoured to make compensation for what he had suffered, if any thing could make this Prince amends for the unprovoked slaughter of his people, and the death of his two sons, the second having fallen in the last action. Alexander, however, found Porus ever afterwards to remain one of his most faithful allies. †

The devastations committed by Alexander, from the Hydaspes to the Hyphasis.

† OTHER wars succeeded. There were several princes in the country, who had not yet submitted; and this was a crime which Alexander could not forgive. What Arrian relates ⁴², seems indeed to exceed all belief; that in this part of India, between the Hydaspes and the Hyphasis, he subdued seven different nations, and took two thousand cities;

⁴² L. vi. c. 2.

of



of these, thirty-seven belonged to the Glaufæ alone ⁴³, not one of which, says Arrian, had fewer than five thousand inhabitants, and many above ten thousand; besides a number of villages, peopled in proportion. | Some were still more populous; seventeen thousand being slain, and seventy thousand made prisoners, at the sacking of Sangala ⁴⁴, which he laid in ruins, because the inhabitants had the insolence to make a vigorous defence. Allowing even these numbers to be greatly exaggerated, we may nevertheless conclude, that this country must then have been exceedingly populous ⁴⁵, and in a very high state of cultivation. †

BOOK I.
Sect. 2.

† WHEN the Macedonian found there was nothing more for him to subdue on this side the Hyphasis, he proposed to pass on to the Ganges. There, he was told, he should meet with several rich and mighty kingdoms, whose inhabitants were famed for their skill in husbandry, their valour, and their wisdom, and who were possessed of elephants larger than any he had yet beheld.† These were powerful incitements for him to make trial of their strength; as if it had been his glory to deface whatever was fair and lovely among men, and, to the decencies and blessings of social life, to substitute horror and devastation.

Proposes to
pass on to the
Ganges.

† BUT his soldiers refused to proceed. Worn out with toil, to which they saw no end, and, perhaps, not insensible to

His soldiers
refuse to proceed.

⁴³ L. v. c. 20.

⁴⁴ Arrian, L. v. c. 24.

⁴⁵ After the reduction of Indostan by the Tartars, the population of the country amounted, according to Raynal (L. iv. c. 11.) to an hundred millions of Indians, and ten millions of Tartars. †



Book I.
Sect. 2.

His plan of
conquering
all the na-
tions of the
earth.

the miseries, of which they had so often been the instruments, they demanded, that he should now think of returning. Alexander expostulated with them. He laid before them the glorious plan he had formed; the execution of which, he told them, was to give them possession of boundless treasure, and would render their names illustrious to latest times—he proposed “to pursue his conquests to the Ganges; and from thence to make his way to the eastern ocean—thence they were to have the opportunity of passing from sea to sea, and of visiting many unknown lands, one great ocean, he told them, encompassing the whole earth—that afterwards, sailing along the whole coast of Africa, they should return by Hercules’s pillars, thus completing the conquest of all the Asiatic and African nations—and that whatever should then appear to be the boundaries of the world, those he would establish for the boundaries of his empire”⁴⁶.†

† HAD this visionary project been handed down to us upon the authority of Curtius, we should be apt to consider it as one of those romantic embellishments, which this author has interwoven in many parts of his history; but we have it upon the word of the sober Arrian, who wrote from authentic memoirs of respectable witnesses; to whose charge, if any thing can be laid, it is, that they have sought rather to extenuate the excesses and follies of this firm but vain-glorious Prince. †

† FROM this account, it is easy to perceive, that Alexander had a view also to Rome. Arrian⁴⁷, in another place, con-

⁴⁶ Arrian, L. v. c. 25, 26.

⁴⁷ L. vii. c. 1.



fesses, it was generally believed that he had. Other writers are more explicit. They tell us expressly, that he declared his intentions of carrying his arms into Italy, as soon as he had made an end of conquering the other nations of the earth. †

Book I.
Sect. 2.

† In order to gain over his soldiers, he made use of every argument that unsatisfied ambition could suggest; he descended to solicitations; he chose rather, he told them, to entreat than to command; he conjured them to remember, in what manner he had lived among them, in what estimation he held their achievements, how bountifully he had rewarded their valour and fidelity. But his men were not to be moved. When he had done speaking, a sullen silence ensued; the whole army expressing by their looks the strongest marks of disapprobation, though fearful of exciting his wrath by an avowed opposition. †

He employs solicitations to prevail on his army to accompany him;

but without effect.

† At length Coenus, an officer of the first rank, whom years and services rendered respectable, ventured to reply⁴⁸: †

“ Since, O King, you are pleased to declare, that you mean not to command but to persuade, and that you yourself are ready to comply with the wishes of your army, if it shall appear there is conviction in the arguments which they have to offer, I rise to speak, not in behalf of us your principal officers, who, distinguished by your favour, see ourselves promoted to the first military ho-

Coenus's remonstrance.

⁴⁸ Arrian, L. v. c. 27.

“ nours;



BOOK I. "nours; for, whithersoever your orders shall call us, we
 Sect. 2. "are ready to obey; I rise to speak in behalf only of these
 "your faithful soldiers. †

† NEITHER in behalf even of them, would I presume
 "to speak, were it merely *their* interest I had in view.
 "A much higher regard urges me; a regard to your royal
 "person; a regard to the conservation of your sacred
 "life. †

† ON many accounts I think myself called upon to stand
 "forth on this important occasion: these grey hairs of
 "mine; the honours you have graced me with; the life
 "I have lived, amidst toils and dangers; seem all to require
 "of me, that I should, on this day, honestly speak what
 "I think it is expedient for you to hear. †

† THE greater our dangers and fatigues have been, the more
 "numerous and illustrious the exploits achieved by you
 "and the troops under your command, the stronger reason
 "there is to beseech you to put an end to our labours, and
 "to rest contented with that large portion of glory you
 "have acquired. †

† CAST your eyes around. Of all the Greeks and Mace-
 "donians that accompanied you from Europe, see, how
 "few of us remain! The Thessalians, worn out in the
 "service, you have already dismissed. Numbers of the
 "other Greeks have perished by the sword and by disease,
 "in the course of the many wars you have been engaged
 "in. The greater number of those who survive, you have
 "been



“ been under the necessity of leaving behind in different
 “ parts of Asia, disabled by wounds, or weakened by in- BOOK I.
 “ firmity, cut off from the hopes of ever beholding Greece Sect. 2.
 “ more : and even the few who yet remain with you, and
 “ still retain some appearance of vigour, have neither that
 “ firmness of body, nor that strength of mind, which they
 “ had at the beginning. They languish for their native home,
 “ looking wishfully for the day that shall again restore
 “ them to their parents, their wives, and their children. †

† WONDER not, O King, that this desire should work
 “ strongly within them. You yourself have given it
 “ strength. You have enriched them with wealth ; you
 “ have graced them with honours : they long to shew
 “ to their nearest connections, those ornaments which they
 “ have received from you.—Compel not, therefore, men to
 “ follow you, who can no longer have the same affection
 “ for the service they once had ; whose bodies are averse
 “ from toil, and whose minds are sunk into dejection. †

† THINK also, that you have a parent in Greece, who
 “ anxiously waits your return, and a kingdom that demands
 “ your attention. Full of glory, and laden with the spoils
 “ of Asia, you will have the joy of making a people happy,
 “ and a mother blest. †

† AND should you hereafter be disposed to go again to
 “ war, either against the Indians, or against Carthage and
 “ the Lybian nations, you will have soldiers from every part
 “ of Macedon crowding to your standard ; not men such as
 “ these, bent by years, and subdued by labour ; but soldiers
 “ fresh.



BOOK I. "fresh and vigorous, who will think lightly of toils they
 Sect. 2. "are not acquainted with, and will cheerfully encounter
 "the sharpest dangers, in expectation of such rewards as
 "these your old soldiers now possess. †

"† MODERATION, amidst the allurements of prosperity, is
 "man's highest glory. This glory, O King, be thine.
 "Success has hitherto attended your arms; you cannot be
 "assured that it shall always attend them; for, though
 "with such an army, led by such a King, we bid defiance
 "to the power of enemies, yet fortune may change on a
 "sudden, and blast our fairest hopes." †

† WE are indebted to Arrian for this interesting speech.
 Though the texture of it is evidently the work of the histo-
 rian, it is nevertheless exceedingly valuable, as it may be
 supposed to be a just representation, both of the manner of
 thinking of Alexander's army, and of the many miseries,
 which his boasted conquests had brought even upon his own
 subjects; the strength of Greece being wasted in a foreign
 land, whilst the domestic weal was abandoned to the rage of
 struggling factions! †

The impres-
 sion Coenus's
 speech made
 on the army.

† As soon as Coenus had ended, a murmur of applause ran
 through the whole assembly. And, what was most affecting,
 the tender sentiments, with which their hearts were im-
 pressed, being all awakened by this pathetic oration, most of
 these gallant warriors appeared bathed in tears " †

† Arrian, L. v. c. 28.

ALEXANDER



+ALEXANDER, nevertheless, remained unmoved, and flung from the assembly, with marks of strong resentment. +

Book I.
Sect. 2.

+NEXT day he convened them again. "I shall go on," said he to them; "but I shall not desire a Macedonian to follow me. There are *men* who will not desert their King. "Return home when you please; and inform your countrymen, that you have left Alexander in the midst of hostile nations." +

Alexander's
resentment,
and reproaches.

+RETIRING then to his tent, he remained shut up until the third day, not even his friends being allowed admittance. +

+HE expected, that the love, which he knew his army bore to him, and the dread of his displeasure, would make them desist from their purpose. No symptom of this appearing, he endeavoured to interest their superstition. Sacrifices were appointed, and the entrails of victims consulted; but the priests deserted him on this occasion. Thus beset with difficulties, he at length acquiesced; and, to the great joy of his army, gave directions that they should prepare to return ⁵⁰. +

Attempts to
work on their
superstitions;

fails;

seems to yield
to the wishes
of his army.

+His vanity, however, still displayed itself. He contrived to have arms much larger than his men could wield, and higher mangers and heavier bits than his horses required, left buried in the earth, or scattered throughout the territory that had set bounds to his conquests. He caused also twelve altars of an amazing size to be raised on the

His vanity,

⁵⁰ Arrian, ubi sup.



Book I.
Sect. 2.

and folly.

eastern side of the Hyphasis, and a camp to be laid out upon a much larger scale than usual. All this, to induce afterwards to believe, that himself and his men had the might and stature of giants. And on these altars, if we are to believe Philostratus, were left inscriptions suitable to the folly and arrogance of the builder:—"to father Hammon"—"to brother Hercules"—"to brother Apollo".†

We are almost tempted to question the veracity of ancient historians, when they recite excesses of such palpable absurdity.

† Philost. de vitâ Apoll. Tyan. L. ii. c. 15.

‡ About this time died Coenus, much lamented by the whole army, to whom he was justly dear, and even mourned by Alexander himself, who could not but honour the probity and noble spirit of this generous soldier. †

* Quintus Curtius puts, nevertheless, a silly jest in Alexander's mouth on the occasion.

See Quint. Cur. L. ix. c. 3.

BOOK



B O O K I.

S E C T I O N III.

C O N T E N T S.

Alexander visits the Indian ocean—Returns by the inhospitable tract of Gadrosia—The loss he sustains—Iniquitous conduct and punishment of the governors he had appointed—His army mutinies—He reduces them to obedience—Hephaestion dies—Alexander's excesses on that occasion—Returns to Babylon—Is distressed by ill-boding omens—Has recourse to intemperance—Dies—His character—The judgment to be formed of his achievements; and the benefits of which they have been productive.

† **I**T might well be supposed, that Alexander's busy and lofty spirit would not long remain easy under restraints, to which nothing but the necessity of his affairs had made him submit. His restless ambition began immediately to seek for new objects. And new objects soon opened to his view. The part of India he had traversed is intersected by five great

Book I.
Sect. 3.

Alexander, in his way homeward, prepares to visit the Indian ocean.

Arrian, L. vi. c. 1 & seq. Plutarch in Alexand. Quint, Cur. L. ix. c. 3.
Diod. Sic. L. xvii. c. 10.



Book I.
Sect. 3.

navigable rivers, which, he was told, after taking their course through many nations, not less rich and populous than those he had visited, discharged themselves into a vast ocean abounding with prodigies. Every circumstance made him eager to attempt the enterprize. The Greeks also, naturally curious, and who were assured they might return by this route into Persia, were not averse from an expedition, which, besides other advantages, seemed to bring them on their way towards their native country. †

Falls down
the Hydaspis.

† A FLEET was accordingly fitted out, and the command of it given to Nearchus, with directions to fall down the Hydaspis, whilst the army moved along its banks; Alexander himself embarking with a party of cavalry and a considerable body of cuirassiers[†]. They had continued their navigation for some days, when an accident, of which he had been apprized by the natives of the country, had nearly put an end to his whole project. The rivers of this part of India fall the one into the other², and at every confluence

² We have, from the accurate Arrian (vi. 14.) an exact account of these several confluences. The five rivers of this part of India are the Indus, the Hydaspis, the Acesines, the Hydraotes, and the Hyphasis. Upon the confluence of the Hydaspis and Acesines, the name of the former is lost, and the river takes that of Acesines; it is afterwards joined by the Hydraotes, and then by the Hyphasis, still retaining the name of Acesines, and at last falls into the Indus; under which name all these waters conjoined empty themselves into the sea. According to Ctesias (See Arrian, v. 3, 4.) the Indus is in one part upwards of twelve miles (an hundred furlongs) in breadth, and upwards of five miles (forty furlongs) where narrowest; and yet is far inferior to the Ganges. According to Onesicritus, who was commander of the ship in which Alexander was, Strabo tells us (xv. p. 482.) that the Indus is in one part two hundred furlongs, about twenty-five miles, in breadth. Besides the rivers above-mentioned, eleven more, making fifteen in all, fall into the Indus. See Arrian, v. 6.

the



the meeting of the waters causes a ferment, which few vessels are able to resist. When, therefore, the Macedonian fleet reached the confluence of the Acesines and Hydaspis, several vessels found themselves caught abruptly by whirling eddies ; some were overfet, and most of them shattered. At length, after sustaining considerable loss, they got clear by dint of their oars.

BOOK I.
Sect. 3.

Dangers of
this navigation.

↳HITHERTO they had seen only a few scattered Indians, who abandoned their habitations at the first approach of an enemy. The Macedonians now began to enter a district inhabited by a people, who appeared to have more civilized manners, and to be well acquainted with the cultivation of land. These were named the Malli. Alexander immediately landed, and prepared to march against them, forming his army into three divisions; that the natives, who eluded the one, might be intercepted by the other. The Malli were an harmless people, of great simplicity of life, who had never heard of Alexander or his exploits; who had not even been subjected to the Persian yoke, to whose name probably they were strangers; and who, since the days of Bacchus, according to their tradition, had lived in the peaceable enjoyment of their liberties, conformably to their own laws. Conquerors pay little regard to circumstances like these. The son of Olympias still went on, ravaging the country, and sacking every fortified place that did not open its gates to him. One city still remained unsubdued, which had the advantage of some kind of fortress; and here a great part of the Malli had taken refuge. Thither Alexander marched his forces; and, finding a more vigorous resistance than his impetuous spirit could brook, he commanded ladders to

Attacks the
Malli.



BOOK I. be applied, and the walls to be scaled, mounting himself
 Sect. 3. the foremost. / The ladders being too slender to sustain the
 weight of the numbers who crowded after the King, broke
 down, just as Alexander and three of his guards had reached
 the top of the battlements. Here they stood alone, in a
 critical situation, unable to execute any thing effectual,
 and exposed to all the weapons of the besieged. The danger
 in which Alexander found himself, made him bolder and
 more resolute; and, without losing a moment in deliberation,
 he undauntedly leaped from the battlements into the city; his
 three attendants, to whom the King's rash deed left no
 choice, following him. They lighted on their feet; but this
 availed them little. They were at once surrounded by
 crowds of combatants; and though they struck down as
 many as durst approach them, a fresh supply of enemies still
 pressed on; and stones, and darts, and javelins, poured in
 upon them from every side. Abreas, one of Alexander's
 men, was already slain, and the two others, Peucestas and
 Leonnatus, dangerously wounded, when the King received a
 javelin in his breast, which brought him almost lifeless to
 the ground; his two companions, though nearly disabled by
 their own wounds, covered him with their shields and bodies.
 The report of Alexander's danger having run through the
 army, the soldiers, frantic at the thoughts of losing their
 Prince, burst into the city at different places; some scrambling
 up the walls, others beating down the gates; when, putting
 to the sword all they met, without distinction of age or sex,
 they made their way to the spot where the King lay. Their
 first care was to remove him to his tent, and to cut out the
 head of the javelin, which, being bearded, required a large
 incision to be made. The plentiful effusion
 of

Is in danger
 of losing his
 life.



of blood occasioned by the operation, threw Alexander into a swoon, and for some minutes it was doubtful whether he had not expired; but he soon revived, and from the natural strength of his constitution, and the care taken of him, he was in a short time re-established, and enabled to shew himself again to his army, who would scarcely believe their Prince was alive, till they were permitted to approach his person. All that remained of the Malli,† as if to atone for the share they had in the accident, † submitted; and their example was followed by the Oxydracae, another nation not far distant †.

BOOK I.
Sect. 3.

The Malli submit, and the Oxydracae.

† ALEXANDER'S inclination for war and conquest was not in the least impaired by his recent unfortunate adventure; he still continued his military operations, marking out for destruction every people that dared to resist the power of his arms. † What devastation this must have produced, among nations such as we have described, fond of freedom, and unacquainted with the Macedonian method of waging war, it is easy to judge. † Besides a number of large districts totally depopulated by the flight of the inhabitants to the neighbouring deserts, not less than seven great nations † were forced to accept whatever terms the conqueror thought proper to impose. And Musicanus, one of their kings, who is said to have been the most considerable of the princes of the country, having endeavoured to throw off the yoke, was pursued by his foe, taken, and crucified

Alexander spreads devastation through this part of India;

crucifies an Indian king, and his faithful Brachmans;

³ Most of the antient historians suppose this adventure to have happened in the city of the Oxydracae. It appears from Arrian (vi. 11.) that they are mistaken.

† Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander, tells us, that this country, which he now subdued, was three times as large as what he had subdued before between the Hydaspis and the Hyphasis. †



BOOK I. alive⁵, in the midst of his own territories, together with
 Sect. 3. several of the Brachmans⁶, or Indian sages, who, in their
 zeal

⁵ Arrian, L. vi. c. 15, 16.

⁶ These Brachmans or Bramins appear to have been a very different order of men from what modern writers represent them. "Tels," says Abbé Raynal, (L. i. c. 4) "sont les descendans des anciens Brachmanes, dont l'antiquité ne parle qu'avec admiration, parceque l'affectation de l'austerité et du mystere, et le privilege de parler aux rois du ciel, en impose au vulgaire dans tous les siècles. C'étoit à eux que les Grecs attribuoient le dogme de l'immortalité de l'ame, les idées sur la nature du grand-être, sur les peines et les recompenses futures—On regardoit les Brachmanes comme les amies des dieux; parcequ'ils paroissoient s'en occuper beaucoup, et comme les protecteurs des hommes, parcequ'ils ne s'en occupoient point du tout." Both Strabo and Arrian speak of them in another manner. Their chief employment was *the public good*; to observe the seasons, and to communicate their observations to the people; and, on all occasions of important and national concern, to deliver their advice with fidelity. The Brachman, who had thrice been guilty of giving counsel that had not proved salutary, was condemned to silence for life. Their discipline, besides, was exceedingly severe; and their tenets concerning the Creator and Governor of the universe, the immortality of the soul, and a future state, were not unworthy of the Grecian school. Their reproof of Alexander is memorable. A number of them were assembled in a field as he passed; and at sight of him began to stamp on the ground with great vehemence. He sent to know the reason. "To every man," they answered, "is such a portion of earth allotted, as we are measuring out with our feet. Thou, O King, shalt have no more: and yet, led on by an idle curiosity, and regardless of justice, art thou traversing from country to country, without allowing rest either to thyself or to thy fellow-creatures." He would have prevailed on Dandamis, the principal of the Indian sages, to come to him, bidding his messengers tell him, that he was the son of Jupiter, and had it in his power to reward or to punish him. "I am," replied the sage, "the son of Jupiter as well as he; as to his rewards, he has none to give; for he has not enough to satisfy himself; and as for his punishments, the utmost he can do, is, to relieve me from a body worn out with age, and to remove me to a state of perfect happiness." However, Calanus, another Brachman, was persuaded to attend Alexander, and for some time accompanied him; but being seized by an acute disorder, he raised a pile of wood, and burnt himself on it. It appears, nevertheless, that the Indian Brachmans condemned Calanus, both for departing from that simplicity of manners he had



zeal for their antient liberties, had encouraged him to revolt. †

Book I.
Sect. 3.

† THE fleet had now entered the Indus, which, says Arrian, after receiving the waters of all the other rivers of this part of India, empties itself by two great channels into the Indian ocean. The mariners soon discovered, by the swell of the river, that the sea was not far distant, and gave notice to the King, that they already perceived the breezes of the ocean. Alexander, rejoiced to find that he should shortly behold the object of his wishes, encouraged his seamen to use their oars with redoubled efforts. As they were endeavouring to execute these orders, they found themselves involved in a new distress, which their ignorance rendered exceedingly alarming. Accustomed to the gentle ebb and flow of the Mediterranean, they had no notion of the strong ocean-tides. Accordingly, when they saw the current bear against them, and the waters to rise on every side, and overspread the banks, they imagined it was an indication of the anger of the gods, and that they were guilty of impiety, in thus attempting to pry into the secrets of nature. This, however, was little to the consternation that followed. The sea, at the turn of the tide, retreating, their vessels were left either aground, or stuck fast in the mud, the keels and oars of many of them much damaged, and the shores covered with arms and baggage; so that the whole had the appearance of a wreck, and they began to despair of being ever able to get off. The return of the tide relieved them from their anxiety,

enters the
Indus;

reaches the
ocean;

is surpris'd at
the ocean-
tides;

had been accustomed to, in order to partake of the luxuries of the royal table; and for putting an end to a life over which he had no dominion.

See Strabo, L. xv. p. 490 & seq. et Arrian, L. vii. c. 1, 2. et Hist. Ind. xi.

P

ety,



Book I. ety, and taught them what they were until this time
Sect. 3. strangers to. †

sends Near-
chus to make
observations;

prepares to
return;

his prayer;

ALEXANDER ordered himself to be rowed into this vast ocean, for the purpose of making new discoveries; and, after doing little more than gratifying an unbounded curiosity, prepared to march his army back into Persia, whilst Nearchus was to continue his navigation along the coasts of the Persian gulph, and afterwards up the Euphrates, by which he was directed to return. It is supposed, that Alexander spent ten months⁷, from the time of his embarking on the Hydaspis, in this fruitless expedition. †He closed his progress on this side with a prayer well worthy of remembrance. †It marks strongly the extravagant spirit of this adventurous and ambitious Prince. †He besought the gods, “that no man “might pass beyond the limits that he had reached.” †

enters Ga-
drofia;

the difficul-
ties he meets
with.

†THE route, which he chose for the return of his army, was of all others the most difficult. It lay mostly through burning sands, in many parts of which no water was to be found, no supply of food to be obtained, nor the track of traveller to be seen[†]. The army soon experienced all the miseries to be met with in such a dreary march. †Numbers of his men were either overwhelmed in the hot sands, or perished from fatigue or hunger, or both. Their carriages became no longer of use, the roads in several places not admitting them; their cattle perished, or were killed for

⁷ Plutarch says seven only. Abp. Usher shews he is mistaken. See Usher. Annal. 371.

[†] Plutarch in Alexand.

food;



food; so that the immense treasure the army had collected together, at the price of so much blood, was now thrown away by the soldiers, as a painful incumbrance. This inhospitable tract was called Gadosia. One might be at a loss to conjecture what could prompt Alexander to such a route, when a much better lay before him. Arrian accounts for it. According to the tradition of the Indians, Semiramis and Cyrus had passed this way; and whatever any great person had performed, the son of Philip was determined not be exceeded in. Semiramis, as tradition bore, lost her whole army in this desert, twenty men excepted; and Cyrus had escaped with seven only. Alexander therefore had an advantage over them: the march cost *him* but two months, and only three fourths of his army. From Plutarch it appears, that above one hundred thousand of his men perished in this⁹ wild expedition. †

Book I.
Sect. 3.

IN the course of it, however, there happened an incident, which Arrian¹⁰ relates, much to Alexander's praise. Some soldiers had gone in quest of water; and, having discovered a little brook, with difficulty procured a small quantity of the element, and brought it to the King: though oppressed with thirst, he refused to accept a relief, which he could not share among his army; and, with much commendation of the zeal of those who brought it, generously poured it on the ground. † Every man found it less difficult to sustain

Alexander's
generous
conduct;

⁹ He entered this part of India with an hundred and twenty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse, and did not bring back above one fourth part of them. Plutarch in Alexand. †

¹⁰ L. vii. c. 26.



Book I. hardships, when he saw the King endure them equally with
 Sect. 3. the meanest soldier.[†] A like story is related by Plutarch,
 which, possibly from mistake, he ascribes to another person.

he enters
 Carmania.

Fabulous ac-
 count of the
 feast cele-
 brated here
 by him.

†THE Macedonians at length entered the plentiful country of Carmania, where they were supplied in abundance with provisions of every kind; orders having been previously dispatched to the neighbouring governors, to furnish all manner of refreshments, together with carriages and beasts of burden to replace those that had been lost. Here Alexander spent some days in celebrating public sports, and offering sacrifices of thanksgiving for the signal deliverance vouchsafed to him and his army. It is, probably, this solemnity of which some antient writers have given us so romantic a description. They would have us believe, that Alexander caused his soldiers to celebrate a feast to Bacchus for seven days, in memory of their Prince having, like the god, returned victorious from the Indies; and his whole army, in imitation of the Bacchanals, exhibited a frantic procession through the nations lately conquered, with shouts of uproar and riot, and all the ridiculous gambols of which the greatest intoxication can be productive; the King in person leading the dissolute dance. Had one thousand sober men, says Curtius¹¹, attacked this wild multitude, the defeat of the latter had been inevitable. But from Arrian¹² it appears, that this account, though supported by no less an authority than that of Diodorus and Plutarch, is merely an idle fiction. An instructive lesson, how cautious we ought to be in admitting what many antient writers have recorded.†

¹¹ See Quint. Cur. L. ix. c. 10.

¹² See Arrian, B. vi. c. 28.



†ALEXANDER, no doubt, like all founders of a new empire, had pleased himself with the fond idea, that this vast fabric of power, which he was labouring to establish, would last for ages. He now had the fullest evidence of the vanity of his hopes. It was but the eleventh year of his reign; and the fifth since the overthrow of Darius; and repeated accounts were brought to him from every quarter, of the confusion which had already arisen in many of his provinces¹³; in some, from the unsubdued spirit of the people¹⁴; in most of them, from the oppressive and tyrannical excesses of the governors whom he had appointed over them. These, it seems, expected not that Alexander was ever to return from the Indies; and therefore treated with contempt establishments which he could no longer enforce. Alexander behaved on this occasion with becoming firmness and resentment.† He enquired into the several complaints; and, where guilt was found, punished the delinquents with the utmost severity. Proofs were exhibited, of gross dilapidations and acts of violence having been committed by Clitander, Sitalcas, and Heracon, who commanded in Media: they were all put to death¹⁵. †They had assisted in the murder of Parmenio; on which account, historians tell us, the whole army, even many of the King's nearest friends, witnessed their execution with pleasure¹⁶. “Vengeance for that “innocent blood,” said they, “has justly overtaken them.”

Book I.
Sect. 3.

Confused
state of the
conquered
provinces.

and from
what causes.

He punishes
the iniquitous
governors.

¹³ Plutarch in Alexand.

† Philip, whom he had appointed governor of Indostan, had been slain by his own guards. See Arrian, vi. 27. †

¹⁵ Arrian, ubi sup.

¹⁶ See Quint. Cur. x. 1.

Abulites,



BOOK I. Abulites, and his son Oxathres¹⁷, to whom the care of Susa
 Sect. 3. was intrusted, had proved unfaithful: they both suffered in
 like manner. Arxines¹⁸ had plundered the province of Per-
 sia, of which he held the government, not sparing even the
 temples, and putting to death all persons, however innocent,
 who happened to be obnoxious to him: he was crucified.
 Even the tomb of Cyrus, which was filled with various
 treasures of inestimable value, and in which the body of that
 conqueror lay inclosed in a case of gold, had not escaped
 the rapacious hand of violence. After much inquiry, it was
 discovered, that the plunderer was Polymachus¹⁹, a Mace-
 donian of distinction, born in Pella, Alexander's native city:
 regardless of his quality, the King ordered his execution.
 In this list of criminals, one of the most remarkable was
 Harpalus. Alexander, to whom he was particularly dear²⁰,
 on account of his attachment to him whilst Philip was liv-
 ing, had appointed him guardian of the treasures in Babylon.
 This important trust was a temptation which he was not
 capable of resisting. He abandoned himself to a shameful
 dissoluteness, and squandered away a considerable portion of
 the wealth committed to his care. | Accordingly, when, con-
 trary to his expectations, he found that Alexander was on
 his return to Babylon, he collected together a band of mer-
 cenaries, and, taking five thousand talents with him, fled into

Harpalus
 plunders the
 treasures at
 Babylon,

and flees to
 Greece.

¹⁷ Arrian, L. vii. c. 4. Plutarch calls him Oxyartes. According to this historian, Alexander was so enraged against him, that he stabbed him with his own hand. See Plutarch in Alexand.

¹⁸ Arrian, L. vi. c. 30. Quint. Curt. (x. 1.) gives a very different turn to this story. We follow Arrian.

¹⁹ Plut. in Alexand.

²⁰ See Arrian, L. iii. c. 6.

Greece.



Greece. The fate, which he justly deserved, soon afterwards overtook him. He was killed in Crete, by some persons in whom he confided ²¹. †

BOOK I.

Sect. 3.

His death.

†AFTER visiting the adjacent provinces, and applying what remedies seemed most expedient in their present turbulent state, Alexander directed his march to Susa, where, upon his arrival, he married Statira, daughter of Darius. Arrian ²² calls her Barsine, or, according to some readings, Arsinoe. Her sister, Parysatis, by some named Drypetis, he gave to Hephaestion; and at the same time disposed of eighty of the principal Persian ladies in marriage to his chief officers, on all of whom he bestowed rich dowries, suitable to their noble birth. In addition to the public joy, Nearchus, who had the command of the naval expedition, and of whose safety Alexander had despaired, returned to Susa, with an account of the success of his voyage, and of the discoveries he had made; which, in the present infant state of navigation among the Greeks, were highly celebrated. †

Alexander weds the daughter of Darius;

gives the principal Persian ladies in marriage to his officers.

Nearchus returns.

† THAT his whole army might share in the general happiness ²³, he presented every Grecian soldier, who had married Asiatic women (and these amounted to ten thousand in number) with considerable sums of money. The debts likewise of his army he declared he would discharge, and desired to have a state of them laid before him. But, finding many of his men were unwilling to discover minutely

Alexander's liberality to his army.

²¹ Plutarch in Alexand, et Demosthene. Athenaei Deipnosoph. L. xiii. p. 594.

²² See Arrian, L. vii. c. 4. ²³ Plut. in Alexand. Arrian, L. vii. c. 5.

how.



BOOK I. how their debts had been contracted, he demanded only the
Sect. 3. names of their respective creditors, and the several sums at large; and in this manner discharged the whole, though the sum amounted to twenty thousand talents. Those, besides, who had distinguished themselves by any particular military exploit, he honoured with rich donatives, such as crowns of gold, and other rewards of great value. †

What he had in view. † ALEXANDER'S generosity appears here to advantage; he had, besides, in view to smooth national prejudices, which kept the haughty Greeks at a distance from the Asiatics; and, as the Macedonians and Persians were now governed by one common sovereign, to make them by degrees coalesce into one people: but he soon found this was not so easily to be accomplished. †

His plan for the recruiting of his army; † HE had given directions²⁴ to the several governors to train to military exercise a number of youths in their respective provinces, and to have them disciplined after the Macedonian manner, in order that he might always have a supply of soldiers in readiness, whenever casualties or years should render his own men unfit for service. Thirty thousand of these recruits having accordingly been brought to Susa, he issued orders, that the same number of Macedonians, who were become less able to endure the fatigues of war, should have permission to return home. It had been easy to have given a favourable interpretation to this measure; but to the Greeks, who were already exasperated at seeing the Asiatics possess

²⁴ Arrian, L. vii. c. 6 & seq. (Plutarch in Alexand.



so large a portion of the royal favour, it appeared in the most odious light; and a general mutiny immediately ensued.

BOOK I.
SECT. 3.

“ Their former services,” they said, “ were no longer remembered—no account taken of the dangers they had encountered, and the toils they had undergone—the objects of Alexander’s regard were now the effeminate Persians—he imitated their dress; he spoke their language; he adopted their manners—their soldiers were now to be enrolled among the Macedonian veterans, and to carry away those honours, which the latter had purchased at the price of their blood—let us all be discharged together—we scorn to serve under the banners of a prince, who is now an alien to his country—and, should he have any more wars to carry on, let them be carried on by his father Hammon and himself.”+

mutiny occasioned by it:

+ALEXANDER could contain himself no longer: for, it seems, these bold remonstrances were made in his presence. Starting from his tribunal, with his own hands he seized thirteen of the most guilty mutineers, whom he ordered to instant execution. Then, taking advantage of the consternation into which this act of vigour had thrown his army, in the most spirited manner he reproached them with the ungrateful return they made for all he had done for them; and, at the conclusion of his speech, abruptly left the assembly, retired to his tent, and commanded, that his person should henceforward be intrusted to Persian guards, and that the different corps of Asiatic troops should hold the same rank, and enjoy the same privileges, which the Macedonians had lately possessed. +

Alexander quells it by his firmness;

Q

THE



BOOK I.
Sect. 3.

receives his
army again
into favour,
upon their
repentance ;

† THE King's firmness on this occasion had its full effect. The Macedonians were naturally attached to his person ; and, notwithstanding the deep shades that darkened his character, his brighter qualities, which were mostly of the popular kind, his bravery especially, and munificent spirit, were held in the highest estimation. Above all, they could not bear to be thus indignantly debarred from his presence, and excluded from his favour and confidence. For three days, during which time he kept himself shut up, they remained immoveable around his tent, bewailing, in the most affecting manner, their indiscretion ; they threw their arms from them, as if unworthy to carry them longer ; and declared, they would never quit the place, until restored to their sovereign's favour and forgiveness. Alexander, at length, was prevailed on to shew himself. At sight of their Prince, the Macedonians burst into the most affectionate lamentations ; Alexander himself began to soften ; he melted also into tears ; he permitted his people to approach him, to embrace him. What had afflicted his countrymen most deeply, they told him, was, that he had withdrawn his regard from them, and admitted the Persians to be his kinsmen. " You are all my kinsmen," replied Alexander, " and from this day it is the name by which I shall distinguish you." By the laws of Macedon, the king's kindred had a right to salute him, and they were all accordingly admitted to that honour. †

makes a common banquet
for his soldiers of every
nation ;

† A SUMPTUOUS banquet sealed the reconciliation ; the King entertaining nine thousand guests at one time. From the order of the entertainment, of which we have an account in Arrian³, it appears, that he had not lost sight of his

³ L. vii. c. 11.

favourite



favourite scheme of coalition. In the most honourable place were the Macedonians; next to them the Persians; and after the Persians other nations. In conjunction with the Grecian soothsayers, the Persian magi were employed in offering up vows for the prosperity and union of all the inhabitants of his empire. One common bowl was brought, out of which King and people performed their libations; and at the conclusion was sung a paean, or song of praise to the Immortal Gods, Greeks, as well as Barbarians, joining in the chorus. †

BOOK I.
Sect. 3.

in what view;

† IT was then settled²⁶, that as many Greeks and Macedonians as were become unequal to the fatigues of the field, should have permission to return home. This permission was attended with every mark of distinction the old soldiers could possibly desire. Not only their arrears were punctually cleared off, they likewise received a talent each, besides money sufficient to defray their expences to Greece. Instructions were, at the same time, dispatched to Macedon, that at all solemnities they should have places of pre-eminence assigned to them; that they should be free from all imposts; and that whatever privileges were conferred on them, should, upon their death, be enjoyed by their children. This grateful remembrance of the services of his brave veterans, exhibits Alexander to us in a very advantageous point of view. †

dismisses his disabled veterans in the most honourable manner;

† WHAT rendered this notice of the King of greater value, was, the choice of the person to whom his men was given in charge. Craterus was named to this service, an officer of

and appoints Craterus to command them.

²⁶ Arrian, L. vii. c. 12. Plut. in Alexand.



BOOK I. the first distinction in the Macedonian armies, and who was
 Sect. 3. known to be highly esteemed by Alexander. The appointment of such an officer the veterans considered as a particular honour done to themselves. †

The government of Macedonia intended for Craterus.

It was the King's intention, that Craterus, upon his arrival in Greece, should succeed Antipater, and that Antipater should pass into Asia.† Many think, that the repeated complaints preferred by Olympias, whose ambitious and intriguing spirit was impatient of the control under which Antipater held her, had occasioned his being superseded; and that severe measures were actually in agitation against him. † Whatever views Alexander had, he did not live to carry them into execution. †

Hephaestion dies;

Soon after this transaction, he lost Hephaestion, who died of a fever in Ecbatana; a loss which Alexander seems to have borne with great agitation of mind. In others he saw the dependents of his fortune, in Hephaestion he possessed a friend. "Craterus loves the King," he was wont to say; "but Hephaestion loves Alexander."[†] This tender connection, subsisting from their earliest years, had never suffered the least diminution. Though he lived with the King on the most familiar terms, and was admitted to his most secret councils, he enjoyed the royal favour without insolence, and, what is still more extraordinary, without exciting envy. How temperately he used his power; may be gathered from the two following instances: A musician, of whom he was fond, had possessed himself of certain quar-

his character.

† Plut. in Alexand.

ters.



ters, to which Eumenes, an officer of note, and at this time secretary to the King, laid claim²⁸. Hephaestion supported his favourite; Eumenes had the spirit to oppose Hephaestion, and, upon an appeal to the King, carried the point against him. Some time after, Hephaestion differed on some occasion with Craterus²⁹, and this dispute was conducted with such heat, that, had not the King interposed his authority, it probably had ended fatally. Nevertheless, it does not appear, that either Craterus or Eumenes were afterwards less in favour with Alexander, or that Hephaestion ever employed his influence to their prejudice. He seems, indeed, to have been much beloved by the whole army, not only for those affable qualities, which adorn the courtier, but also for his military abilities, having accompanied Alexander in all his expeditions, and been frequently employed by him in the most arduous enterprizes.

BOOK I.
Sect. 3.

THE extravagances; however, of Alexander³⁰, on this occasion, are not to be justified. When he found that Hephaestion had expired, in a paroxysm of grief he threw himself on the dead body, from which his friends could scarcely remove him. Those persons who had attended his favourite in his last illness, became objects of his resentment, as if it had been owing to them that Hephaestion died. In his phrensy, he accused even the gods for not having preserved a life so dear to him. The sacred fires were extinguished throughout all Asia, which was never before done but upon the King's death; "an omen of dark import," the Asiatics observed, "to Alex-

Alexander's-
passionate ex-
cesses on this
occasion;

²⁸ Plutarch in Eumene.
Plutarch in Alexand.

²⁹ Plutarch.

³⁰ See Arrian, L. vii. c. 14.

ander:



BOOK I. "ander himself." Not contented with celebrating Hephæstion's obsequies with all possible magnificence, and erecting a sumptuous monument to his memory at an immense expence, he sent to the temple of Hammon to enquire, whether Hephæstion ought not to be ranked among the demigods. The oracle, too complaisant not to gratify the King, answered as Asia's monarch wished. Hephæstion accordingly was pronounced a demigod, and had suitable honours appointed to him".†

he comes to
Babylon.

Gloomy state
of Alexan-
der's mind.

† ALEXANDER had now come to Babylon, where a number of embassadors from different nations, in consequence of the fame of his achievements, were expecting his return". It might be imagined, that to a mind such as his, naturally vain and fond of homage, this kind of pomp must have afforded the highest gratification. He notwithstanding appears to have relished it very imperfectly". The death of Hephæstion, together with certain anticipations of his own approaching fate, had made deep impresson on his mind. As he drew near to Babylon, he met certain Chaldean soothsayers, who besought him not to enter the city, which then lay to the west of him; or, if he did, to go round, and to enter with his face to the eastward; otherwise some fatal destiny threatened to overtake him. But the line, which

²¹ Alexander's extravagance upon the loss of Hephæstion, might have been suggested by his progenitor Achilles's behaviour upon the loss of Patroclus.

²² It appears from Arrian (vii. 15.) that two ancient writers of Alexander's history, Aristæus and Asclepiades, related, that among the embassies to Alexander, there was also one from Rome. Other historians make no mention of it. †

²³ See Arrian, L. vii. c. 16.

they



they had pointed out, being found impracticable, his pride would not suffer him to return back, and he ventured into Babylon by the very way which was forbidden³⁴. Anaxarchus, the philosopher, had endeavoured to reason with his master against idle apprehensions, and to ridicule the boasted skill of these pretended diviners: the King seemed to listen to him with some degree of attention; but it was evident, that his mind enjoyed neither ease nor composure. †

BOOK I.
SECT. 3.

† In order to dissipate these melancholy thoughts, Alexander began to meditate an expedition against the Arabians³⁵, who had been guilty of the insolence of sending him no embassy; and to set on foot a number of new works for beautifying Babylon, now intended for the seat of empire. Among other undertakings, he proposed to confine the Euphrates to its natural bed. The waters of this river had, for some ages, been suffered to overflow its banks; the adjacent country was greatly damaged, and this province, once the loveliest of Asia, was declining fast into an inhospitable morass. That he might judge what works were necessary, Alexander

He endeavours to dissipate his melancholy

by an excursion from Babylon;

³⁴ The rich revenues belonging to Belus were enjoyed by the Chaldeans, until his temple was re-built; and therefore they endeavoured to keep Alexander from entering Babylon, lest he should urge on a work which it was not their interest to have finished. As to the King's going round, and entering with his face to the east, they well knew, that the fens on that side had made the road impracticable. See Arrian, L. vii. c. 17. †

³⁵ It appears from Arrian (vii. 20.) that his principal view in this expedition was, to compel the Arabians to acknowledge him for one of their gods; they had, he had been told, only two gods; *the heaven*, on account of its being the abode of that beneficent luminary the sun; and *Bacchus*, on account of his exploits in the Indies; "and therefore," said he, "as my exploits have not been inferior to those of Bacchus, I likewise have a right to be worshipped by them." †

I.

had.



Book I. had a number of vessels prepared, proper for passing the gulf,
 Sect. 3. and sailed himself along the several banks to the place where
 the breach, according to report, had first been made. This
 excursion, far from administering to him that amusement
 which he expected, took a very different turn. In the
 course of his expedition, a gust of wind blew the royal fillet
 from the King's head to some distance, where the monuments
 of the antient Assyrian kings were erected, and it fell
 entangled among the reeds that grew round the sepulchres.
 One of the sailors leaped into the river, and, having recovered
 it, fastened it inadvertently round his own head³⁶, in
 order to bring it back with greater safety. †

His melancholy
 encreases;

† THESE incidents, of little moment to a mind sound, and properly instructed, the superstition of the times pronounced to be omens full of terror; and the King's imagination, already distempered, failed not to lay hold of them. †

he returns to
 Babylon;

† IN this dejected state he re-entered Babylon, where a similar train of dire presages still pursued him. Over his head, as he approached the city, was fought a battle of crows, some of whom fell dead at his feet³⁷; one of the largest lions kept in Babylon, had been kicked to death by an ass. The governor of Babylon had sacrificed, in order to consult the gods concerning his sovereign, and the liver of the victim was found not to have a head. What threatened disaster

meets with
 sinister
 omens;

³⁶ To avert the omen of this casual usurpation of the diadem, the Chaldean soothsayers, according to some historians, directed, that the officious sailor should be rewarded with a talent, and afterwards put to death. †

³⁷ Plutarch in Alexand.

more



more than all, the King having undressed, as was customary to him, for the purpose of partaking in some athletic sports, when his attendants went to fetch his clothes, they found a stranger (some lunatic, probably, who had escaped from his keepers) sitting in profound silence on their master's throne, dressed in his royal robes, with the diadem on his head; who, upon examination, pronounced, that the god Serapis had conducted him thither, and had ordered him to array himself in that attire, and to sit there in solemn silence. This madman, by the direction of the soothsayers, was put to death³⁸. +

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Sect. 3.

+FROM all these circumstances, the anguish of Alexander's mind increased more and more, as if, to use Plutarch's words, in despair of the succours of heaven³⁹. And so strongly had fears and anxieties taken hold on him, that every thing which happened, in the least degree strange or unusual, he converted into an evil sign or prodigy. +

is distressed
by them;

+WHAT remedies the religious notions then prevailing directed the use of, expiatory rites and sacrifices, were employed profusely. The court swarmed with purifiers and prognosticators, all exercising their talents in behalf of the royal person. But these affording little relief, he endeavoured to drown reflection in a course of banqueting and intemperance, to which he had of late been much addicted. He had spent one day and part of the night in this manner⁴⁰, and was returning home to rest, when Medius, who was now much in his favour, requested the King to honour him at an en-

has recourse
to intempe-
rance;

³⁸ See Arrian, L. vii. c. 18. et Plut. ubi sup. in Alexand.

⁴⁰ Arrian, L. vii. c. 24 & seq.

³⁹ Δύσελπις πρὸς τὸ θεῖον.

R

tainment



Book I.
Sect. 3.

is seized with
a fever in
consequence
of it ;

his vague
manner of
appointing
his successor ;

affection of
his army to-
wards him ;

he dies.

ertainment he had just prepared. With Medius he continued carousing the remainder of the night; and, after a short repose, renewed the same scene of riot. The consequences of such irregularity might have been easily foreseen. Before Alexander left the company of Medius, he had contracted a fever. He, however, slighted it, and for some days continued to receive the reports of his chief officers, and to canvass with them the schemes he was meditating. On the ninth day the violence of his distemper had risen to such an height, that his recovery began to be despaired of. His principal officers, alarmed at their situation, pressed him to name a successor, in case it was their misfortune to lose him. "The worthiest," he answered; but he "forefaw, that his obsequies would be obsequies of blood." †

†It being now spread abroad, that the King was dying, the soldiers insisted on being admitted to take a last farewell of their beloved master. He was unable to speak; but, raising himself up, offered his hand as they passed, expressing by his looks, notwithstanding his melancholy situation, the pleasure he took in these marks of their affection. On the eleventh day he expired †, having, some minutes before, delivered his royal signet to Perdicas, which by many was considered to be a tacit appointment of him as his successor. Alexander died in the thirty-third year of his age, after a reign of twelve years and eight months, being exactly twenty at the time of Philip's death. He left only one son, Hercules, by Barsine,

† OLYMP. CXIV. 1. BEFORE CHRIST 323.

daughter



daughter to Artabazus, and widow to Memnon. But his wife Roxana was far advanced in her pregnancy; and Statira also was supposed to be in the same situation. †

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Sect. 3.

It is here highly deserving of notice, how exactly what the prophet foretold of Alexander had its accomplishment. This Prince had been destined to overthrow the empire of the Medes and Persians; which, as soon as he had performed, we see his power brought to an end, and in the very way the prophet ⁴² had predicted; *his kingdom broken, and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled.* What is not less remarkable, it had been pronounced by the Almighty, that Babylon should be a desolation, and the temple of Belus *broken unto the ground* ⁴³, never to rise from its ruins. At the very time Alexander, with every thing in his power for executing what he designed, is preparing to raise the temple of Belus again, and restore Babylon ⁴⁴ to its ancient splendor,

Remarkable completion of the prophecies concerning Alexander;

⁴² See Daniel viii. 5, 6, 7, 20, 21, 22, and xi. 4.

⁴³ See Isaiah xxi. 9.

⁴⁴ In antient days, Babylon was famed for its commerce and naval power. Originally, the country was a flat morass, often overflowed by the Euphrates and the Tigris. Semiramis, the supposed foundress of the Babylonian greatness, has the glory of having improved the country, by cutting a number of drains through it, and raising embankments to confine the Euphrates within its channel: by these labours the river was rendered navigable; and she is said to have had on it a fleet of three thousand galleys. Nebuchadnezzar carried the improvement much farther; he caused two canals to be cut an hundred miles above the city; the first on the eastern side, by which the Euphrates was let into the Tigris, so that the city was supplied with the produce of the whole country to the north of it, as far as the Euxine and Caspian seas, and enjoyed also the trade of the Persian gulph, into which the Euphrates opened; this canal was called Naharmalea, or *the Royal River*: the other canal was on the western side, and was called Pallacopas, or Naharaga, *the River of the Pool*, by which the redundant waters were carried into a vast lake, forty miles square, contrived not only to lessen the inundation, but also as a reservoir,



BOOK I. splendor, his purpose is defeated, and the breath of life taken
 Sect. 3. from him.

suspicious of
 his having
 been taken
 off by poison,
 ill founded ;

† THE opinion, that this conqueror was taken off by poison, which several of the antient writers have adopted, appears from Arrian to be altogether groundless.† Probably, the precarious state of Antipater's affairs at this juncture, from the suspicions said to be conceived of him, and the powerful inducements he might be supposed to have, to attack a life from which he had every thing to fear, first gave rise to this report ; and the report might be encouraged afterwards by Olympias, who held Antipater and his house in utter detestation, and who wished his destruction.

variety in the
 accounts we
 have of him.

† OF all the great personages of antiquity, whose fortunes and exploits have so frequently employed the historical pen, and of

reservoir, to water the barren country on the Arabian side. Cyrus, in his siege of Babylon, by turning the whole river into the lake by the Pallacopas, laid the channel, where it ran through the city, almost dry, so that his army entered it both above and below by the bed of the river. From the great quantity of water admitted into the lake, the sluices and dams were much damaged ; and the Persian monarchs, residing in their own country, paid no attention to the inconvenience ; and besides, to prevent any invasion by sea on that part of their empire, purposely obstructed the navigation of both rivers, by making cataracts in them, that is, by raising dams across the channel, and making artificial falls. Alexander began to restore the navigation of the rivers, by removing the cataracts upon the Tigris, and repairing the breaches in the Pallacopas ; but did not live to finish his great designs. From his time, the Euphrates, which in summer always swells from the melting of the snows in the mountains of Armenia, has been suffered to waste its waters on the neighbouring country : so that this province, once the loveliest and richest part of Asia, has by degrees declined again into an inhospitable morass, in which not the least vestige of its former splendor is to be found. So exactly has the word of the Almighty had its completion. See Bishop Lowth on Isaiah, 202, 207, 208. See also Huet, *Histoire du Commerce*, ch. xi. and Arrian vii. 21.



whom romantic, and often opposite accounts have been delivered to posterity, there is none more distinguished than Alexander. | The chafest and most consistent of his historians appears to be Arrian ; and yet in him there are matters liable to objection. It is remarkable too, that Aristobulus and Ptolemy, from whose memoirs chiefly Arrian compiled his history, and who attended Alexander in person in all his expeditions, are not always agreed about facts, of which they might be supposed to be well informed. Possibly they sought to cast a shade over some transactions, which, for obvious reasons, they wished had never existed.

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WHAT judgment is to be formed of him, may be gathered from the preceding pages. Military glory was certainly his ruling passion. And accordingly the virtues, or, to speak more properly, the shining qualities, for which he is celebrated, appear to have been mostly such as belong to the military character—boundless munificence—an open frankness of disposition—generous attention to the situation and wants of his men—an excellent foresight—daring courage—admirable presence of mind in the midst of danger—and a wonderful quickness, to seize every advantage in the day of battle. †

His character;

shining qualities ;

TOGETHER with these qualities, he possessed all the advantages of body, which florid health, natural strength of constitution, and constant exercise, are wont to bestow. He was patient of fatigue ; and in agility, horsemanship, dexterity in the management of every warlike weapon, and in capacity for enduring hunger and thirst, heat and cold, he stood without a rival. †

advantages of body ;

Now



Book I. Sect. 3. **NOR** was he wanting in the softer virtues which embellish the human character. He was capable of all the tenderness of friendship: of an easy, cordial, affectionate deportment to all who approached him; and, notwithstanding the roughness of martial life, he retained, for a considerable time, that elegance of sentiment, which Grecian manners, and the early study of philosophy, were calculated to inspire. He proved his refined feelings in the delicacy with which he treated the princesses of the house of Darius. He shewed it in the extraordinary care he took to protect the Asiatic nations, whom he conquered, from that rapacity and licentiousness of which the lower military orders are frequently guilty. †

faults;

BUT the Macedonian Prince was soon to degenerate from these promising beginnings, was to become insolent, oppressive, and vain, barbarous, cruel, and the sport of intemperance and pusillanimity.

causes
whence they
proceeded.

IT was Alexander's misfortune, that conquest was his darling passion; and the success he met with encouraged him to proceed. His first expedition against Darius bore an air of justice. The servitude to which the Grecian colonists had been reduced; the repeated attempts made by the Persian monarchs against the liberties of Greece; and, when the superiority of the Grecian arms had forced them to desist from avowed hostilities, the artful manner in which they had endeavoured, by intrigue and corruption, to divide the Greeks among themselves, and thus to bring the whole nation into a state of humiliation and dependence, furnished at least a decent pretext for retaliation: according, therefore, to the usual maxims of human policy, his invasion of Persia might be vindicated. But, when he had a fair opportunity



portunity of confining the Persian monarch within narrower bounds, and of giving independence to all the nations of the Lower Asia; when he even overthrew the Persian monarchy, and saw himself seated on the throne of Cyrus; he had not wisdom to stop at this point; the lust of conquest hurrying him on from nation to nation, and from climate to climate, where he had not even the pretence of wrongs to vindicate, or of injuries to redress. And probably, had his life been spared, there was not a part of the globe to which he would not have carried his arms, and involved in the ravages of war; and "had he not found a man left to contend with," says Arrian, "he had fought with himself."

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Sect. 3.

THERE is reason to believe, that this martial disposition grew up the stronger in Alexander, from the impressions he received in his youth. The reign of Philip had been a series of wars; and the manners of his court, and even the language spoken in it, were all in the military style.

ALEXANDER, besides, had taken an early predilection for the character of Achilles, which, even in his riper age, appears to have operated powerfully on his mind. Aristotle, to whom the care of his education was intrusted, had with great judgment recommended to him to make the writings of Homer his particular study, as containing the most useful precepts, both for forming a prince and for the government of a people. But, unluckily, among the many illustrious personages, whose manners the father of poetry has delineated, the young prince fixed upon Achilles for his model. He did not consider, that it was far from the poet's intention



BOOK I.
Sect. 3.

tion to propose to us "the violent, implacable warrior, to whom every claim is just that can be supported by force of arms," as a perfect model for imitation. The poet only meant to show what devastation the fierce passions make in the noblest minds, and of what fatal ills, to the human species in general, they are productive. But Achilles, Alexander had been told, was one of his progenitors; and therefore he viewed these excesses with partiality. Possibly also it may be said, that he was the more struck with his character, on account of the resemblance it bore to his own. They were the features of Alexander, which he admired in Homer's hero.

BUT, whatever were the causes that contributed to strengthen in him this turn to military glory, it is certain, that, indulging it in the wanton manner he did, and the repeated scenes of carnage it engaged him in, produced, by degrees, that fierceness of disposition and character, which is the reproach of his latter years. Accustomed to have submission yielded to the terror of his name, he began to look on every resistance to his arms as treason, which he was authorized to punish, putting frequently whole nations to the sword, merely because they had families, whom they strove to defend, and rights, which they were unwilling to surrender. The servility, also, with which he was treated by those whom he had brought into subjection, inspired him with a vanity of which Greece had seen no example. It was the custom of eastern nations to adore their princes; and Alexander would be adored. Some of the heroes of old had been deified by their uninstructed followers. The Macedonian would be deified



deified also; and, because his Grecian veterans, who were accustomed to other manners, and were ardent supporters of liberty, opposed these insolent pretensions, he forgot he was their king, he attempted to become their tyrant. His temper, naturally violent, became impetuous. All who would not submit to abject servility and compliance, he pronounced disaffected; and sacrificed to his suspicions, and to his jealousy, the most faithful and most worthy of his servants.

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Sect. 3.

WHAT appears most extraordinary, in a prince, conspicuous, as the son of Philip was, for courage and firmness of mind, is the vulgar superstition which marked the latter period of his days. It has been observed by some authors⁴⁵, that he was always superstitious; and certainly he was, if revering the gods of his country, and endeavouring to conciliate their favour by those means which he had been taught to think of most efficacy, can properly be deemed superstition. What affected his latest days was of a different nature, and seems to have arisen from another cause. Appalling fears had seized his imagination, and, in spite of all his efforts, had subdued his mind. What these were, ancient writers have not informed us. It may not, perhaps, be too bold a conjecture, that the outrages which he had committed upon his own subjects, embroiling his hands in the blood of Clitus, the base and more criminal assassination of Parmenio, and the death of the virtuous Callisthenes, had a considerable share in exciting those horrors, to which, in the end, he fell a victim; for to them, surely, was owing that intemperance in which he at last fatally took refuge.

His superstitious fears;

and whence, probably, they arose.

⁴⁵ See St. Evremond Jugement d'Alexandre et de Cesar.

S

SHOULD



BOOK I. SHOULD it be asked, if civilization and happiness was the
 Sect. 3. result of his exploits to those nations whom he subdued? or,
 if any advantages accrued from them, at least to Macedon?—
 How far he advanced the happiness of the nations he conquered, or even of his own people. Even here must history, if she bears faithful record, decide against him. This is not the place for producing proofs in support of this decision; they will be seen in the subsequent sheets of this work.

He was an instrument in the hand of Providence,

AN important instrument ⁴⁶ he doubtless was in the hand of Providence, for executing that vengeance on Babylon and her dependent provinces, which their oppressions and crimes had long provoked, and which the Almighty had, by his prophets, denounced against them; and for opening a more free communication ⁴⁷ between the eastern and western worlds, in order to the gracious purposes of eternal Wisdom.

and for what ends.

But at the same time he was, in his day, a scourge to mankind; a scourge to the Macedonians themselves, whose interest and prosperity he pretended to have in view.

In what degree of estimation he ought to be held.

IT may, therefore, justly be esteemed matter of wonder, that such a character should ever have been thought a fit model for princes; and that comparing them to Alexander should have been numbered among those exalted compliments, that flattery is wont to pay to greatness and power. This propensity seems to have taken its rise in the days of chivalry, when a frantic exertion of valour, ranging from country to

⁴⁶ "Howbeit, he doth not so purpose," may we justly say of him, as the prophet (Isaiah x. 7.) said of the Assyrian, "neither doth his heart so intend; but to destroy is in his heart, and to cut off nations not a few." Isaiah by Bishop Lowth.

⁴⁷ See Bishop Lowth on Isaiah xix. 18. and xxiv. 14.



country in quest of exploits and adventures, was supposed to constitute the highest degree of personal merit. Alexander might have been the hero of such an age. But more civilized times must often regard his character in a different, and less favourable light ⁴⁸.

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Sect. 3.

⁴⁸ The death of Alexander was followed by that of Sisygambis *. When she heard that he was no more, she refused to live. She had survived the fall of Darius, and the ruin of her royal house; but so noble was the treatment she had received from Alexander, that losing him seemed to her to be the filling up of the measure of her afflictions; and she put an end to her life by voluntary abstinence. +

* Quint. Cur. L. x. c. 5.



HISTORY OF GREECE.

B O O K II.

S E C T I O N I.

C O N T E N T S.

Alterations, from Philip's accession, in the political system of the several Grecian states—with regard to Persia—and of Macedon—from what causes—Agis of Lacedæmon attempts to vindicate the Grecian liberties against Macedon—his spirited conduct—defeat—and death—Character of Demosthenes, considered as a patriot—his unjust condemnation and banishment—The Athenians, exasperated by Alexander's control of their liberties, prepare for war upon Alexander's death take up arms—recall Demosthenes—march against Antipater—their imprudent confidence—defeated—forced to submit to the Macedonians.—Demosthenes flies to Calauria—dies—in what manner—abasement of Athens after his death.

IT is time to return to Greece, in order to view the state of affairs there, during the period of which we have been speaking.

BOOK II.
Sect. I.

THE



BOOK II.
Sect. I.

Alterations
in the politi-
cal views of
the Grecian
states.

THE important changes that had taken place in the fortunes of Macedon, and the bold schemes of ambition, which Philip first, and Alexander afterwards, were seen to pursue, had produced a considerable alteration in the interests and political views of the several states of Greece. Long before this period, the Persian power had ceased to be that object of terror it formerly had been, when Greece found it necessary to exert her utmost strength against that empire, for the preservation of her liberties. To that generous display of patriotism and disinterested spirit, which marked those illustrious times, other principles had succeeded. Greece was composed of a number of independent states. No longer alarmed with apprehensions from Asia, they began to contend for domination among themselves. Athens and Sparta especially, who both possessed the highest splendor that the wisdom of laws and the glory of great achievements can confer, disdained to be any thing less than the rulers of all Greece, and carried on the contest for sovereignty and pre-eminence, with all that virulence which is generally the reproach of domestic wars. The Persian monarchs beheld with pleasure contentions from which they derived security. They employed all the arts of intrigue, in which they appear to have been well skilled, to keep alive these dissensions. They had their emissaries in every corner of Greece. They excited jealousies against the powerful; they supplied with means of defence those states who seemed to be exhausted; and at length accustomed the people, who had disclaimed all ideas of peace *with them*, to court their friendship, and to accept of pecuniary aids.

THIS



FROM THE ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

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THIS plan, indeed, at different times, suffered interruption, particularly under the vigorous reign of Agesilaus. But these interruptions were short, and without material consequences. Popular orators also, occasionally, in order to recommend themselves to public favour, still affected to call Persia's kings the natural enemies of the Grecian people, and used to recite the glorious exploits their forefathers had achieved against them. Yet the general policy was, to consider the Persian monarch as a prince, from whose corrupted and unwieldy empire Greece had nothing now to apprehend, and to whose influence and treasures it was not disreputable to have recourse.

BOOK II.
SECT. I.

Reign of
Agesilaus.

WHEN the Macedonian princes grew formidable, and their subtil schemes began to unfold themselves, these friendly dispositions towards the Persian king acquired additional strength; and what had been, probably, in many cases the suggestions of a narrow ambition, were now found to be the dictates of sound policy. The Greeks saw evidently, that their existence as a nation was immediately connected with the support of the Persian monarch; that Persia was the only power that could balance the Macedonian; and, if the former was once overthrown, their liberties must soon share the same fate.

The power
of Macedon
grows for-
midable;

THIS explains transactions, from which otherwise we might be tempted to draw improper inferences. Some of the ablest statesmen, and first leaders of Greece, appear, at this juncture, to have been strongly attached to the Persian monarch; to have kept up a constant intercourse with his ministers; and to have frequently received large remittances from

and induces
many of the
Greeks to
look to Persia
for protec-
tion.



BOOK II. from them. Demosthenes, among many others, countenanced
 Sect. I. these principles and adopted this practice; but we are not to
 imagine they were betraying their country'. It was, in fact,
 their attention to her real interest that produced these measures.
 The cause of Persia was become the cause of Greece.

Philip endeavours to prevent this;

PHILIP possessed too much sagacity, not to perceive the tendency of this political system; and was too able a statesman, not to counteract it. He also employed *his* emissaries. He availed himself of those popular prejudices against the Persian name, which had still possession of the multitude. His orators took every opportunity of displaying, with studied aggravation, all the hostile attempts ever made against Greece by Persia, and of pouring out invectives against those base betrayers of their country, who had sold themselves to their sworn enemy. At the same time he assumed the specious character of "Assertor of the independence of the Grecian people."

obtains the appointment of General of Greece against the Barbarians,

THESE popular acts, aided by a variety of intrigues, and supported by the vigour and success of his military operations, had their effect. And, notwithstanding the suspicions entertained of him by many of the states of Greece, and the formal opposition of some of the most considerable, he had the address to carry the point he had long in view, and to procure himself to be elected, in the great council of the nation, GENERAL OF THE GREEKS AGAINST THE BARBARIANS. What use this profound politician would have

* See Plutarch in Demosth.

made



made of this nominal sovereignty, is left to our conjectures. He died before he could execute the extensive projects he had formed.

BOOK II.
Sect. I.
and dies.

THE Greeks imagined, his schemes had expired with him; that they had now little to fear from an unexperienced and raw youth, who neither possessed the depth of thought, nor the ability for execution, by which his father had been distinguished. Their contempt of him was their ruin. Before they entertained any suspicion of Alexander's designs, he appeared in the midst of their national council, and firmly demanded his father's appointment of generalissimo, urging his plea with all the plausibility of argument that the most practised statesman could have employed. The steadiness with which he made this requisition, and his persuasive manner of enforcing it, joined to their own surprize and embarrassment, extorted from them a consent, in which their affections had little share. Alexander saw what interpretation he was to give to this act; and, to confirm their servitude, determined they should be taught to know, it was not an useless weapon they had put into his hands. The Thebans soon furnished him with an opportunity. They, as we have seen, endeavoured to shake off the Macedonian yoke; the Macedonian King treated them as rebels, who had risen against their lawful sovereign, laying their city in ruins, and almost exterminating their nation.

Alexander's
activity and
vigour;

his chastise-
ment of the
Thebans.

THE consternation into which this act of severity threw all Greece, answered Alexander's purpose effectually; and he was already in Asia, before they had recovered from their panic. Antipater had instructions to observe their motions with

Humiliation
of Greece.

T

a jealous



BOOK II. a jealous eye; and, by keeping a respectable force in readiness for action, to prevent, if possible, their disaffection from breaking out into open hostilities. But, besides the impression which the dread of Antipater and the fate of Thebes might have made on the minds of the Greeks, there were also many other considerations, not less powerful, to restrain them from taking an active part at this conjuncture. They were no longer the noble-spirited people they had been; corrupted by dissipation and pleasure, their citizens were without strength for war, their leaders ignorant or timid. Far from conspiring together in any generous or beneficial purpose, their several states were disunited from each other by distrusts, by jealousies, by resentment of former injuries. In many of the Grecian cities, the creatures of Macedon predominated, and directed every public act: and where the real friends of Greece retained any share of power, such was the confusion of the public councils, from the diffidence and hesitation of one party, and the contests and perplexing arts of the other, that it was not possible their deliberations should terminate in any measure vigorous and effectual.

Agis king of
Sparta;

SPARTA alone seemed to testify a real concern for the prosperity of Greece. Less exposed, from the nature of her government, to the influence of Macedonian intrigues, she enjoyed, besides, the advantage of having on the throne a prince active and intrepid, Agis, grandson of the great Agesilaus, who had an early insight into the schemes of the kings of Macedon, and beheld with indignation the Grecian liberties falling before them. To him may be ascribed the opposition made to Alexander by the Spartan deputies, in the general convention of the states of Greece, notwithstanding

his character;



ing the tame compliance of the other members of which that assembly was composed. Even before he was seated on the throne, Agis had been remarkable for his spirited behaviour at the court of Philip. He had been dispatched *alone* on an embassy to that Court; and the Macedonian, who saw himself attended by a number of ambassadors from every other Grecian State, displeas'd that Sparta had been thus deficient, observed with a contemptuous sneer, "What! from Sparta "but one!"—"Why," replied Agis, "I was sent but to "one"."

THE advanced age of Cleomenes, the other Spartan king, not permitting him to attend to the more laborious offices of government, the military department devolved on Agis; a task to which his genius and abilities were well suited. He infused new vigour into the Spartans. He formed a powerful confederacy throughout the Peloponnesus. He excited an insurrection in Crete. He kept up a strict connexion with Darius, at whose court he had ambassadors, and of whose motions and counsels he had regular intelligence. It was with Agis that Memnon had concerted the important diversion of carrying the war into Macedon; which, as we have already observed, was prevented by Memnon's death.

THE disastrous state of Darius's affairs after the battle of Issus, encreas'd the apprehensions of Agis. He perceived there was no time to be lost; and the conjuncture seem'd favourable. Alexander was employ'd in the distant provinces of Asia; a rebellion in Thrace had oblig'd Antipater to

^a Plutarch in Apophthegm.



BOOK II. turn his attention thither; and a considerable body of Greek
 Sect. I. mercenaries, who had escaped from Iffus, had, after a variety
 of fortune, made their way into Greece, and joined the
 Spartans. Encouraged by these several incidents, he took
 the field, and marched against Megalopolis, the only city in
 Peloponnesus that held out for the Macedonians. Antipater
 was alarmed; he composed matters in Thrace in the best
 manner he was able; and hastened to oppose an enemy, whose
 attempt, if successful, might have been followed by a ge-
 neral defection of the rest of Greece. The Macedonian for-
 tune once more prevailed. Agis was overpowered by the
 superior numbers of Antipater, and fell pierced with wounds.
 His men would have secured his retreat; but he refused to
 survive the expiring liberties of his country, and continued
 fighting to the last.

defeat,

and death.

Consequences
of this victo-
ry.

This victory was of essential service to Alexander. It
 dissipated the Peloponnesian confederacy, which might have
 led to dangerous consequences. It provided effectually for
 the security of his hereditary dominions, and left him at
 leisure to pursue his schemes of foreign conquests. Jealous,
 however, of the glory Antipater derived from his victory,
 Alexander affected to make light of what he had performed.
 "Whilst our arms have been employed against Darius," said
 he, "there has, it seems, been a battle of mice in Arcadia*."
 Had the Persian monarch furnished Agis with seasonable and
 ample supplies, and enabled him, before it was too late, to
 make that diversion, which such a prince, properly sup-

* Diod. Sic. L. xvii. c. 6. Quint. Cur. L. vi. c. 1. Just. L. xii. c. 1.

* Plutarch in Agesilao.

ported,



ported, might have made; and had the Grecians, at the same time, sensible of their situation, and animated with the virtue of their ancestors, exerted themselves in conjunction with him; Alexander had probably found it a very different war from what *he* had to wage against the ill-disciplined and effeminate Asiatics.

BOOK II.
SECT. I.

ATHENS had not joined in the confederacy with Agis. The hostile wishes, however, and private intrigues of Demosthenes and his party were no secret to Antipater; and he determined they should share in the humiliation to which Greece was now reduced by his victorious arms. Demosthenes had long been the most formidable enemy the Macedonian interest had to contend with in Athens, and the states connected with her. His powers of eloquence it were superfluous to enlarge upon. They have been long the subject of universal panegyric; and the applause they obtained from a people, who, in high spirit, exquisite taste, and quickness of apprehension, have never been excelled, if ever equalled, and the amazing effects they often produced among them; arresting every ear in the midst of their most impetuous pursuits, and compelling men to adopt schemes they were most adverse to; abundantly declare the vast extent of his oratorical powers. But, how exalted soever he stands deservedly as an orator, his character as a statesman and a patriot, in which lights we are at present to consider him, challenges infinitely more our admiration. He has the merit of having made the earliest discovery of Philip's real designs; he intuitively saw into his very soul; and, with a sagacity almost prophetic, pointed out to his fellow-citizens the several objects of the ambition of that aspiring prince, when he could hardly be supposed yet to have

Demosthenes
obnoxious to
the Macedo-
nian govern-
ment;

his character,
as an orator;

as a patriot;



BOOK II. have formed them. The love of ease, which now prevailed
 Sect. I. among the Athenians, the natural consequence of voluptuous manners, together with the contempt with which they were accustomed to look down on Macedon and her kings, rendered them at first inattentive to the warnings of this faithful counsellor. He was not discouraged. The more his countrymen were immersed in pleasures, the louder and the more active was his zeal. He attacked their indolence and degeneracy with the keenest severity. He tore them from their favourite amusements. He forced open the miser's purse; and drove the voluptuary to the field of battle. He roused, in like manner, the other Grecian states from their inactivity. He watched Philip's motions, in Thrace, in Illyricum, in Thessaly; and, subtle as the Macedonian was, often counteracted his best-concerted plans. He baffled him at Bizantium; he baffled him at Thermopylae; and at last forced him to venture all on the cast of a battle at Chaeronea. Philip was indeed victorious; but he owed this victory to causes in which Demosthenes had no concern.

his firmness in
 times of diffi-
 culty;

THAT fatal event was soon followed by those signal successes which attended Alexander's arms, first in Europe, then in Asia; all which rendered any opposition to the Macedonian power exceedingly difficult and hazardous. Demosthenes, nevertheless, still persisted, neither gained over by hopes of personal advantage, nor intimidated by the perils with which he saw himself surrounded. He withstood the creatures of Macedon on all occasions. He supported the Persian interest, as far as the antient prepossessions of the multitude permitted him; and there is reason to believe, that if Agis had proved successful against Antipater, he would have



have endeavoured, and probably with effect, to make Athens declare in his favour.

BOOK II.
SECT. I.

WHAT makes the character of Demosthenes more remarkable, and serves to shew how strong his feelings for his country must have been, was his constitutional cowardice. Intrepid as he was, when pleading the cause of Athens, in the field of battle he had not even the firmness of a common soldier.

constitutionally timid;

IN one point, however, Demosthenes seems to have been mistaken. His design was, to restore to the Athenian constitution its pristine vigour; and to recall that spirit, which had formerly produced such wonderful effects. But that spirit was not to be recalled. The source of it, Athenian virtue, was no more.

mistaken in one point;

PHOCION, an illustrious Athenian of these times, who had all the integrity, though none of the enthusiasm, of Demosthenes, opposed him upon this principle. "Since the Athenians," said he; "in their present degeneracy, are no longer able to fill their antient glorious sphere, let them adapt their counsels to their abilities, and rather court the friendship of that power, which they cannot provoke but to their destruction." Demosthenes could not forbear looking back to the age of a Themistocles and a Cimon. His designs certainly argued nobler sentiments and a greater elevation of mind. But the temperate patriot-

and is opposed by Phocion;

^s Plutarch in Phocione;

ifm



BOOK II. *Life of Phocion* had doubtless the advantage in point of
 Sect. I. wisdom.

charged with
 having re-
 ceived a bribe
 from Harpa-
 lus ;

GREECE now humbled by Antipater's arms, the enemies of Demosthenes soon found an opportunity, which they had long sought for, of bringing him to disgrace and public condemnation. Harpalus, of whom mention has already been made, having plundered the treasures which Alexander had committed to his care, fled to Athens, in hopes of protection. Demosthenes was one of the first men to urge to the people the expediency of refusing shelter to such a traitor, conjuring them not to draw on themselves Alexander's resentment in a cause so disreputable. But Harpalus, who knew well how to distribute his gold, had secured a number of orators on his side, and might probably have continued in Athens without farther molestation, had not the report of Alexander's sending a formidable fleet to chastise the Athenians for giving him shelter, obliged them to expel him from their city. This act of justice was followed by another. An enquiry was instituted concerning those persons who had received presents from Harpalus ; and directions were given that they should be prosecuted. This was the engine which Antipater's creatures employed successfully against Demosthenes. He was charged with having taken Harpalus's gold ; and upon trial before the Areopagus was condemned, and fined fifty talents, which, being unable to pay, he was forced

banished.

into exile^a.

^a Plutarch in Demosthene.

THE



THE circumstances of this charge, as related by Plutarch, carry, nevertheless, upon the face of them, an air of fiction and absurdity. Demosthenes, we are told, was present when Harpalus was landing his treasure; and, a gold cup of great value and elegant workmanship having caught his eye, Harpalus, who observed him admiring it, desired he would poise it in his hand, in order to guess at the weight; Demosthenes asked what it might amount to, "To you," replied Harpalus, "it shall bring twenty talents;" and accordingly sent it with twenty talents to the orator's house. Demosthenes was next day to have appeared against him before the assembly of the people; but the gold cup having shewn him the cause in a different light, he excused himself upon pretence of a sudden cold.

BOOK II.
Sect. I.

The charge unjust:

So coarse and shameless a traffic almost exceeds belief, and argues an indelicacy, such as we can hardly suppose an Athenian would have been guilty of, much less a Demosthenes, who had an exalted character to maintain, and who must have known the difficulty of concealing such a transaction from public observation. The conduct of such a man must, in policy, have been more guarded, had he even been capable of the meanness to sell himself to Harpalus.

BUT not only is this whole narrative highly improbable; there is direct proof from Pausanias⁷, that the accusation was altogether the device of malice. Harpalus fled from Athens to Crete, where he was slain by his own servants; and his principal manager having fallen into the

⁷ See Pausan. in Corinthiacis, p. 76.

U

hands



Book II. hands of Philoxenus, he compelled him by torture to in-
 Sect. 1. form against those Athenians who had received bribes from
 Harpalus. From his confession, which Philoxenus himself
 attested, appeared the innocence of Demosthenes. Philoxe-
 nus was a naval officer in the service of Alexander, who
 had a personal enmity to Demosthenes. His testimony,
 therefore, deserves the fullest credit*.

who promot-
 ed the charge,
 and with
 what views.

ANTIPATER was too experienced a politician to appear
 avowedly in this prosecution; it is, however, easy to judge
 at whose instance, and by whose intrigues, it was carried on.
 And it must be acknowledged, the artifice was well adapted
 to the purpose. To have attacked Demosthenes for what
 was really his crime in the eyes of the Macedonians, "his
 "unalterable zeal for the liberties of his country," had been
 invidious even in the present situation of things. But, to
 impeach his integrity; to shew to Athens, that the man
 who was her pride had a corrupted heart, and that his
 boasted superiority of virtue was nothing more than a greater
 depth of hypocrisy; was injuring the cause, of which he
 was the champion, and, as it were, striking at Athenian
 patriotism through the sides of Demosthenes. The scheme
 was worthy of Antipater; and so dangerous are the wounds
 of calumny, that to this day this great man is spoken

* Even Plutarch's account supplies us with evidence in behalf of Demosthenes. From that historian's own confession, Demosthenes appears to have been the very person who moved for an order that the affair should be brought before the court of Areopagus, and all persons punished, who should be found guilty of having taken bribes. Plut. in Demosthene. Would Demosthenes have done this, had he been conscious of being himself among the guilty?

of,



FROM THE ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

147

of, by the superficial enquirer, as having fallen a victim to his own avarice.

Book II.
Sect. I.

THE condemnation of Demosthenes affords a melancholy view of the debasement, into which the most respectable of the tribunals of Athens had been sunk by that despotic power now possessed by Antipater. The decision of THE CAUSE OF THE CROWN had happened about two years before this period; and it will be proper to explain the nature of that celebrated trial.

CTESIPHON had proposed a decree, by which a golden crown was to be presented to Demosthenes for his services to his country, and particularly for having rebuilt some part of the Athenian walls at his own expence. Aeschines, another Athenian orator, who had devoted himself to the Macedonian interest, had indicted Ctesiphon for this proposal, alleging, among other things, that Demosthenes, far from deserving any honours from his country, was in reality the enemy of Greece. The complaint against Ctesiphon was preferred on the year of the battle of Chaeronea, a season of great humiliation to Athens, and probably chosen by Aeschines and his party on that account. Demosthenes undertook the defence of Ctesiphon. But from various incidents, the hearing of the cause was postponed until some months after the final overthrow of Darius.

The cause of
the crown.

THE importance of the question, in which the discussion of the claims of Macedon, the independence of Athens,

* OLYMP. cxii. 3. BEFORE CHRIST 329. In the Archonship of Aristophon.— See Palm. Exercit. in Aust. Graec. p. 656.

U 2

and,



BOOK II. and, indeed, of every other Grecian state, were evidently in-
 Sect. I. volved; together with the great reputation of both the ora-
 tors, excited universal attention; and from the remotest
 parts of Greece, multitudes crowded to Athens, to at-
 tend the interesting contest¹⁰. The partisans also of Ma-
 cedon were not inactive, and every kind of sollicitation was
 employed to gain the judges, by whom sentence was to
 be pronounced. Demosthenes, nevertheless, proved victo-
 rious. And Aeschines, not having a fifth of the suffrages in
 his favour, was, according to the law in such cases, severely
 fined, and upon non-payment obliged to retire into banish-
 ment. This extraordinary success, which was in reality the
 triumph of liberty over oppression, serves to shew, that
 Athens was not yet broken to the yoke of bondage. De-
 mosthenes's performance on this occasion has certainly the
 highest degree of merit. Even to us, who have only a
 distant and assumed interest in the matters agitated, it has
 such fascinating powers, that it is scarcely possible to read it,
 without feeling some portion of what every honest Athenian
 must have felt on that important day. His success, however,
 is not to be altogether ascribed to the force of his eloquence;
 the circumstances of the times operated also in his favour.
 Alexander, at that time, was engaged in the remote provinces
 of Asia, "almost," said the public voice, "beyond the utmost
 limits of the habitable world;" from whence it was not
 thought he could ever return: so that whether Greece was

Whence this
 different suc-
 cess.

¹⁰ Οσους ἄνδρας πῶποτε μέμνηται πρὸ ἀγῶνα δημοῖον παραγομένους: says Aeschines in Ctesiphont. *Dubl.* 1769; *a. Stock.*—The cause was heard in the court of Heliaca, of which see Potter, b. i. c. 21.

¹¹ Ἐξ ἧς τῆς ἀφ᾽ οὗτου καὶ βίου μέμνηται ἄλλοθεν δὲν πάλιν. Aesch. in Ctesiphont.

to



to preserve or lose her liberties, was a point not yet decided. The emissaries of Macedon could only solicit, they could not dictate. Two years later, perhaps, Demosthenes and Aeschines had changed fortunes.

Book II.
Sect. 1.

DEGRADED as Greece appears now to have been, Alexander thought there was something wanting to complete her humiliation. During the first of his victories in Asia, he affected to treat the Greeks with moderation. To Athens he had paid particular regard; whether he respected the ancient glories of that illustrious city, or whether he felt his vanity interested in the judgment which her writers should form concerning him. The latter consideration had probably most weight. As he was passing the Hydaspis, in order to attack Porus, "What dangers am I encountering, O Athenians," was he heard to say, "in order to be celebrated by you!" But his spirit, naturally imperious, and elevated by his repeated successes, and the prostrate servility with which the Asiatic nations approached him, was now become impatient of contradiction; and every struggle for liberty he considered as an insolent invasion of his right of sovereignty. In most of the Grecian states there had long subsisted a contention for power, the body of the people claiming the administration of affairs, and the higher order of citizens endeavouring to wrest it from them. Whatever party prevailed, the chief leaders in opposition were driven into exile. This had filled Greece with exiles from almost every city, and their number, at this period, is said to have amounted to upwards of twenty thousand. Alexander

Alexander affects to dictate to the Grecian states;

¹³ Plutarch in Alexand.

¹⁴ Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 1.



Book II. quickly saw what advantage might be reaped from this contin-
 Sect. I. gency. If restored to their privileges through him, they were
 so many of his creatures, of whose devotion he might rest assured:
 at the same time, the convulsions, into which every state would
 probably be thrown by the revolutions of power and prop-
 erty, which such an act of indemnity must introduce, would
 leave the different commonwealths of Greece at his mercy.
 The popular government also had been victorious in most of
 the states; and his undertaking the cause of the exiles fur-
 nished Alexander with the very opportunity he wished for,
 of depressing that party, whose bold and ungovernable zeal
 for freedom rendered them exceedingly obnoxious. Actuated
 by these motives, he commanded proclamation to be made at the
 Olympic games, "that all the exiles, those excepted who had
 " been guilty of atrocious crimes, should be forthwith restored
 " to their respective cities;" declaring, that whatever cities
 refused to receive them, should be compelled by military
 force".

Commands
 the exiles to
 be restored.

THERE is a degree of oppression, that will rouse the most
 abject. Alexander's pretending to divine honours, had pro-
 voked the ridicule" of some of the Grecian states, and the in-
 dignation of others. The Athenians had the courage to fine
 one of their citizens for proposing to enrol him among their
 gods; and pronounced sentence of death against another, who,

¹⁴ Diod. Sic. ub. sup.

¹⁵ The decree of the Spartans, on this occasion, is memorable, and shews what a
 spirited people they still were, notwithstanding their late humiliation by the defeat of
 Agis: *Ἐπειδὴ Ἀλέξανδρος βούλεται θεὸς εἶναι, ἴστω θεός;* "Since Alexander will be a
 god, let him be a god."—Aelian. L. ii. c. 19.

when



when on an embassy, had been mean enough to pay him "divine honours". These, however, were but the faint efforts of a people who had not yet forgotten their days of liberty, and no insurrection had followed. But his usurping a control over their municipal privileges, the exercise of which was to the Greeks an object of supreme importance, was more than they could bear. The Athenians, especially, were fired with indignation; they refused to obey; and immediately dispatched ambassadors to all the neighbouring states, in order to excite a general insurrection. The Aetolians were warm in the same cause, having been lately exasperated by certain menacing declarations Alexander was said to have employed against them". Whilst this ferment was at the highest, intelligence arrived, that Alexander was dead. Now it was seen what were the real sentiments of the Greeks. Most of them ran to arms, and, having driven out the friends of Macedon, hastened to join the Athenians, who had already a considerable force collected under the command of Leosthenes.

Book II.
Sect. 1.

The Athenians refuse to obey; and invite the other states to join them.

Alexander dies.

Insurrection throughout Greece.

It was on this occasion that Demosthenes was recalled. Though in exile, he still retained unabated zeal for what

Demosthenes is recalled.

"Demades proposed a law, "that to the twelve great gods of the Athenian ritual Alexander should be added." Incensed at which insolent proposal, the people fined him ten talents, 1,937 l. 10 s. (says Athenaeus, L. vi. c. 126. p. 251. Casaub.) an hundred talents, 19,375 l. (says Aelian, L. v. c. 12. p. 415. Grom.) Evagoras, who, when deputed by the Athenians to Alexander, had, in compliance with the vanity of that prince, worshipped him, they condemned to death. Athen. ub. sup.

"They had sacked the city of the Oeniadae on the Achelous; and Alexander having been informed of it, "The children of the Oeniadae," said he, "need not avenge their cause; I will myself execute vengeance on the Aetolians."—Plutarch. in Alexand. Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 1.



Book II., he thought to be the cause of his country. He attended the
 Sect. 1. Athenian embassadors in their progress through Peloponnesus; and by his eloquence prevailed on many of the cities to unite with Athens in endeavouring to deliver Greece from the yoke of Macedon. In one of the Arcadian cities he particularly distinguished himself by his opposition to Pytheas, an eminent orator, and a principal instrument of the Macedonian faction; his reply to whom was much celebrated. "The Athenians," said Pytheas, "may be likened unto ass's milk: when brought into any house, it is a certain indication of sickness there; so, whenever they appear in any city, we may surely pronounce that city to be dis-tempered."—"True," answered Demosthenes; "but as ass's milk is the restorative of health, so are dis-tempered states restored to vigour by Athenian counsels^a." This timely exertion of loyalty, together with the change that had taken place in the Athenian government, pleaded effectually in his behalf. He was restored in the most honourable manner. A galley was fitted out to fetch him from Aegina; and as he came from the Piraeus to Athens, the whole body of citizens, even priests and magistrates, went out to meet him, and to congratulate him on his return. He was still liable to the fine, which, by the laws of Athens, could not be remitted; but they contrived to indemnify him. They assigned to him the office of preparing and adorning the altar on the feast of Jupiter the Preserver, with an appointment of fifty talents, the sum to which his fine amounted.

^a Plutarch in Demosthene.

LEOSTHENE9



LEOSTHENES had commenced his military operations with great success¹⁹. He had marched against Antipater at the head of a numerous army, had defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to shut himself up in Lamia in Theffaly, of which he had immediately formed the siege. These prosperous beginnings elated the Athenians; they had already, in their sanguine expectations, driven back the Macedonians within their antient boundaries; and in a short time, they imagined, Athens was to be raised once more to her former splendor. Phocion thought otherwise. He to the utmost of his power opposed the giddy humours of the people, who, though possibly victorious at first, he knew, had neither steadiness nor strength sufficient to maintain a war of any continuance against Macedon. "What will then be the proper time, do you think, for the Athenians to go to war?" said one of the popular leaders to him. "When the young men," replied Phocion, "keep within the bounds of order; when the rich are liberal in their contributions; and the orators cease to rob the state." Even the present flash of success did not mislead his sound judgment. When successive messengers were arriving with tidings of farther advantages obtained over the enemy; "when shall we have done conquering?" said Phocion²⁰.

Book II.
Sect. I.

Leosthenes marches against Antipater, and overcomes him.

The exultation of the Athenians reproved by Phocion.

HE was justified by the event. Leosthenes having fallen before Lamia, the Athenians continued the war under the command of Antiphilus, and even defeated and killed Leonatus, who had marched to the assistance of Antipater. But here ended their good fortune. Antipater contrived to get

Leosthenes slain.

¹⁹ Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 1, 2.

²⁰ Plutarch in Phocione.



Book II. out of Lamia ; and Craterus, who had charge of con-
 Sect. I. ducting the Macedonian veterans back to Europe, at the time
 of Alexander's death, having received advice in Cilicia of the
 difficulties of Antipater, hastened to his assistance, and, join-
 ing forces with him, advanced to Cranon, a town in Thessaly,
 attacked the Greeks, and worsted them. What the unprof-
 perous issue of this battle begun, the intrigues of Antipater
 completed. The Grecian confederacy crumbled to pieces, every
 state making terms for itself, and leaving the Athenians to
 provide, as they could, for their own security. Having there-
 fore no enemy to oppose them, the Macedonian generals di-
 rected their march towards Athens. Arrogant as the Athe-
 nians had been when victorious, much more were they
 depressed by a reverse of fortune. They laid aside all thoughts
 of defence, and sent deputies to deprecate the wrath of the
 conquerors ; offering to submit to whatever conditions they
 should be pleased to impose. Demosthenes, and Hyperides
 another Athenian orator in the same interest, were the first vic-
 tims demanded. Their faithful and active zeal, in the service
 of their country, deserved this distinction. The other con-
 ditions were not less humiliating : the Democracy was to
 be abolished ; the obnoxious were to forfeit their muni-
 cipal rights ; and the administration was to be lodged in
 the hands of the rich ; Athens was to receive a Macedonian
 garrison, and to defray the whole expences of the war.
 Phocion, who might justly claim some merit with Anti-
 pater, laboured much to save Athens from the ignominy of
 a Macedonian garrison ; but the victor, oppressive and relent-
 less in his nature, was not to be softened. Plutarch informs
 us, that by this treaty upwards of twelve thousand Athe-
 nians were disfranchised, most of whom were afterwards re-
 moved.

and Antipa-
 ter victori-
 ous.

The Atheni-
 ans submit to
 Antipater,

who imposes
 rigorous con-
 ditions.



moved to Thrace, the Siberia of Greece, where they had lands assigned to them²¹. BOOK II.
Sect. I.

DEMOSTHENES, knowing what treatment his strenuous efforts for liberty might expect, had left Athens, upon the approach of Antipater, and fled to Calauria, a small island opposite to Troezen, where he took refuge in a temple of Neptune, to whom the island was particularly sacred: but Antipater having dispatched messengers thither, they beset the temple, and seemed disposed not to pay regard to any sanctuary. In this emergency Demosthenes swallowed poison, which he had provided for the occasion, and expired before the altar of the god. Demosthenes
flies to Calauria,

and dies.

SUCH was the catastrophe of Demosthenes, according to general tradition. But Plutarch²² tells us, that Democharis, who attended him in his last moments, affirmed that his sudden death was not by any procurement of his own, but altogether owing to a decay of nature (rendered, probably, more rapid by the anguish, which, in the present situation of affairs, he must have felt for himself and for his country). "A gracious Providence," said Democharis, "snatched him away from the cruelty of the Macedonians." Different accounts of his death.

IT deserves notice, that when Athens lost Demosthenes, her spirit for liberty seems to have finally expired; her annals from this period being remarkable for little more than the servile adulation, with which she fawned on the several tyrants that ruled over her. After Antipater, his son Cas- Abasement
of Athens.

²¹ Diod. Sic. ub. sup. Plutarch in Phocione et Demosthene. mosthene.

²² In De-



Book II. fander held her in subjection. He was dispossessed by Ari-
Sect. I. daeus and Polyperchon; and so wretchedly base were the
 Athenians grown, that, to please their new masters, they
 condemned to death the excellent Phocion²³, merely because
 he had been in favour with Cassander and his father. The
 same degenerated character the Athenians appear to have
 retained through the various revolutions that followed, the
 irruption of the Gauls excepted. On that occasion, some
 portion of their antient vigour revived; but, the danger over,
 they soon relapsed. There was no government; however
 oppressive, to which they did not tamely submit, nor any go-
 vernor, however profligate, whose great virtues they were not
 ready to extol; transferring their homage from tyrant to
 tyrant, during all the vicissitudes of power.

WE shall find frequent instances of this fervility in the
 history of the Macedonian princes, with whose affairs those
 of the Athenians will generally be found connected; their
 transactions from this time being too inconsiderable to have
 a particular place assigned to them.

WE now pass over to Asia, to view the changes of the
 Macedonian empire in that quarter from the period of Alex-
 ander's death.

²³ Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 5. Plut. in Phocione.



B O O K II.

SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

General state of affairs in Asia, from Alexander's death to the battle of Ipsus—Alexander's generals destroy his family—and divide his dominions among themselves—Antigonus, and Demetrius his son, kings of Syria—provoke the other chiefs by their haughty and ambitious claims—are defeated at Ipsus—Antigonus is slain—Demetrius saves himself by flight—is stripped of most of his dominions—endeavours to recover them—in vain—is forced to yield himself a prisoner to Seleucus—dies in confinement—his character—and various fortunes.

THE death of Alexander offered a wide field to the ambition of the several commanders who had served under him¹. He had left no son who might fill the throne; the incapacity of his brother Aridaeus was generally admitted; and his last words seemed to open the succession to the pretensions of every claimant. These were flattering circum-

BOOK II.
SECT. 2.

Interested views of his successors, upon Alexander's death.

¹ See Plutarch in Alexand. Diod. Sic. xviii. 2. & seq. Just. xiii. 1. Pausan. in Atticis.

stances,



Book II.
Sect. 2.

stances, to men who saw themselves at the head of powerful armies, and invested with the government of the richest provinces of Asia. Many of them too were respectable by their birth, all of them high in military reputation, and possessed of much treasure; and they had for some years moved in a sphere not inferior to that of sovereign princes. Alexander, in his last moments, had delivered his signet to Perdicas. This tacit appointment (for in that light it was considered by this general and his dependents) served only to mark him out as an object of envy to the rest; and the most certain means of being frustrated in his claims, had been to avow them. When therefore it was proposed that Aridaeus, and the child to be born of Roxana, in case it proved a son, should share the government, all the competitors, after some contestations of little moment, concurred in the measure; not from any regard to the memory of their late master, but because the nominal sovereignty of *a fool* and *an infant* left each of them at liberty to pursue the purposes of his ambition. Aridaeus is, from this period, generally known by the name of Philip Aridaeus. The soldiers gave him that appellation, in honour of his father.

Aridaeus appointed to the sovereignty, together with the child to be born of Roxana:

design of this appointment.

Artifice of Perdicas:

PERDICCAS acted the part of an artful politician. He had at first vigorously opposed the election of Aridaeus; but, from the moment he found himself unable to prevent it, he affected to appear devoted to his interests, and so effectually insinuated himself into his confidence, that he soon got possession of the power of which that weak prince had but the name; he even contrived, with Aridaeus's approbation, to destroy the very persons who had appeared most strenuous

ous



ous in promoting his election². With a view to secure the favour of the Macedonian soldiery, who retained a strong affection for the family of Philip, he effected the prince's marriage with Eurydice, the grand-daughter of that monarch, though he himself had been the murderer of her mother³.

BOOK II.
Sect. 2.

It soon became necessary to unite his interests with those of Roxana, whose new-born son, Alexander, was associated in the kingdom with Aridaeus; and the favour of this princess was purchased by the most criminal sacrifices to her jealousy and apprehensions. Statira, the daughter of the unfortunate Darius, and wife of Alexander, was put to death, lest a child should be born of her, who might one day dispute the throne with the son of Roxana; and Parysatis, Statira's sister, who had been married to Hephæstion, shared the same fate⁴.

courts the favour of Roxana, whose new-born son was now associated in the kingdom:

to please her, murders Statira:

THOUGH Perdicas now possessed the sole administration of affairs, he had still, he thought, much to fear from men who had lately been his fellow-commanders, and who might either supplant him in the royal favour, or raise a party against him in the army. To remove these, therefore, from

forms the plan of removing the great officers from court, under pretence of assigning them governments.

² Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 1. Just. L. xiii. c. 4.

³ The mother of Eurydice was called Cynane. She was daughter of king Philip, by a lady of Illyricum, and had been disposed of by him in marriage to Amyntas, who was son to his eldest brother, and consequently had a prior right to the throne of Macedon. This princess was put to death by Perdicas, on pretence of certain reasons of state; but in fact, to gratify the wishes of Olympias.

⁴ Plutarch in Alexand.

too



Book II. too near a connection with the court, he caused the several
Sect. 2. governments and great offices of state to be distributed among them, in the name of the kings. The hereditary kingdom of Macedon, and the countries dependent on it, together with all Greece, were assigned to Antipater and Craterus. To Eumenes, Paphlagonia and Cappadocia. Ptolemy had Egypt. Antigonus, Phrygia the greater, Lycia, and Pamphylia. Lyfimachus, Thrace and the Chersonese, with all the adjacent countries to the Euxine sea. Seleucus was placed at the head of the royal cavalry. And the others had similar appointments. Perdicas contented himself with the title of captain of the household troops, whilst, in fact, under the sanction of the regal authority, all acts of government were performed by him^s.

finds himself
the dupe of
this measure:

THIS measure, though politic in appearance, proved in the end the destruction of its author. While he hoped, by placing the generals at a distance from each other, to have an opportunity of crushing those who were most obnoxious to him, he seems to have forgotten, that they were men, who, with great abilities, had ambition equal to his own; and that few of them would fail to grasp at a sovereignty, which their present situation put within their reach. Antigonus was one of the first who disclaimed all dependence. Antipater and Craterus prepared to take up arms; and Ptolemy had soon established his power in Egypt, in a manner that plainly indicated his aspiring views. Perdicas determined to begin by attacking this last; and, having left

attacks Ptolemy,

^s Diod. Sic. ^s Just. ub. sup.

Eumenes



Eumenes to make head against Antipater and Craterus, he, together with the kings, directed his march towards Egypt. After repeated attempts, however, it was found impracticable to make impresson on the Egyptian frontier; and the soldiers, disgusted with ill success, and exasperated by the severe and haughty manners he had assumed, mutinied, and assassinated him⁶.

Book II.
Sect. 2.

without success;

is slain by his own soldiers.

WHILST Perdiccas⁷ was employed in this expedition, Eumenes⁸, who was unalterably true to the interests of Perdiccas, because he believed them to be the interests of the son and brother of his late royal master, had made a vigorous opposition to the party of Antipater and Craterus, and defeated them in two engagements; in one of which Craterus fell.

Antipater and Craterus defeated by Eumenes;

Craterus slain.

THIS last victory was obtained altogether by the artful management of Eumenes. Craterus was so highly beloved by the national troops, that, had the Macedonians on the side of Eumenes found out they were marching against this general, they had probably gone over to his standard. But Eumenes, who was aware of this circumstance, carefully concealed the fact from them; and, when he was to join battle, contrived to

Art employed by Eumenes in the obtaining this victory.

⁶ OLYMP. cxiv. 3. BEFORE CHRIST 321.

⁷ It is said, that he had at first courted the alliance of Antipater, in order to gain him over to his ambitious views; but that afterwards, through the management of Olympias, who hated Antipater and his family, he had been induced to turn his thoughts to Cleopatra, sister of Alexander the Great, and widow of the king of Epire. Just. L. xiii. c. 6.

⁸ See Plutarch in Eumene.

Y

oppose



Book II. oppose with foreigners alone, that part where Craterus com-
 Sect. 2. manded. So that the Macedonians had no suspicion of his
 being in the field, until he was found expiring.

fidelity to
 Alexander's
 family:

EUMENES, indeed, appears to have been the only one of the servants of Alexander, whose integrity was without reproach. Though by birth a Thracian, he had been much intrusted by that prince, and had served him with fidelity, both in the army and in the closet. After his death, he continued firmly attached to the princes of his family, whose cause he defended with great bravery to the last.

declared a
 public ene-
 my:

THIS honourable conduct availed him little. As the friend of Perdiccas, he had, after the murder of that general, been proclaimed a public enemy. And Antipater having been elected protector of the kingdom in Perdiccas's stead, gave orders to Antigonus to prosecute the war against him.

defeated by
 Antigonus:

ANTIGONUS gladly received orders, which so exactly corresponded with his own views. He immediately prepared to attack Eumenes, and, by the treachery of one of his officers, obtained a complete victory over him. Eumenes, nevertheless, had the skill to make this disaster contribute to his glory. He collected the scattered remains of his army; struck off into a road parallel to that by which the enemy were pursuing him; passed by them unperceived; returned to the field of battle; burnt the dead bodies of his soldiers on one pile, and those of his officers on another, covering the ashes of each with a large mount of earth; and then, detaching all his sick and wounded, retired with five hundred.

his skilful
 retreat to the
 castle of
 Nora, where
 he baffles An-
 tigonus:



dred⁹ chosen men to Nora, a strong castle on the borders of Cappadocia, in which, with no other provisions but corn, salt, and water, he held out against Antigonus a whole year; and that general found himself at last under the necessity of allowing him honourable terms.

Book II.
Sect. 2.

It was during this siege that he put in practice his memorable expedient for keeping his men and horses in proper exercise. He perceived the inconveniences they were likely to suffer from confinement; the whole inclosure being only about two furlongs in circumference, and most of the ground occupied by buildings. He therefore assigned to the men the largest room in the fort, about twenty-one feet in length, in which they were obliged every day to use the exercise of walking during a certain portion of time, mending their pace gradually, until they went at full speed. The horses he secured by strong halters fastened to the roof of the stable; and then, raising their heads and fore-parts by a pulley, and at the same time taking care that they stood firm on their hind feet, he made the grooms excite them with the whip and voice; the horses bounded on their hind feet, and strained to get their fore feet to the ground, till they were out of breath and in a foam; and after their exercise, they had their barley given to them boiled, that they might the more easily digest it. By this means he provided effectually for the health of the whole garrison, and rendered them fit for service whenever an opportunity for action should offer.

manner of exercising his men and horses in this castle:

⁹ Seven hundred, says Plutarch (in Eumene); six hundred, says Diodorus, xviii. 4.



BOOK II.
SECT. 2.

MEANWHILE, all was confusion in Macedon. Antipater was dead, and Polyperchon¹⁰ who succeeded him, contrary to the prudent maxim of his predecessor, had yielded the reins of government to Olympias¹¹, whose violent and vindictive passions knew no bounds. The wisest measure of her administration seems to have been employing Eumenes. She was fully sensible of his loyalty, and that he was the only trusty servant the royal family had among the Asiatic governors, to oppose to Antigonus, whose power was becoming every day more formidable. Letters accordingly were dispatched, constituting him general for the kings in Asia.

is appointed
general for
the kings in
Asia:

strengthens
himself:

his attention
to prevent
jealousies
among his of-
ficers:

HE shewed himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him. Notwithstanding the superior interest of Antigonus, he took effectual measures for augmenting his forces. By gratifying the avarice or the ambition of the principal officers in the different provinces, he drew many of them over to him. He had even the art to gain the Argyraspidæ, a veteran body of Macedonian troops, so named from their silver shields, who were held in great estimation on account of their gallant achievements in the late wars, and of the distinction of armour with which Alexander had honoured them. He particularly avoided affecting any superiority over men, every one of whom thought himself too great to obey: and, at the same time, to preserve order among them, he erected, in consequence of a dream he pretended to have had, a royal pavilion, and in the midst of it a throne, such as Alexander was wont to be seated on, adorned with all the ensigns of

¹⁰ OLYMP. CXV. I. BEFORE CHRIST 319.
Eumene.

¹¹ Plutarch in Phociens. et

regal



regal power, around which the officers, when in council, should take their places indiscriminately, as if Alexander were in person among them. By this artifice, he put a stop to all disputes concerning precedence, and suppressed certain jealousies, which were on the point of breaking out into a flame.

Book II.
Sect. 2.

THUS, without any resources but those which his own sagacity suggested, he was enabled to keep the field against Antigonus, and in some engagements gained advantages over him.

DURING three years, an undecisive war was carried on between them. At the end of this period, Antigonus, who had taken much pains to corrupt those who served under Eumenes, and who had intelligence of the dissensions and frequent contests which prevailed among his principal officers, determined to attack him in his winter quarters. Eumenes was apprized of his intention, and prepared to receive him as he could, with an army seditious, and impatient of control. But Peucestus¹², who commanded the horse, had sold himself to Antigonus: so that, although Eumenes, at the head of the infantry, routed the phalanx of the enemy, his cavalry was rendered useless. Antigonus improved the advantage, and, wheeling round the army of Eumenes, fell upon the baggage. When the infantry returned therefore from the field of battle, and saw that they had lost every thing, their wives, their children, the rich plunder they had acquired in the course of the Asiatic wars, they were transported with rage, not only against the enemy, but against

his followers
are corrupted
by the in-
trigues of
Antigonus;

they lose their
baggage;

¹² Plutarch in Eumene.

Eumenes,



BOOK II. Eumenes, in whose service they had sustained so great a loss; Sect. 2. and, as if at the mercy of Antigonus, they sent to request he would restore to them what he had taken. This was what Antigonus looked for. His answer was, that they should have all they had lost, with the addition of any farther boon they should ask, on condition only of their delivering up Eumenes, "who," said he, "is not even a Macedonian, and " has been declared a public enemy."

sell Eumenes
to Antigo-
nus,

THE Argyraspidae immediately closed with the infamous proposal; they seized their general, pinioned his arms behind him, and prepared to deliver him up in that situation to Antigonus. Eumenes earnestly desired that he might be heard; and, in the most affecting manner, represented to the soldiers the folly of their conduct, and the reproach it must bring on them, recapitulating the many watchings and toils he had sustained for their defence and glory; and beseeching them, if his fate was determined, at least to inflict the blow with their own hands, and not commit him to the vengeance of his inveterate enemy. But all was in vain. They conducted him in the manner described to Antigonus's camp, the minority of the army lamenting the fate of their illustrious general. After confining him for some days, Antigonus put him to death."

who puts him
to death;

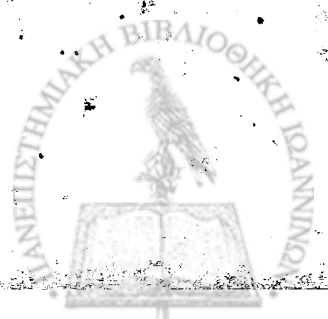
treats the trai-
tors with ab-
horrence.

It is worthy of notice, that Antigonus afterwards shewed particular favour to those who had remained faithful to Eumenes, taking, on the other hand, every opportunity of cutting off the persons who had shared in the treachery. As to the Argyraspidae, he sent their whole body to the extremities

" OLYMP. CXVI. 1. BEFORE CHRIST 315.

I

of



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of Asia, into the province of Arachofia¹⁴, under pretence of keeping the Barbarian nations in awe; but with private instructions, that they never should be suffered to return to Greece¹⁵.

BOOK II.
Sect. 2.

WHILST these things were transacting in Asia, Olympias pursued the most sanguine measures in Macedon, and had caused both Philip Aridaeus and his wife Eurydice to be murdered. Aridaeus's death happened some months before that of Eumenes. From that time, the regal dignity and titles had been confined to Alexander, the son of Roxana; but the regency was in the hands of Olympias. We shall have occasion to mention these transactions more fully in the history of Macedonian affairs.

Aridaeus and
Eurydice
murdered by
Olympias.

ANTIGONUS had, by the removal of Eumenes, a free career before him; the governors of provinces, who had formerly been hostile to his interests, now made their submission, and even permitted their troops to be incorporated into his army; several of them he, nevertheless, sacrificed afterwards to his suspicions or his resentment. One powerful commander still remained, Seleucus¹⁶, who held the government of Babylon, to which he had been appointed during the administration of Antipater. He was the avowed friend of Antigonus; had rendered him essential services; and seemed to have joy in his success. But Antigonus, in the pride of victory, could not bear that any man should hold authority in Asia independent of him. In this spirit

Antigonus
supplants the
Asiatic go-
vernors.

¹⁴ A province of Parthia, near Bactriana.
Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 3.

¹⁵ Plutarch in Eumene.

¹⁶ Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 4.

he



Book II. he advanced to Babylon, and, notwithstanding the frank and
 Sect. 2. magnificent reception he met with from Seleucus, demand-
 ed of him an account of the revenues of his province. To this, Seleucus, who looked on Antigonus only as his equal, replied, that the province of Babylon had been conferred on him by the court of Macedon for his services; and that he could not conceive why such an account was demanded. But immediately after, considering in what manner Antigonus had treated other governors, and how unable he was to resist his power, he, with a small party of horse, made his escape from Babylon, and fled to Egypt. Antigonus would have pursued him; but Seleucus had been too expeditious.

Seleucus, go-
 vernor of Ba-
 bylon, flies to
 Egypt.

Confedera-
 cy formed
 against Anti-
 gonus.

ACCOUNTS of the successes of Antigonus had by this time been spread through all the neighbouring countries; and Ptolemy, finding the report confirmed by Seleucus, engaged Lyfimachus and Cassander to enter into a confederacy with him for their mutual defence, and to endeavour to stop the progress of this enterprising chief. Cassander, though after Antipater's death in great danger from Olympias and her party, from whose violence he was obliged to take refuge in Asia, had now re-established his affairs in Greece.

Antigonus
 invades Coe-
 lesyria and
 Phoenicia,
 and takes
 Tyre;

ANTIGONUS was not intimidated. Instead of waiting till his enemies should attack him, he resolved to begin by assailing them. Entering therefore the provinces of Coelesyria and Phoenicia, he reduced a considerable part of them; and, having in the course of this expedition experienced much distress from the want of a fleet, undismayed by the diffi-
 culty



culty of the undertaking, he set about building vessels of his own, and before the end of summer, had fitted out five hundred ships of war. With these he sailed to Tyre, laid siege to it, and took it, after a resistance of several months.

Book II.
Sect. 2.

WHILST he was thus employed, Cassander had made a descent on the coasts of the Lower Asia, which obliged Antigonus to hasten thither.

PTOLEMY also had advanced from Egypt to Gaza, at the head of a formidable army; and having attacked Demetrius¹⁷, whom his father Antigonus had left to command in his absence, defeated him¹⁸, and forced him to abandon the provinces lately conquered. Demetrius, however, soon wiped off the disgrace of this overthrow by a signal victory obtained over Cilles, one of Ptolemy's generals, in Upper Syria; and, being afterwards joined by Antigonus, recovered Coelestria and Phoenicia. The reduction or the loss of these frontier provinces seems, from these frequent revolutions, to have been a matter of little consequence; their fate, some few places of strength excepted, depending on the issue of a battle.

his army de-
feated at Ga-
za;

but is soon
victorious.

NOTWITHSTANDING this turn of affairs in favour of Antigonus, the battle of Gaza proved exceedingly fatal to his interests, as it enabled Ptolemy to grant succours to Seleucus; with which, though inconsiderable, the latter imme-

Seleucus ob-
tains suc-
cours from
Ptolemy:

¹⁷ OLYMP. cxvi. 3. BEFORE CHRIST 313.
Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 6.

¹⁸ Plutarch in Demetrio.

Z

diately



Book II. diately marched to attempt the recovery of Babylon. The
 Sect. 2. success which attended this expedition, gives us an high
 idea of his resolution, and his abilities for war, as well as of
 his capacity for government. Not deterred by the superior
 power of Antigonus, and the numerous parties that might
 be expected to oppose his progress, with only about thirteen
 hundred men he penetrated through all that extent of country,
 which stretches from the coast of Phoenicia to Babylon: the
 farther he advanced, the more friends he found; and approach-
 ing the city, the whole body of the inhabitants came out to
 meet him, and to welcome his return with joyful acclama-
 tions.¹⁹ So much had the lenity of his administration, dur-
 ing his former government, endeared him to these Asiatic
 nations.

returns to Ba-
 bylon,

and retains
 possession of
 it.

FROM this time, the fortunes of Seleucus flourished. Soon
 after his return, he defeated Nicanor, governor of Media;
 whom he slew in a second engagement; and not only reduced
 the district of Babylon, but Media also and Susiana, and by
 degrees many more of the adjacent provinces. Demetrius,
 indeed, got possession of Babylon again, whilst Seleucus was
 absent on an expedition into Media, yet he found it im-
 possible to hold it. And neither his father nor he could ever
 afterwards dispossess Seleucus of that government.

The war
 rages
 throughout
 Greece and
 Asia.

THE war between Antigonus and the confederates con-
 tinued, however, to rage through most of the countries un-
 der the Macedonian empire. In one part of Greece, the
 Aetolians and Epirots, either in league with Antigonus, or

¹⁹ OLYMP. CXVII. 1. BEFORE CHRIST 311.



encouraged by his intrigues, were up in arms. In the other parts of it, his creatures and emissaries were busy in ruining the power of Cassander. Under pretence of supporting the cause of liberty, they excited disaffection and revolt; and prepared the way, upon the first opportunity, for a total revolution. Ptolemy had carried the war into the Lower Asia, where he had made considerable conquests. At the same time his fleets were employed in reducing such of the Aegean islands as were in the interest of Antigonus; whilst the provinces that lay on the Hellespont and the Bosphorus were exposed to the depredations of Lyfimachus and Cassander; the one from Macedon, the other from Thrace, committing repeated ravages. These several enemies Antigonus opposed with a vigour that might almost be deemed incredible. Notwithstanding the extent of the scene of operations, he attended to every part; he was aware of every danger. Defeated in one attempt, he immediately formed a new enterprize; and whatever he lost in one engagement, he generally soon recovered in another.

The ability with which Antigonus opposed his various enemies.

In the mean time, a cessation of hostilities was frequently proposed, and terms of accommodation seemed often to be nearly agreed upon; but these treaties either were not concluded, or were of short continuance. It were superfluous to mention them particularly. There is indeed reason to believe, that the overtures of peace were nothing more than mere political semblances, and arts to gain time. A deep-rooted jealousy possessed every one of these ambitious princes, which was not to be removed but by the extermination of their rivals.

Obstructions in the way of peace.



BOOK II.
Sect. 2.

Falseness of
the several
chiefs.

It is observed by historians, that, when these chiefs were negotiating any treaty of peace, mention was always made that the several provinces, to which they laid claim, were only to be held in trust for the young king Alexander. But even this thin veil to their ambitious views was soon to drop: for it became difficult for them longer to pretend regard for a royal family, whose blood they were shedding in every place without remorse. Olympias, Alexander's mother, had been some time before this period murdered by Cassander²⁰; Cleopatra²¹, his sister, had lately been destroyed by Antigonus²². The young king himself, whose name they affected to use in their public acts, was not considered as such by any of them. It was well known that Cassander, as soon as he had possessed himself of Macedon, had imprisoned Roxana and her son; not suffering the young prince to retain even the pageantry of royalty, but commanding that he should thenceforth be treated as a private person. It was easy to conjecture, what Cassander's farther intentions were. And accordingly, in a short time, both the king and his mother were put to death by his directions²³. About two years after his death, Hercules, the son of Alexander by Barsine, the daughter of Artabazus, the only remaining prince of the royal line of Ma-

²⁰ Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 3. Just. L. xiv. c. 6.
L. xx. c. 2.

²¹ Diod. Sic.

²² We have mentioned her already. She resided at Sardis, where Antigonus had her strictly observed. But finding, or pretending to have found, that she meant to escape to Ptolemy, who had at this time invaded the Lower Asia, he caused her to be put to death; though afterwards he endeavoured to cast the odium of this execution on those, who had been only the ministers of his orders; and he honoured her remains with a sumptuous funeral.

²³ OLYMP. cxvii. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 310.

cedon,



cedon, was, at the instigation of Cassander also, murdered in a like perfidious manner²⁴.

BOOK II.
SECT. 2.

It was high time, therefore, to throw off a disguise, which it was now ridiculous to use. Antigonus led the way. His son Demetrius had made a powerful impression on Greece, and taken Athens. From thence he had passed over to Cyprus, and had reduced the whole island; he had also beaten the Egyptian fleet commanded by Ptolemy; a victory the more splendid, as the Egyptians were then esteemed one of the first nations of the world, for skill in naval affairs. When tidings therefore were brought to Antigonus, that Ptolemy was defeated, and Cyprus taken, the old man was so much elated that he immediately gave orders that he and his son should be saluted kings of Syria²⁵.

Demetrius defeats the Egyptian fleet, and takes Cyprus.

Antigonus and Demetrius saluted kings.

THE example was soon followed by Seleucus and Lyfimachus. Ptolemy for the present declined the honours of royalty, which his subjects pressed him to accept. Mortified by his late defeat, he chose to wait till he could be exalted to the rank of king with more splendor. Cassander also affected not to assume the regal title himself, though he was not displeased that others should use it in their addresses to him.

Seleucus and Lyfimachus assume also the regal title.

THE royal diadem did not inspire Demetrius and his father with moderate views. They now talked of nothing less than annexing to Syria whatever kingdoms Alexander had lately held, and actually prepared for the conquest of Egypt.

Antigonus and Demetrius prepare to invade Egypt.

²⁴ Diod. Sic. L. xx, c. 2.

²⁵ OLYMP. cxviii, 2. BEFORE CHRIST 306.



BOOK II. Antigonus put himself at the head of the land forces, and
SECT. 2. Demetrius commanded the fleet. They found, however, that their mighty purposes were not to be easily effected. On the Phoenician coast they met with a storm, which destroyed or disabled most of their ships. Their land-troops had not better success. From Gaza to Egypt they were to pass through deserts. After a painful march of ten days, and after contending with all the dispiriting circumstances of that hot and sultry climate, they at length reached the Egyptian frontier; there they found new and greater difficulties; their fleet was miserably shattered; the entrances into Egypt were effectually shut against them; even the mouths of the Nile were secured, and the whole coast lined with troops, disposed in the most judicious manner. Ptolemy besides had a strong naval force at sea, and an army of observation on land; and had spread disaffection and distrust among the Syrians, by offering large rewards to all who should come over to him.

are repulsed.

ANTIGONUS soon perceived his perilous situation, and hastened back with the remainder of his fleet and army as expeditiously as he could.

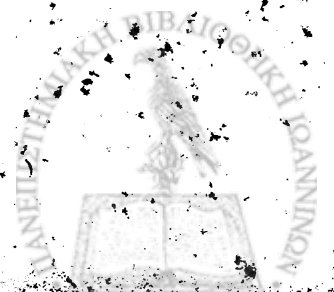
Ptolemy accepts the regal title.

IT was on this occasion that Ptolemy, who now accounted himself firmly established on the throne of Egypt, permitted the title of king²⁶, which he had hitherto refused, to be given to him²⁷.

To

²⁶ OLYMP. cxviii. 4. - BEFORE CHRIST 304.

²⁷ Diodorus Siculus (xx. 3.) and Plutarch (in Demetrio) suppose Ptolemy to have taken the title of king two years before this, at the same time with Antigonus; and
 Plutarch



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BOOK II.

SECT. 2.

Demetrius
lays siege to
Rhodes,

To restore reputation to his arms, which had suffered much disgrace in the late expedition, Antigonus judged it necessary that some signal enterprise should immediately be attempted. It was accordingly determined, that Demetrius should undertake the conquest of Rhodes. The Rhodians were a people famed for their prowess and naval skill; and from their extensive commerce, as well as from the fertility of their soil, they derived great opulence. Such a conquest, therefore, bringing with it an equal accession of wealth and power, could not fail to render Syria more formidable than ever. The Rhodians had distinguished themselves by the part they had lately taken in favour of Ptolemy; so that there was a pretence of injuries, for which satisfaction might be demanded.

DEMETRIUS having made the necessary preparations, landed on the island, and laid siege to the capital city.

Of all the princes of his time, Demetrius is said to have been the first in military abilities; he was particularly expert in the conduct of sieges, and had himself contrived a number of machines of singular construction, and of amazing efficacy; on which account he got the name of Poliorcetes, *the stormer of cities*. All his skill seems to have been employed on this oc-

Plutarch tells us, that the Egyptians prevailed on him to assume it upon his return from Cyprus, "that he might not appear dispirited with his late defeat." But from Ptolemy's Chronological Canon it is evident, that his reign is only to be computed from this date (the 4th year of the 118th Olympiad) when he was now firmly settled on the throne, nineteen years after Alexander's death. Probably, the affectionate attachment of the Egyptians to this prince might have prompted them to give him the title at the time Diodorus and Plutarch mention; but Ptolemy himself was unwilling to assume it, until this dispersion of his enemies relieved him from all farther apprehensions.

caſion;



BOOK II. SECTION 2.
 without success;
 cation; but, by the indefatigable perseverance and valour of the Rhodians, by the advantages they derived from their numerous fleets, and by the large supplies of men and stores of every kind furnished by most of the Grecian states, but principally by Ptolemy, who exerted himself remarkably in their behalf, he was baffled in every attempt.

his powerful machines;

WHAT discouraged him most, was the failure of his Helepolis, or *City-taker*; a machine so called from its powerful operation. It is described as a moveable tower, framed of timber exceedingly strong, and girt with plates of iron; of a height sufficient to command the walls of the besieged city, and lessening gradually, so that the top was much narrower than the base; the inside was divided into floors open towards the enemy, each of which was filled with combatants, and a number of machines for the discharge of various kinds of missile weapons; it was covered principally with raw hides, and on the top was a layer of mud, that the enemy might not have it in their power to set it on fire. It moved on wheels, or rather casters, by means of which its operations could be varied with less difficulty.

is disappointed in their effects;

DEMETRIUS had prepared one of these engines, the most formidable, say historians, that had ever been seen. We may judge of its weight, and the force with which it was impelled, from the number of men employed to move it. They amounted, Diodorus²⁸ tells us, to three thousand four hundred of the strongest that could be found. A Rhodian undertook to render this vast machine useless. Unobserved by the enemy, he

²⁸ Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 5.]

contrived



contrived to undermine the ground over which it was to pass; and the Helepolis having sunk into the earth, could never, from it's enormous weight, be raised again²⁹. The siege had now lasted a whole year, and the vigour of the besieged had not in the least degree abated. Such unexpected resistance disposed Demetrius to yield to the solicitations of the states of Greece, who had all been earnest in their mediation in favour of the Rhodians: and the affairs of that country also afforded him a plausible pretence for abandoning his present enterprize. Urgent representations had been made to him of the oppressions of Cassander, and of the distressed state of Athens, which was in danger of falling into his hands; Demetrius resolved to attempt the relief of that city, and concluded a treaty of peace with the people of Rhodes. His engines of war he also presented them with; the value of which was so considerable, that from the sale of them they were enabled to raise their famed Colossus, or brazen statue of the sun, which, from it's extraordinary size, has been ranked among the wonders of the world.

Book II.
Sect. 2.

raises the
siege, and
makes peace
with the
Rhodians.

It was on account of the important services performed by Ptolemy to the Rhodians during this siege, that they gave him the name of Soter, the *Deliverer*, by which he is known in history. They also erected a number of statues to him; and, in the excess of their gratitude, are said to have even paid him divine honours³⁰.

The grati-
tude of the
Rhodians to
Ptolemy.

²⁹ Vegetius de re militari.

³⁰ They sent, Diodorus says (xx. 5.) to inquire of the oracle of Hammon, whether they should worship Ptolemy as a god. In the present situation of affairs, we may easily judge what the oracle pronounced. And accordingly a grove encompassed with a stately gallery was consecrated to him.



BOOK II. THE siege of Rhodes has been also rendered memorable by
 Sect. 2. a circumstance related of Protogenes, one of the most eminent painters of Greece. He was at this time employed in painting his Jalyfus (a fabulous hero, said to be the founder of the Rhodian people) a piece esteemed one of the wonders of antiquity. His house was in the suburbs; and, as if insensible of the din of war, he calmly continued his work whilst Demetrius's troops were carrying on their operations on every side of him. Demetrius, amazed at his apparent intrepidity, asked him 'why he did not, like others, retire to a place of greater safety'; "Princes like you," replied the painter, "never war against the arts." The prince, who was himself a person of high accomplishments, and naturally generous, was so well pleased with the answer, that he appointed a guard for his protection.

The painter
 Protogenes.

ONE of the most admired figures in this piece was a dog, which had cost the painter immense labour, without his being able to express the idea he had conceived. He meant to represent the animal in a panting attitude, foaming, so that the foam should appear actually to issue from his mouth. After retouching it frequently, and still without success, he at last, in the rage of disappointment, darted at the picture the sponge, with which he used to wipe off his colours; and "chance," says Pliny³¹, "accomplished what art had not the power to perform." In the same piece was also represented a thrush on the top of a column, so admirably well executed, that, when the picture was exposed to public view, certain bird-catchers with thrushes, having stopt to admire it, the birds,

³¹ L. xxxvii. c. 10.

mistaking



mistaking the painted bird for a real one, began to sing to it.

BOOK II.
SECT. 2.

WHEN Apelles³² saw this picture, he was so transported, it is said, with admiration, that his speech failed him; and upon recovering from his astonishment, he exclaimed, "prodigious work!" "wonderful performance!—however," added he, "it has not all the graces the world admires in my works." If the anecdote is true, this last observation, apparently the language of envy, proves, perhaps more strongly than the most lavish praises, the extraordinary merit of the piece.

DEMETRIUS's expedition into Greece was attended with better success than he had of late met with. Cassander had invested Athens; Demetrius forced him to raise the siege, and, taking advantage of the broken condition of his army, pressed him with such vigour, that he was under the necessity of abandoning all he held to the southward of Thessaly, and of withdrawing his troops into Macedon. Even his retreat he effected with difficulty³³; Demetrius having attacked him in his march, and obliged him to consult his safety by a precipitate flight.

Demetrius forces Cassander to raise the siege of Athens;

THE reduction of the greater part of Greece immediately followed; not only the several cities from the straits of Thermopylae to the isthmus of Corinth, but also most of those of Peloponnesus, submitted to Demetrius; the Macedonian garrisons having evacuated, all the places of which they were in possession. He now saw his power exceedingly

reduces all Greece.

³² Plutarch in Demetrio.

³³ Plut. in Demetrio. Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 5.



Book II. augmented, while at the same time he enjoyed the glory of being considered as the *restorer of the liberties of an oppressed people*.

receives
high honours
from the
Grecian
states;

And, that no honours might be wanting, the solemn convention of the Grecian states at the isthmus proclaimed him general of all Greece, as Philip and Alexander had formerly been.

becomes vo-
luptuous and
vain.

THIS flow of prosperity, historians observe, proved the ruin of Demetrius. He had now no enemy near him. And, naturally disposed to the pursuit of pleasure, he was but too much encouraged to it by the effeminate manners of the Greeks; who, on their part, to testify their gratitude to their protector, sought every opportunity of administering to his amusement and gratification. The Athenian orators, in particular, contributed much to corrupt his mind. They offered him the most fulsome adulations. They made him almost forget he was a man³⁴.

Influence of
Antigonus.

THIS change of fortune had likewise its influence on Antigonus, and greatly increased the arrogance which had always marked his character. He scrupled not even to avow his hopes of establishing his power on the ruins of that of all the other princes. And, instead of taking this opportunity of concluding an advantageous peace with Cassander, who condescended to ask it in the most suppliant language, he required him to submit at discretion, and to leave the kingdom of Macedon entirely at his disposal.

The alliance
of the other
kings against
Antigonus
and his son.

CASSANDER applied to the confederate princes; and they, willing to humble a pride from which they themselves had

³⁴ Plut. ub. sup. See more at large the excessive flatteries of the Athenians to Demetrius, in Book iii. Sect. 1. of this work.



much to fear, resolved to employ their most vigorous efforts against Antigonus and his son, and, if possible, to try the issue of a general engagement. Accordingly, Seleucus began to move from Babylon, as did Lyfimachus from Thrace; and these princes, having received considerable reinforcements both from Macedon and from Egypt, advanced, after some operations of little importance, into the province of Phrygia, where Antigonus and Demetrius were preparing to meet them. Near to Ipsus, an inconsiderable town in this province, the battle was fought, which terminated the empire and life of Antigonus³⁵. The Syrians were totally defeated, and Demetrius made his escape with only nine thousand men, out of above eighty thousand, of which his army had consisted. The victory is said to have been obtained chiefly by the superior address of Seleucus, who took advantage of Demetrius's warmth, in pursuing too far a body of the enemy, which he had broken.

BOOK II.
Sect. 2.

Battle of
Ipsus.

ANTIGONUS was aged eighty-four years when he fell. He appears to have been a prince of great personal courage and abilities in war; but of a spirit exceedingly haughty and imperious. Less ambitious, and more moderate in the use of power, he might have ended his days in the peaceable possession of a rich and mighty kingdom.

Antigonus
is slain.

WHAT were the latter fortunes of Demetrius, is an enquiry that belongs not to this place. As they are, however, much connected with the preceding narrative, it will not be improper to bring them together into one view.

Fortunes of
Demetrius.

³⁵ OLYMP. CXX. I. . BEFORE CHRIST 299.

WITH



BOOK II.

Sect. 2.

is refused admittance into Athens ;

WITH the slender remains of his army he retired to the sea-coast, in order to pass over to Athens, where his principal dependence was. He now found how hollow are the professions of flattery. The Athenians, who had been extravagant in their praises, when he was attended with victory, refused even to receive him into their city, under pretext of some late edict, by which they were forbidden to admit a crowned head within their walls³⁶. But this was not the time for revenge: having, therefore, obtained from them his galleys, together with his queen and royal retinue, which he had left behind him when he went last to Asia; and having visited certain places in Peloponnesus, in which he still had garrisons; he sailed to the coast of Thrace, where, to wreak his vengeance on Lyfimachus, he made descents on several parts, and committed great devastation.

marries his daughter Stratonice to Seleucus ;

plunders the castle of Cuinda,

WHILST he was in this wandering condition, Seleucus, who had heard much of his daughter Stratonice, reputed the most beautiful woman of her time, sent to demand her in marriage. Amazed at this turn of fortune in his favour, Demetrius failed not to avail himself of it, and immediately shaped his course towards Syria with the princess. On his way; having landed in Cilicia for some refreshments, and finding the opportunity favourable, he plundered the castle of Cuinda³⁷, which had formerly belonged to Antigonus, but was now the property of Plistarchus, brother to Cassander, the confederate princes having bestowed it on him, together with the whole province. He then pursued his voy-

³⁶ Plutarch in Demetrius.

³⁷ See Strab. (Casaub.) L. xiv. p. 462.

age,



age, and delivered his daughter to Seleucus; who celebrated his nuptials in the most splendid manner, and entertained his new father-in-law with much shew of regard and confidence, having even prevailed on Ptolemy to give him his daughter Ptolemis in marriage. On his return, Demetrius determined to make a second descent in Cilicia; and finding it without defence, got entire possession of that province. Seleucus interposed, and threatened; but Demetrius would not resign so valuable an acquisition.

Book II.
Sect. 2.

and possesses
himself of
Cilicia;

HE was now, he imagined, strong enough to revenge himself on the Athenians. Passing over, therefore, into Greece, he laid close siege to Athens, and reduced it to such extremity, that a *modius* of wheat (about a peck) was sold for three hundred drachms³⁸. Lachares, a turbulent demagogue, had, under the assumed character of *champion of the people*, invaded the administration, and directed all public measures with absolute sway; and to him were owing the present counsels. Reduced by famine, the Athenians were at last obliged to surrender at discretion; and, Lachares having saved himself by flight, Demetrius accepted their submission, and, far from punishing them for their ingratitude, presented them with an hundred thousand measures of wheat, requiring only, that they should receive a garrison into their city. Plutarch³⁹ relates, on this occasion, a whimsical circumstance, which strongly marks the turn of genius both of Demetrius and of the Athenian people. Upon his entering Athens, he had ordered them to repair to the theatre, and after keeping them for some time in expectation of their

reduces Athens;

his generosity,

and frivolous manners;

³⁸ £. 8. 11 s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

³⁹ In Apopthegm.

fate,



BOOK II. fate, he on a sudden made his appearance on the stage, descending from above, in the manner of the players, when representing the Pagan divinities; he began to harangue them, not with anger, but in a set speech, filled with soothing expostulations and flowers of oratory, in which he was fond of being thought to excel. In the midst of his harangue, an Athenian starting up, informed him, that the phrase he had just made use of, was incompatible with the purity of the Attic language: "I give you fifty thousand measures of wheat more," cried Demetrius, "in acknowledgement of the improvement I have received from that Athenian's friendly information."

he attacks
and defeats
the Spartans;

FROM Athens he marched into Peloponnesus, with a view to make himself master also of Sparta; and the Spartans, led on by their king Archidamus, having advanced to oppose him, he attacked them, and obtained a complete victory.

stripped of
all he held in
Asia;

THE consequence might have proved fatal to Lacedæmon. But as the victor was preparing to pursue this success, his affairs suddenly took a different turn. He received advice that Seleucus and Lyfimachus had dispossessed him of all he held in Asia⁴⁰; and that Ptolemy had invaded Cyprus, and reduced the whole island, Salamis excepted, which he was then besieging. Probably the progress of Demetrius in Greece had awakened the apprehensions of these princes.

⁴⁰ Seleucus, as appears from Plutarch (in Demet.) had offered him a sum of money for Cilicia; and, upon his refusal, had insisted on having Tyre and Sidon given up to him.

DISCOURAGED



DISCOURAGED by this unexpected reverse, he had given up all for lost, when a new and unlooked-for prospect opened to him.

BOOK II.
Sect. 2.

finds himself
in distress;

CASSANDER king of Macedon was dead^a, and his two sons, Antipater and Alexander, had each laid claim to the kingdom. The former was supported by Lyfimachus, whose daughter he had married; and the latter applied to Demetrius, who hastened to his assistance. But having, in the mean time, obtained succours from Pyrrhus, Alexander would have declined the interposition of Demetrius, of whom he began to entertain suspicions; and, finding himself under considerable embarrassment on that score, intended to get rid of him by violent means. So, at least, Demetrius wished to have it understood; for, under colour of this conviction, he caused Alexander to be assassinated at an entertainment to which he had invited him: and, having then laid before the Macedonians the perfidious intentions of Alexander, and the just claim he himself had to the crown in right of his wife Phylla, daughter to Antipater, he contrived to gain a party over to his interests, and got possession of the kingdom.

is invited to
march into
Macedon,

and gets pos-
session of the
kingdom;

HE might have held the sceptre of Macedon many years, had the experience of misfortunes taught him wisdom. But, instead of endeavouring to repair the waste and devastation which this unhappy kingdom had suffered from constant wars, as soon as he was seated on the throne, he immediately engaged in new mili-

^a Just. L. xvi. c. 1, 2, 3. Plutarch in Demetrio.



Book II.
Sect. 2.

tary operations on the side of Greece, on the side of Aetolia, on the side of Epire, on the side of Thrace. And, at the same time, by his profuse luxury, his vanity, and haughtiness, it seemed as if he industriously sought to render his government odious. In his dress he affected an excess of magnificence nearly theatrical, such as no prince who reigned after him was ever vain enough to imitate⁴⁴. His court was a continued scene of dissipation and riot; and, though of free access to the ministers of his pleasures, he scarcely would suffer any other of his subjects, or even the ministers of foreign states, to approach him. As if this folly had been too little, either from a restless ambition, or, as some writers say, that the Macedonians might not have leisure to form designs against him, he maintained formidable armaments both by sea and land, to recover, he pretended, the dominions which his father and himself had formerly possessed in Asia.

loses it again;

-ALARMED at these preparations, and probably solicited by the Macedonians themselves, Ptolemy and Lyfimachus determined to prevent him: the former sailed with a powerful fleet to invade Greece by sea, the latter entered Macedon on the side of Thrace; whilst Pyrrhus, whom they had engaged in their alliance, advanced from Epirus. Never was Demetrius in a more critical situation: he was encompassed by enemies; and the Macedonians, to a man, disaffected, were on the point of declaring against him. He saw no resource left, but to save himself by flight. Having accord-

escapes
in disguise
to Cassan-
dria;

⁴⁴ Plutarch in Demetrio.



ingly put on the habit of a private soldier, he, under that disguise, quitted the camp, and escaped to Cassandria⁴³.

BOOK II.
Sect. 2.

HE had still hopes that he should find the Athenians faithful to him; but those days, when misfortunes were a recommendation at Athens, were long since passed. Olympiodorus, now the popular leader, persuaded the citizens to avail themselves of the opportunity of shaking off a yoke that disgraced them; and it was resolved that their gates should be shut against him. Demetrius would have had recourse to vindictive measures; but the interposition of the philosopher Crates⁴⁴, according to some historians, or, which is more likely, the want of means, induced him to desist.

again at-
tempts A-
thens;

is refused
admittance,

NOTWITHSTANDING all these humiliating events, the spirit of enterprize had not yet forsaken Demetrius. After making what provision he could for the security of the few places he still held in Greece, he planned a new expedition, purposing nothing less than to recover the provinces of Lydia and Caria from Lyfimachus. The whole force he could muster, when he left Europe, amounted only to eleven thousand men, all of them, like their leader, of desperate fortunes, and ripe for any adventure. This plan proved as unsuccessful as it was rashly formed. Agathocles, son to Lyfimachus, was prepared to receive him at the head of a superior army; an advantage which he improved with great ability, carefully avoiding a general engagement, but wasting the small force Demetrius had brought with him, by fre-

plans a new
expedition
into Asia;

⁴³ Subdued by this overthrow of all her hopes, his wife Philla, in a fit of despair, poisoned herself.—Plut. in Demetrio.

⁴⁴ Plut. in Demetrio.



BOOK II.
Sect. 2.

is involved in
great diffi-
culties ;

quent skirmishes, by constant harrassing, by depriving them of subsistence : so that at length, after shifting his quarters from place to place, and having seen the greatest part of his troops consumed by fatigue and famine, he was forced to retreat to Tarsus in Cilicia, which now belonged to Seleucus, from whence he sent to his son-in-law, entreating his compassion in the most humiliating terms.

is under the
necessity of
surrendering
to Seleucus :

SELEUCUS was disposed to afford him shelter in his dominions, and to supply both him and his troops with necessaries ; but his ministers opposed it. They represented the many dangers to be apprehended from a prince like Demetrius, ambitious, experienced, active, fertile in resources, and not to be subdued by misfortunes. Seleucus at last yielded to their remonstrances, and marched against him. In this situation Demetrius is said to have done all that valour and military skill could perform. But overpowered, and having no expedient left, he found himself under the necessity of surrendering to Seleucus.

SELEUCUS was once more inclined to have acted nobly towards him. He had even thoughts of bringing him to his court, and of entertaining him there in royal splendor. But his ministers would not permit it ; and at last obtained of the king, that he should be sent under a strong guard to a place of safety in the Syrian Chersonesus. Seleucus, however, took care, that he should have every indulgence, that could render his captivity less irksome ; the use of a spacious park ; a number of fine horses ; a princely table ; with whatever other amusements he appeared to desire. But what are these without liberty ? He lived about



three years in this state of confinement; and died at last of a distemper, brought on partly by the reflections which his melancholy situation must have suggested to him, and partly by excess in wine, to which he had recourse in order to drown recollection.

BOOK II.
Sect. 2.

ends his days
in confine-
ment;

FROM what Plutarch ⁴⁵ relates, there is reason to believe, that during his captivity he recovered, in a great measure, that excellent understanding which he had received from nature. The manner in which he wrote to his son Antigonus, speaks him a better father and a wiser prince than from his former conduct we should be apt to think him. He recommended it to him, "to attend especially to the
" preservation of the places he still occupied in Greece, and
" not to yield up the possession of any of them to any per-
" son, or on any pretence whatever; but to look upon him
" as dead, and, from that day, not to give credit to any
" letter or order that should come from him, though writ-
" ten with his own hand, and sealed with his own
" signet."

his directions
to his son;

ANTIGONUS, to his honour, employed every sollicitation in his power to obtain his father's liberty, conjuring the other kings to interpose in his behalf, and offering to give up all his possessions, and even his own person as a security. But no terms could be accepted. Demetrius was still too formidable. Lyfimachus, it is said, offered a vast

noble con-
duct of Anti-
gonus.

⁴⁵ Ubi supra. See his directions at length in Plutarch.

sum,



BOOK II. sum, on condition he should be put to death; a proposal
 Sect. 2. which Seleucus rejected with indignation⁴⁶.

Character of
 Demetrius;

beauty of his
 person;

accomplish-
 ments;

versatility;

attachment
 to his father;

generosity in
 behalf of
 Eumenes,

HAD not Demetrius suffered the blandishments of pleasure to prevail over him, he had been the first of all the princes of his time. Possessed by nature of uncommon powers of mind, he had improved them highly by cultivation. He had, at the same time, all the advantages that external grace and elegance of form can bestow; and so inimitably beautiful was his countenance, if Plutarch may be believed, that neither painter nor statuary could ever execute an exact portrait of him; "the animated air of youth being blended in him, with the awful majesty of the hero and the king." In his behaviour, the same happy association appeared. In his hours of leisure, he was a most agreeable and captivating companion; in his entertainments, the most sumptuous of princes; yet, when business called, hardly to be equalled in activity and application. In addition to all this, he was brave; of consummate skill in military affairs; and, until corrupted by prosperity and adulation, humane and generous. His affectionate and dutiful attention to his father, in the midst of all his dissipation, has been also justly celebrated by every writer that has mentioned him.

Two remarkable instances of his generosity of spirit have been transmitted to us by history. He employed his utmost endeavours to save the life of Eumenes⁴⁷; and probably would

⁴⁶ Demetrius is supposed to have died the third year of the 123d Olympiad, or 284 years before Christ; so that fifteen years elapsed between the battle of Ipsus and his death. ⁴⁷ Plut. in Eumene.

have



have succeeded, had not his father's ministers impressed him with gloomy apprehensions of what that gallant chief might afterwards attempt against him. The life of Mithridates, the son of Ariobarzanes, he actually saved⁴⁸. This Mithridates was a young Asiatic nobleman of unblemished manners, and the constant companion of Demetrius. But Antigonus had conceived a jealousy of him. He dreamed, that he had entered a fair and spacious field, and sowed it with filings of gold, from which in a short time there had arisen a golden crop; but that, soon after, returning to visit it, he found it cut down, and heard the people say, that Mithridates had reaped the golden harvest, and had carried it off towards the Euxine sea.

BOOK II.
Sect. 2.
and Mithri-
dates.

DISTURBED at this dream, he communicated it to Demetrius, with his resolution of destroying Mithridates; binding, at the same time, his son by an oath, that he should not speak to him either of the dream or of its consequences. The ensuing day Mithridates came as usual to attend the prince in his amusements; when, taking an opportunity of drawing him aside, Demetrius with the point of his spear wrote on the ground, "Fly, Mithridates." He fled accordingly that night into Cappadocia; and fate soon accomplished for Mithridates the thing which Antigonus had dreaded; for he conquered a rich and extensive country, and founded the family of the Pontic kings, which continued through eight successions, until it was at last destroyed by the Romans⁴⁹.

⁴⁸ Plut. in Demetrio.

⁴⁹ Besides a number of children by other wives and concubines, Demetrius left by Phylla, daughter of Antipater, and widow of Craterus, a son named Antigonus, afterwards king of Macedon, and the famed Stratonice: and by Ptolemais, another son, called Demetrius, of whom we shall have occasion to make mention hereafter.



HISTORY OF GREECE.

B O O K III.

S E C T I O N I.

C O N T E N T S.

View of the domestic state of the kingdom of Macedon, under the administration of Antipater—Polyperchon—Cassander—and Demetrius Poliorcetes—misfortunes—and final overthrow of Alexander's whole family.

THE reign of Alexander, though accounted the aera of glory for the Macedonian people, was far from advancing the internal happiness and prosperity of their country. A nation deprived of the presence of their sovereign, at a season of life when his activity and vigour of mind might have been of important benefit; exhausted^{*} of their most valuable citizens to repair the waste of distant wars; and distracted by that conflict of factions, to which a delegated government

Book III.
Sect. I.

Effects of
Alexander's
reign to Ma-
cedon.

^{*} It appears from Diod. Sic. xviii. 1. that when Antipater marched against Leosthenes, it was not possible for him to muster more than thirteen thousand foot and six hundred horse. *Such*, says the historian, *was the scarcity of soldiers in Macedon, in consequence of the frequent draughts to recruit the armies in Asia.*



Book III. is generally exposed; must ever find much real cause, amidst
 Sect. I. all the fascinating glare of conquest; to lament the boundless
 ambition of their prince. Such was Macedon during this
 boasted period. Whilst the treasures, which poured in from
 every part of Asia, proved no compensation for those accumu-
 lated evils, they corrupted the simplicity of the Macedonian
 manners. And this hardy people, who, under the pressure of
 poverty, and the disadvantages of a rough and confined terri-
 tory, had preserved their independence, now sunk into lux-
 ury, debility, and servitude.

Antipater's
 character as
 a minister;

ANTIPATER, whom Alexander had appointed to the ad-
 ministration of Macedonian affairs, appears to have been well
 qualified for the station his master had assigned to him. He
 was to restrain within their limits those fierce borderers, by
 whom a considerable part of Macedon was surrounded: he
 was to observe the motions, and counteract the designs, of the
 several commonwealths of Greece, who entertained an avowed
 jealousy of Alexander; and were prepared to seize the first op-
 portunity of re-asserting their ancient liberties: he was to in-
 troduce at home a more absolute government, and bend the
 Macedonians to a subjection hitherto unknown to them. At
 the same time, he had to support himself against the intrigues
 of some of the principal of the Macedonian nobles, who be-
 held with jealousy and indignation a man, lately their equal,
 now exalted above them; and who were encouraged in
 their disaffection by the countenance and artifices of Olym-
 pias, the king's mother; a woman of violent temper, fond of
 power, and therefore impatient of the controul which Anti-
 pater's authority imposed upon her.

ANTIPATER.



ANTIPATER possessed all the qualifications requisite for these various purposes. To great military abilities he joined the subtilty and reserve of the statesman; he was vigilant, vigorous, and steady; with a firm hand he held the reins of government, notwithstanding Olympias's repeated attempts to wrest them from him; he suppressed every commotion; he baffled every confederacy; the turbulence of the Macedonians he awed; the Greeks he humbled; he was implacable when provoked; and sanguinary in gratifying his resentments. His treatment of the two Athenian orators, Demosthenes and Hyperides, proves how dangerous it was to offend him. It is affirmed, that he caused the tongue of the latter to be cut out, in revenge for the invectives it had uttered against him.

Book III.

Sect. I.

his capacity;

IF we consider him as the confidential servant of a prince, whose object was the subversion of all liberty, he was an useful minister; if as the magistrate of a free state, who was bound to pay regard to the rights of mankind, he was a tyrannical and merciless oppressor. Accordingly, both these characters he bears in history, agreeably to the different principles of the several writers by whom he is mentioned.

and oppression:

HE was to have been removed, had Alexander survived. It is thought, that the intrigues of Olympias, and her faction, had at length prevailed, and that his prince began to suspect him of views inconsistent with the duty of a subject. Perhaps his expressing too freely his sentiments concerning the execution of Parmenio had reached the king. For upon hearing the fate of that gallant general, in astonishment he cried out, "if Parmenio has conspired against his master,

was to have been displaced.

* Plutarch in Apophthegm.

C c 2

" whom



BOOK III.
SECT. I.

“ whom are we to trust? and if he has not, how are we to act?” Words pregnant with so much meaning, had they come to Alexander’s knowledge, would hardly have been forgiven.

His vigorous
opposition to
the Greek
insurgents;

WHEN tidings of Alexander’s death reached Greece, most of it’s states, as we have seen, rose up in arms. Antipater was not disconcerted. Precarious as his situation was on the side of Macedon, and with numbers far inferior to the enemy, he met them in battle, and, though worsted, had the art to collect together the broken remains of his army, and to possess himself of Lamia in Thessaly, a place capable of defence. Leonnatus, one of Alexander’s captains, advanced to his assistance, and was defeated and slain. This incident, however disastrous in appearance, Antipater improved likewise to his advantage. The death of Leonnatus had delivered him from a rival, of whom he was jealous; he found means to escape from Lamia, whilst the Greeks were engaged with Leonnatus, whose troops having been little more than dispersed, he contrived to recover most of them, and to incorporate them into his army, by which he was enabled to look the confederates in the face; whilst Craterus, having in the mean time arrived from Asia, joined him also with considerable succours. This general was to have succeeded him in the government of Macedon: but, as Alexander’s appointments had all ceased with his life, Craterus was now contented to share the government with Antipater; who, to attach him more strongly to his interests, gave him his daughter Phylla in marriage, one of the most accomplished women of her time. Soon after, was fought the battle of Cranon, which, as has been already observed, proved fatal to Greece, obliging the Athenians

to



to surrender their liberties to the Macedonian leaders, and to receive a garrison from them. The Aetolians, though not less active in promoting the war, obtained peace on easier terms. The bold enterprises of Perdiccas had by this time roused the jealousy of the other commanders; and Antipater hastened to settle the affairs of Greece, in order to be at leisure to oppose that leader in Asia.

BOOK III.
Sect. I.

THE succeeding events were not unfavourable to Antipater's fortunes. Craterus having fallen in battle against Eumenes, he found himself again in possession of the whole government of Macedon. And Perdiccas, as we have related, being slain in Egypt, he was appointed regent³, and Philip Aridaeus, and the young king Alexander, were consigned to his protection.

is appointed
to succeed
Perdiccas;

FROM this period the power of Antipater over Greece and Macedon was uncontrouled; but this authority in other parts of the empire was little more than nominal.

WHAT seems most extraordinary in Antipater's conduct, is the last act of his life. On his death-bed he named Polyperchon, one of Alexander's captains, but no way distinguished by any particular merit, to succeed him in the government of Macedon, and to the office of protector; to the exclusion of his own son Cassander, whom he only appointed to the post of chiliarch, or captain of a thousand men. It has been said, that Augustus bequeathed the empire to Tiberius, that in

names Poly-
perchon for
his successor;

³ Upon the death of Perdiccas, Ptolemy appointed Aridaeus and Python, two of Alexander's captains, to the protectorship; but meeting with a formidable opposition from Eurydice and her friends, they resigned, and the Macedonians chose Antipater. See Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 3.

the



BOOK III.
Sect. I.

the violences of his successor, the Romans might forget the crimes of which he himself had been guilty. A similar suspicion might, with as good reason, be entertained of Antipater; for never man seemed less fitted than Polyperchon for the discharge of this arduous trust. Without vigour; without firmness; mean; cruel; perfidious. A dupe to those who had the art to gain his confidence, he knew not how to render his authority respectable, or to conciliate the affections of men. What considerations could have moved Antipater to this appointment, history does not disclose. Whether he thought that Cassander's impetuous temper was ill suited to the present times; or that, vain and high-spirited, power in his hands might produce his destruction; or whether he had conceived disgust at his son, on account of his private life; are the conjectures of different writers;—but of the truth it is not possible to determine.

with what
view.

WHAT seems, however, most probable, is, that, for some time before Antipater's death, Polyperchon, having entertained hopes of succeeding him, had employed the usual intrigues for accomplishing his ambitious views. This Antipater having discovered, and finding that the strength of Polyperchon's party, aided by the friends of Olympias, would, in opposition to his own views, infallibly prevail in the issue, he chose to have himself the merit of the appointment, in expectation of securing to his family a protector, where they might otherwise have found an enemy. It appears from Diodorus*, that he dreaded the influence which Olympias was likely to obtain under the new administration, and endea-

* L. xix. c. 2.



voured to guard against it. His last charge to Polyperchon was, to keep her at a distance from the administration of affairs, which, if she engaged in, her passions would soon throw into confusion.

BOOK III.
SECT. I.

POLYPERCHON paid little regard either to the instructions of Antipater, or to the obligations he might be supposed to owe to his predecessor, had he considered his appointment as the act of his choice. His first step was to recall Olympias from Epire, whither she had retired. But her enemies were still too formidable, and the minds of men too much exasperated, for her to venture immediately. She deferred accepting the invitation, until she could enjoy a full exertion of power. And it is believed, that whatever measures Polyperchon, from this period, pursued, were in obedience to her directions. He removed every person who had been in the interests of Antipater, and restored throughout the Greek cities the democratical form of government, which had been abolished. A general confusion, as might be expected, ensued; the popular faction, naturally violent in their resentment, fell almost every where on those who were suspected of being instrumental in their disgrace. At Athens particularly, though the Munychia and Piraeus were still held by Antipater's garrisons, they seized on Phocion, and as many of his friends as they could find, whom they sent to Philip Aridaeus and Polyperchon, to answer for the share they were supposed to have had in the late administration. Polyperchon pronounced their condemnation^s, and remitted them to Athens, where they were put

Polyperchon
adopts new
counsels;

restores de-
mocratical
government
throughout
Greece.

Phocion put
to death

^s OLYMP. CXV. 3. BEFORE CHRIST 316.



BOOK III.
Sect. I.

to death⁶. Phocion has been already mentioned. He was a man of the greatest probity of his time, and had with unwearied endeavours studied the happiness of his country. Probably his integrity made him more obnoxious in the eyes of Polyperchon. Similar distractions prevailed in most of the other cities; and, because the Megalopolitans declared themselves satisfied with the form of government Antipater had established, and refused to change it, Polyperchon marched his army against them.

Cassander
flies to Antigonus;

MEANWHILE, Cassander, who saw there was no safety for him in Macedon, fled to Antigonus⁷, who at this time was employed in prosecuting his plan of empire in Asia. He was received with cordiality and kindness, and Antigonus soon enabled him to return with effectual succours. Affection, nevertheless, had no share in this attention. Antigonus hated Polyperchon; was jealous of the authority he derived from acting under the royal sanction; and was glad of the opportunity of raising enemies against him at home, and of preventing him from interfering in the Asiatic provinces.

receives support,
and fails back to
Athens;

THUS supported, Cassander failed back to Athens, and entered the Piraeus, of which Nicanor, the governor appointed by his father, had still possession. Polyperchon, upon the first alarm, immediately turned his attention thither. He attacked him by land and sea, yet proved unsuccessful in both.

defeats Polyperchon's
fleet;

His fleet, after obtaining at first some inconsiderable advantages; was totally defeated by that of Cassander. Athens,

⁶ Plutarch in Phocione.

⁷ Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 4.

already



already partly in the hands of the enemy, and without prospect of relief from Polyperchon, was forced to submit, and to accept a governor named by Cassander. He appointed Demetrius Phalereus⁸, the famed disciple of Theophrastus; of whose principles he was assured, from his intimate connexion with Phocion; and whose philosophical turn of mind seemed well adapted to the genius of the people he was to govern.

BOOK III.
Sect. I.

appoints Demetrius Phalereus governor of Athens.

THE reduction of Athens completed the ruin of Polyperchon's affairs in Greece. The Peloponnesian states were already in the interests of Cassander. In most of the other cities, likewise, the friends of the house of Antipater were beginning to shew themselves; so that Polyperchon judged it most prudent to relinquish what he could not hold, and to content himself with securing Macedon.

Polyperchon retires to Macedon:

BUT the same ill conduct by which he had lost Greece, was also to deprive him of Macedon⁹. Polyperchon, now avowedly the creature of Olympias, besought her to take the young king under her guardianship, imagining her presence might add strength to his administration. Her arrival produced a contrary effect. All who had the most distant connection with Antipater, beheld with terror, a revolution, which, from a woman of her fierce and vindictive spirit, was probably to end in their destruction. Philip-Aridaeus, and his queen, were more particularly affected by it. Aridaeus, the son of Philip by a concubine, had been the object of her

recalls Olympias;

is opposed, by Philip-Aridaeus, and his queen Eurydice;

⁸ OLYMP. CXV. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 315.

⁹ Just. L. xiv. c. 5. 6.

D d

aversion



BOOK III. Sect. 1. aversion from his infancy ; and the infirmity of his understanding was supposed to be the effect of a potion he had received from her. Eurydice, his wife, was the daughter of the unfortunate Cynane, whom Philip had by an Illyrian lady, and whom Perdiccas, to please Olympias, had put to death. Her father, Amyntas, son to Philip's elder brother, had, by Olympias's contrivance, been already destroyed ; so that neither Eurydice nor her husband could think of her but with abhorrence ; and, should she once possess power, they had cause to dread her utmost violence. Accordingly, when Eurydice was apprized of her intended return, she endeavoured to provide for her security, by assembling forces, and by pressing Cassander to hasten to her assistance ; commanding, at the same time, Polyperchon not to interfere farther in the administration ; but to resign it to Cassander upon his arrival.

marches
against them
with Olympias ;

at sight of
Olympias,
the soldiers
of Eurydice
refuse to
fight.

THIS precipitate step furnished Polyperchon with an excuse for executing what he wished to perform. With Olympias at the head of his army, he immediately marched against Eurydice ; who, animated by her wrongs, led out her forces also ; but her soldiers, either from treachery, or, according to some historians, struck with the majesty of Olympias, in whose person they recollected the mother of Alexander and the wife of Philip, having refused to fight, the wretched Eurydice and her husband fell into the hands of this relentless woman¹⁰, who used her power with an inhumanity inseparable from her character. The king and queen she committed to a close prison, scarcely large enough to contain them, with an

¹⁰ Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 1.

opening



opening only left for the purpose of conveying to them a wretched sustenance, less with the view of preserving life, than of prolonging misery. But, finding that these indignities served only to excite the compassion even of their enemies, she ordered some Thracian soldiers to dispatch Aridaeus, after he had nominally reigned six years and four months¹¹. This done, she sent messengers to Eurydice, with a poniard, a rope, and a cup of poison, commanding her to chuse which of them she pleased. They found Eurydice binding up and covering, in the best manner she could, the bleeding corse of her royal husband; she received the message without uttering any expostulation or womanish complaint; and, after praying the gods, that Olympias might be rewarded with the like present, with great composure strangled herself¹².

BOOK III.
Sect. I.

Olympias causes Philip Aridaeus and Eurydice to be put to death,

OLYMPIAS's lust of revenge was not yet fated. She caused Nicanor, brother to Cassander, to be also slain, and the tomb of Iolas, another brother, to be broke open, and his body exposed upon the public highway; and, having seized a hundred Macedonians of quality, supposed to have been friends to Cassander, she put them all to death.

together with Nicanor, Cassander's brother,

and an hundred Macedonians of quality.

THESE violent proceedings had turned the greater part of Macedon against her, when Cassander appeared¹³. Upon the first advice from Eurydice, he had left Peloponnesus; and was on his way to her assistance, when the melancholy tidings of her fate reached him. A body of Aetolians, in the service of Polyperchon, had possessed themselves of the defile of Thermopylae, in order to dispute the passage. To avoid

Cassander marches against her;

¹¹ OLYMP. CXV. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 315.

¹² Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

¹³ Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 2, 3.



Book III. delay, he went on board his fleet, which he had ordered to
 Sect. I. follow him, and was on the confines of Macedon, before either
 Polyperchon or Olympias were aware of his approach; and, having divided his forces, he sent one detachment to employ Polyperchon; with the other, he marched in person against Olympias. She, with the young king, and Roxana his mother, several of the royal family, and Macedonian nobility, were shut up in Pydna, in full assurance, that both Polyperchon and Aeacidas king of Epire, her kinsman, were marching to her relief. But Cassander had taken his measures more effectually; seduced by a party he had artfully formed in Epire, the Epirots refused to follow their king, and, upon his attempting compulsion, deposed him. Polyperchon, sharply pressed by the forces sent against him, with difficulty provided for his own defence. Olympias, nevertheless, held out with firmness, till, compelled by famine, she was at last obliged to surrender. She stipulated only for her life; but, the kindred of those whom she murdered, demanding justice, Cassander pretended, that this stipulation related only to military execution, and that she was still amenable to the laws of her country. Her condemnation followed of course; and she was accordingly put to death. The young king Alexander, and Roxana, Cassander confined in Amphipolis. And Thessalonice, who was also made prisoner at the same time, the daughter of Philip by a lady of Thessaly, he married¹⁴.

obliges her
to surrender;

has her put
to death;
confines
Alexander,
Roxana's
son,
and marries
Thessalonice,
Philip's
daughter.

THE inveterate hatred with which Olympias pursued Cassander and his house, seems to account for the reports spread to his disadvantage concerning Alexander's death. They

¹⁴ Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

probably



probably originated with Olympias, in order to procure the destruction of a family she abhorred. And indeed Cassander himself gave much strength to them, by the detestation in which he confessedly held his master's memory, and the extreme cruelty with which he treated his nearest connections. It appears from Plutarch²⁵, that, long after the death of Alexander, he retained such a deadly enmity to his memory, that he could not bear the recollection of him without horror; a remarkable instance of which that historian has presented to us. After he had been some years in possession of the kingdom of Macedon, as he was walking one day at Delphi, and taking a view of the statues, the sudden sight of the statue of Alexander struck him with such dread, that he trembled all over, and with difficulty recovered from the giddiness it occasioned. According to Plutarch, he had once burst into a laugh in Alexander's presence, at the sight of some barbarians prostrating themselves before him; when, enraged at the insult, the king caught him by the hair, and with both his hands dashed his head against the wall. Upon another occasion, as he attempted to vindicate his father, whom certain persons had accused, Alexander with loud menaces bade him beware of misleading him by his sophisms, denouncing vengeance against Antipater, if he did not fully answer the charge against him. Such was his terror from the king's violence, continues Plutarch, that, as long as he lived, he never was able to overcome the impression. It must be owned, Cassander remembered but too faithfully the passionate excesses of his master, and took ample revenge for them. His shedding the blood of Olympias, violent as she

Book III.
Sect. 1.

Cassander's
detestation of
Alexander's
memory;

from what
causes.

²⁵ Plutarch in Alexand.



BOOK III. was, is hardly to be justified. But his treatment of the young
 Sect. I. princes, Alexander's sons, which we shall have immediate occa-
 sion to mention, is altogether without excuse. There is even
 reason to suspect, that his pretended kindness to the Thebans
 was in fact a kind of triumph over Alexander. Alexander had
 exterminated the Thebans. Cassander made it his first care,
 after he had composed the affairs of Macedon, to collect to-
 gether their remains, and to raise their city from it's ruins,
 restoring it, as far as he could, to it's former splendor. He
 had a pride, perhaps, in opposing Alexander, and in rearing
 up what he had demolished.

Cassander is
 involved in
 new wars
 with Anti-
 gonus,

CASSANDER had now succeeded, seemingly, to the utmost
 of his ambitious hopes. He was in full possession, the title
 excepted, of the regal dignity; Polyperchon, unable to op-
 pose him, had taken refuge in Aetolia; Greece was in sub-
 jection; Epire was under his dominion; and, however iniqui-
 tous the means were by which he had acquired this power,
 yet these several nations, exhausted by continual wars, sub-
 mitted patiently to a domination which promised them *some* re-
 pose. This interval of peace was of short duration. Antigonus,
 as already mentioned, had made considerable progress in Asia;
 and the other generals of Alexander, jealous of a power which
 might soon prove fatal to their own, called upon Cassander
 to unite with them in humbling this formidable rival. This
 produced new troubles in Greece. Alexander, son to Poly-
 perchon, had retired to the court of Antigonus; who imme-
 diately dispatched him to Greece, with a large supply of
 money, in order to make a diversion in Peloponnesus. And
 Cassander having bought him off, by resigning " all his

¹⁶ Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 4.

rights



rights in Peloponnesus, Antigonus had recourse to other methods, encouraging, under pretence of a zeal for liberty, the popular faction throughout the Grecian cities to rise against Cassander's government. All Greece was again in commotion; and the Aetolians having also taken up arms, and Aecidas at the same time making an attempt to recover his kingdom, Cassander found himself involved in very extensive military operations; which he nevertheless maintained with great spirit, not only resisting his different adversaries, but even making an impression on the Asiatic coasts, and distressing Antigonus at home. It were of little moment to enter into a detail of these desultory wars, which, as often as the parties found themselves weakened by their mutual losses, were interrupted by some kind of convention, to be violated as soon as a favourable opportunity offered for renewing hostilities.

and his confederates;

WHAT Cassander experienced in the course of these convulsions, probably impelled him to a crime, which, steeped in blood as he was, he had not before dared to execute. Young Alexander, Roxana's son, he held, as we have related, in confinement at Amphipolis; and though he had stripped him of all the trappings of sovereignty, and ordered him to be treated as a private person, he had not attempted his life. Among many acts of violence, with which Antigonus had charged Cassander, he reproached him for disloyal treatment to his sovereign; and, as if *he* had a mighty regard for the royal line, threatened to rescue the prince out of the hands of his oppressors, and to vindicate his rights. The Macedonians, many of whom were not well-affected to Cassander, complained likewise of the shameful imprisonment of their king, and required that he should be no longer with-held from their sight.

endeavours to secure himself

by putting Alexander the son of Roxana to death.



Book III. Cassander perceived at once where these murmurs might terminate, and, as a decisive step for his security, sent orders to Amphipolis to destroy both the Prince and his mother". Young Alexander was aged about twelve years at the time of his death. Upon the discovery of his assassination, the Macedonians would have risen against the assassin; but they wanted a leader. And Antigonus and the other great generals were little disposed to revenge a crime, which was advantageous to themselves, and which, circumstanced as Cassander was, they would have had as little scruple to commit".

Polyperchon sets up Hercules, the last male branch of the royal family, king in his stead.

THERE yet remained one male branch more of the royal family; Hercules, the son of Alexander by Barsine, widow of Memnon, and daughter of Artabazus, now aged seventeen, who had hitherto resided in Asia. Polyperchon, who was still in Aetolia, and who imagined the present opportunity was favourable for reviving his pretensions in Macedon, while the minds of men were irritated against Cassander, conceived the scheme of making this young prince the instrument of his ambition. Having assembled therefore a considerable body of troops, he invited Hercules to pass over into Greece; had him acknowledged, wherever he could, as heir of the imperial house of Macedon; and declared his resolution of establishing him on the throne of his ancestors. Cassander was alarmed. He had one resource, however, in Polyperchon himself. He knew him to be base, perfidious, and mercenary; and hoped to make such overtures as would be able to detach him from the interests of this new competitor. He was not disappointed. The offer of associating him in the ad-

" OLYMP. cxvii. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 310.

" Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 1, 2.

ministration,



ministration, and of yielding to him the entire sovereignty of Peloponnesus, put an end to his assumed loyalty; nay, to quiet all further fears of Cassander, the infamous Polyperchon undertook and accomplished the murder of the young king, of whom he had just avowed himself the protector. This assassination of *Hercules*¹⁹ took place about two years after that of Roxana's son.

BOOK III.
Sect. I.

and murders
him at the
instigation
of Cassander.

CASSANDER, as we have before observed, had ceded Peloponnesus to the son of Polyperchon; but the possession of it was attended with many difficulties; and he was at last killed in an insurrection at Sicyon. Polyperchon's ill-acquired sovereignty had nearly the same issue; he met with vigorous opposition from the several nations of which it was composed; and, being obliged to retire, was deservedly destined to end his days in the utmost wretchedness.

The fate of
Polyperchon.

CASSANDER possessed, in his exalted station, but little enjoyment or peace of mind. In Macedon he was not popular. In Greece he was detested. While allied abroad to doubtful friends, Lyfimachus and Ptolemy, with whom he had no other connection but the precarious one of present interest; he was surrounded by formidable and insidious enemies, the Aetolians and Epirots on the one side, and Antigonus and Demetrius on the other, who watched the opportunity of wresting from him a prize, which had cost him many crimes. Even the death of Alexander's children, from which he had hoped to derive security, had added to the importance of his rivals in empire; and, without sharing in his guilt, they had acquired from it rank and independence.

Cassander is
encompassed
with difficul-
ties;

¹⁹ OLYMP. cxvii. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 308.



BOOK III. HE soon felt the fatal effects of his misguided policy.

SECT. I. The disaffection of the most considerable of the Greek republics presented Antigonus with the opportunity he had long sought, the means of carrying the war into Cassander's dominions; and Demetrius Poliorcetes was detached to attempt Athens, which if reduced would open a way to the reduction of the rest of Greece. The execution of this scheme was attended with little difficulty. When Poliorcetes appeared before Athens, the prospect of a revolution occasioned a general joy; and, far from receiving him as an enemy, they hailed him as their protector, compelling Demetrius Phalereus, whom Cassander had appointed over them, to abdicate the government. This appears more striking, as Demetrius Phalereus had been remarkable for the lenity of his administration. He was, besides, highly accomplished, of the most captivating deportment, and, which at Athens was no small merit, a celebrated speaker; though, according to Cicero, the first of the Greeks, who, instead of the nervous severity, and bold resistless spirit, to be found in the earlier orators, particularly in Demosthenes, substituted a milder and more pathetic species of eloquence, but as much inferior to that of former days in its manner and powers, if we are to believe the Roman²⁰ critic, "as the gently-gliding stream is to the thundering torrent."

is attacked
by Deme-
trius Polior-
cetes, who
attempts and
takes Athens;

and ejects
Demetrius
Phalereus,

HE had governed Athens ten years, and apparently so much to the satisfaction of the people, that they had erected

²⁰ Hic primus, says Cicero (Brut. 9) inflexit orationem, et eam mollem teneramque reddidit, et suavis, sicut fuit, videri maluit, quam gravis; sed suavitate eâ, quâ perfunderet animos, non perfringeret.



to him three hundred and sixty statues. But, such is the value of popular favour! these statues were now thrown down, his acts arraigned, his administration declared iniquitous and oppressive, and himself and all persons connected with him pronounced worthy of death. Phalereus, indeed, escaped by flight, in which he was assisted by Poliorcetes himself; and, after various fortunes, took refuge in Egypt; where we shall have occasion to mention him in the history of the affairs of that kingdom. That which rendered him eminently obnoxious was not so much, in all probability, what *he* had actually done, as his serving under a prince exceedingly odious, and his being the minister of a government founded in force, that had risen on the ruins of democracy, to which the Athenians, of all the nations in Greece, were most passionately attached.

BOOK III.
Sect. I.

POLIORCETES, instructed by the fate of his predecessor, employed every art to gain the affections of the Athenians. He obliged the Macedonian garrison to evacuate the Munychia, which they had held ever since the days of Antipater, and demolished the fortrefs: he avoided entering Athens with a military force, for fear of giving umbrage: he restored the popular government in it's full extent: he promised, in the name of his father, an hundred and fifty thousand measures of wheat, and timber sufficient for building an hundred galleys—assuming the character only of *asserter of the public liberty*, without pretending to interfere in the administration, though by his agents he was directing all public operations.

Poliorcetes
wins the
affections of
the Atheni-
ans,



BOOK III. THE extravagant adulation²¹ with which the Athenians expressed their gratitude, shews what a change had taken place in the character of that once-illustrious people. In their days of glory, an olive-wreath was the only reward a Miltiades laid claim to; and even in this he met with opposition. Now the most distinguished honours, such as Athens was wont to pay only to her gods, were prostituted to sooth the vanity of a young adventurer, whom they scarcely knew; who had served them, merely because it served his own interests; and who, they could not but be sensible, owed the power, of which he was possessed, to perfidy and usurpation. They consecrated the spot where Demetrius first alighted from his chariot when he entered Athens, and erected an altar upon it to *Demetrius the alighter*²². A law passed, that, when he condescended to come to Athens, he should be received with the same honours that were paid to Ceres and Bacchus; and that whoever should surpass the rest of the Athenians in the magnificence with which they received Demetrius, should have money from the public treasury to enable him to consecrate some pious memorial of his success—that Antigonus and Demetrius should be honoured with the appellation of GODS PROTECTORS; and that, instead of denominating the year, as formerly, from the archon, they should create annually a priest of these *gods protectors*, whose

who repay
him with ex-
travagant
adulations.

²¹ See Plut. in Demet. et Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 3.

²² Βωμὸν Δημητρίου καταβάτου. Plut. in Demet.—According to Diodorus (xx. 3.) the Athenians set up golden statues of Antigonus and Demetrius next to those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, adorned with golden crowns, each of two hundred talents weight, and erected an altar in honour of them, by the name of *the Altar of the SAVIOURS*.

name



name should be prefixed to all their public acts—that the portraits of these *gods protectors* should be wrought in the holy veil, with those of the other gods—that those who should be sent upon public business from the commonwealth of Athens, to Antigonus and Demetrius, should not be stiled ambassadors, but *THEOTOI*, *visitors of the gods*; a title appropriated to the messengers, who on solemn festivals carried the accustomed offerings to Delos and Delphi. They even complimented their deliverers with an important alteration in the constitution, adding two to the number of their tribes, and calling them Demetrius and Antigonus; so that the senate, which before consisted of five hundred members, now consisted of six hundred, each tribe supplying fifty. What almost exceeds belief, they not only declared Demetrius to be a god; they also voted, that his words, being the words of a god, should be received as divine oracles. Accordingly, at the dedication of certain offerings at Delphi, concerning the form of which some doubts had occurred, a decree passed, that application should be made to this oracle, and that whatever it pronounced should be observed. Plutarch has preserved to us this curious monument. “ In a fortunate hour be it decreed by the people, that a citizen of Athens be appointed to go to THE GOD PROTECTOR; and, after due sacrifices offered, demand of *Demetrius, the God Protector*, what will be the most pious, the most honourable, and expeditious method of consecrating the intended offerings; and it is hereby enacted, that the people of Athens shall observe what *the oracle* shall have dictated.” Strange, that Athens should ever have fallen thus low! and not less strange, that there ever should have been found a human



BOOK III. human mind so intoxicated by vanity and success, as to have
 Sect. I. pleasure in these fulsome adulations !

THE next exploit of Demetrius Poliorcetes was the reduction of Megara ; from which, as at Athens, he ejected the Macedonian garrison : and probably all Greece had soon acknowledged him sovereign, most of the cities being disposed to open their gates to him, had not the orders of Antigonus obliged him to pass over to Cyprus, where Ptolemy's power was now become so formidable, as to threaten all the adjacent parts of Asia. His expedition thither, together with the Egyptian war, and the siege of Rhodes, on which we have already insisted, diverted for a time his attention from Grecian affairs. This interval was not neglected by Cassander ; he employed himself in re-establishing his interests in the several cities of Greece, and in quelling that spirit of revolt, which appeared to animate most of them ; and had sat down with his army before Athens, when Demetrius, urged by the earnest solicitations of his friends, hastened from Rhodes to their assistance. His success we have already mentioned.

Poliorcetes
 passes over to
 Cyprus.

Cassander re-
 turns to
 Greece ;

and besieges
 Athens :

Poliorcetes
 hastens back
 to its relief ;

the excessive
 flatteries of
 the Athe-
 nians to him
 on this occa-
 sion :

WHATEVER strains of panegyric the Athenians had before indulged, they now surpassed ²³ them all. Orders were given, that Demetrius should be lodged in the Parthenon, or virgin-temple of Minerva, on account, doubtless, of the sumptuousness of the edifice ; though there could not be a grosser insult to the supposed purity of their goddess, than

²³ See Plutarch in Demet.



to give her for a guest a man of his coarse and dissolute manners. They were not ashamed however to see this sacred place made the receptacle of courtezans, and the scene of the lewdest debaucheries. They were even mean enough to become panders to his lust. They prostituted the honour of their families to his impure desires; and, as if they had been apprehensive posterity might imagine that these were the private crimes of some servile individuals, to which government gave no sanction, an edict passed, importing, "it was resolved by the people of Athens, that whatever Demetrius was pleased to command, should be accounted holy in respect of the gods, and just in respect of men:" An edict of so extraordinary a nature, that it were unnecessary to quote further instances of the debasement of this degenerate people.

THE baneful influence of flattery soon shewed itself in the change wrought on Demetrius. Licentious as he was, he had hitherto been distinguished by his affability and gentle demeanor. He now became imperious and arrogant; affected a superior carriage, and a loftier tone of language; and seemed to expect that other princes should bend before him, regarding them as persons in subjection to him, who existed by his favour, and were to yield up their governments at his nod. Ptolemy he affected to call his admiral; Lyfimachus his treasurer; Seleucus the master of his elephants. A conduct exactly similar had been remarked also in Antigonus; and the successes of his son had not helped to humble him. This haughty turn of mind appeared remarkable in their treatment of Cassander. He had sued for peace, and would willingly have submitted to the most humiliating conditions; but nothing less than

their influence on Demetrius:



BOOK III. than the absolute resignation²⁴ of all his dominions would satisfy Antigonus and Demetrius. Such an intemperate use of fortune was attended with its usual consequences. Moved by Cassander's situation, and alarmed at an insolence, which shewed what they had to expect, the rest of Alexander's successors formed an alliance against Demetrius and his father, which terminated in the fatal battle of Ipsus.

Cassander dies ;

the fate of his unhappy house.

THE sequel of Demetrius's fortunes we have already related²⁵. Cassander died some years afterwards, in the peaceable possession of Macedon and Greece, a few cities excepted, of which Demetrius, and after him his son Antigonus, retained the sovereignty. A judgment seemed nevertheless to pursue this unhappy house²⁶. He left three sons. Philip, the eldest, having died soon after his father. Alexander and Antipater, the second and third, both claimed the kingdom; Alexander was supported by the interest of his mother Thessalonice, whose favourite he was; and Antipater, by Lyfimachus, whose daughter he had married. Antipater, resenting the preference of his mother for Alexander, had the impiety to imbrue his hands in her blood; and, flying afterwards to Lyfimachus, was, upon some difference betwixt them, imprisoned, and put to death. And, Alexander having called in Demetrius to his assistance, the latter, as before related, pretending a design against his life, had him taken off by violence.

IN Thessalonice and her sons ended the royal lineage of Macedon. Twenty-eight years only had elapsed since Alexander's death, and not a single branch of his house remained

²⁴ Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 5.

²⁵ See B. ii. Sect. 2.

²⁶ Just. L. xvi. c. 1, 2.



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to enjoy a portion of that empire, which Philip and his son had acquired at the price of great exertions, and much toil and bloodshed.

BOOK III.
SECT. I.

AND it is worthy of observation, as these princes, in the pursuit of their ambitious schemes, exceeded in violence and cruelty, so by violence and cruelty was their family cut off; not one branch of it (those who died in their infancy and Alexander excepted) expiring peaceably, or even bravely in the field, but all by treachery and assassination. Philip perished by domestic treason. His daughter Cynane was slain by Perdiccas. Amyntas her husband, heir of the Macedonian crown, had been put to death earlier, some say by Olympias, some, by Alexander. Thesalonice, one of Philip's daughters, was, as we have just related, assassinated by her own son. Cleopatra, sister to Alexander, by Antigonus. Aridaeus, son to Philip, by Olympias. And Eurydice his wife, daughter to the unhappy Cynane, by Olympias also. Caranus and Europa, Philip's son and daughter by Cleopatra, his last wife, were likewise murdered by Olympias, the latter in her mother's arms.

and in what manner.

OLYMPIAS herself was slain by Cassander. Statira, daughter of Darius and wife of Alexander, to whom surely on both accounts respect was due, was destroyed by Roxana, together with Alexander's unborn child. Roxana, in her turn, was treated in the same manner by Cassander; who murdered her and her son. And Hercules, son also to Alexander, and the last male branch of the royal house, fell by the perfidy of Polyperchon.

F f

SUCH,



BOOK III. SUCH; to the family of Alexander, were the fruits of
Sect. I. that ambition which had lighted the torch of war over
Europe, Asia, and Africa, and had spread such dreadful and
extensive devastation.

It may indeed be said, that these sanguinary actions were not the result of war, but were merely domestic crimes; and therefore not to be imputed to the military spirit which Philip and his son called forth; it is however evident, that they in a great measure proceeded from that ferocity of character, and relentless spirit, which constant wars and continued scenes of blood had introduced; they were the offspring of those deadly animosities, generally excited in civil distractions; and of the decay of loyalty towards their princes, for which the Macedonians at one time were celebrated, but which the miseries they had suffered had totally extinguished.

THE military achievements of Philip's reign were doubtless of some benefit to Macedon; they improved the courage and discipline of her soldiers; they gave her security and independence; they enabled her to assume a rank and station among her neighbours, to which, before this period, she had never attained. And, had Alexander *completed the plan*, and no more, which his father seems to have traced out; had he contented himself with driving the Persians out of the Lower Asia, and freeing the Macedonians on that side from all future dread of invasion; had he taken care to confirm and render permanent that sovereignty over the Greek commonwealths, which their fears or their affections had yielded to him; he probably had rendered Macedon flourish-
ing



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ing and powerful. But his ambition was her ruin. He drained his country of her strength, in making conquests not only useless but pernicious to her; and he left her a prey to the ravages of war, and the rage of civil contest, for nearly forty years after his death.

Book III.
Sect. I.

F f 2

B O O K



B O O K III.

S E C T I O N II.

C O N T E N T S.

Lyfimachus gets possession of the throne of Macedon—his character—is slain by Seleucus—Seleucus, by Ptolemy Ceraunus—Ptolemy Ceraunus, by the Gauls.—The Gauls lay waste Macedon—attempt Delphi—are repulsed—and retire.—Antigonus, son to Demetrius Poliorcetes, lays claim to the kingdom of Macedon—and obtains it—is attacked by another body of Gauls—defeats them.—Pyrrhus of Epire invades Macedon—defeats and dispossesses Antigonus—attacks Sparta—is repulsed—marches to Argos—is slain—his character.

Book III.
Sect. 2.

Pyrrhus and
Lyfimachus
invade Ma-
cedon:

THE expulsion of Demetrius from the throne of Macedon was of little service to that unhappy kingdom. Pyrrhus of Epire, and Lyfimachus of Thrace^a, who had acted in concert in the late revolution, now set up opposite claims to the succession, each of them demanding it as a recompence due for his services; and they prepared to support their pretensions by force of arms. An accommodation was

^a See Just. L. xvi. c. 3. Pausan. in Atticis. Plutarch in Pyrrho.

at



at length brought about, of which, however, the dismem-
bering of Macedon was the fundamental article; the Upper²
Macedon being allotted to Lyfimachus, and the Lower to
Pyrrhus. But even this accommodation was only the tem-
porary expedient of ambition. Upon the final ruin of De-
metrius's fortunes in Syria, Lyfimachus began to execute
what he had doubtless meditated from the beginning; and
either by open violence, or by secret practices, soon stripped
Pyrrhus of all his Macedonian possessions.

BOOK III.
Sect. 2.

Lyfimachus
ejects Pyr-
rhus:

UNDER a wise administration, this reunion of the king-
dom might have added to its security and strength. Under
Lyfimachus, it only aggravated its miseries. Violent and
fanguinary in his disposition, and no longer controlled by the
apprehensions of an enemy near him, he now displayed the
whole ferocity of his character. His own family were the
first victims³. In the decline of life, he had married Arfinoe,
the daughter of Ptolemy of Egypt, by Berenice his favourite
queen. And some years before, Lyfandra, another of Pto-
lemy's daughters, by Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater,
had been married to Agathocles, Lyfimachus's son. Berenice
and Eurydice, jealous of each other, had long distracted the

his charac-
ter:

marries Ar-
finoe:

² *The Upper* Macedon, that is, the eastern part, towards the Aegean sea; as by
the Lower we are to understand the western, towards the Ionian or Adriatic. In
former times, when Macedon was confined within narrower limits, by *the Upper*
Macedon were generally meant, as appears from Thucydides (L. viii.) the moun-
tainous parts of it, and by *the Lower*, the vallies and plain country; but the Ma-
cedonians having by degrees extended themselves from sea to sea, the eastern and
western coasts had the appellation of *Upper* and *Lower* Macedon given to them.
See Palmer. Græc. Antiq. L. i. c. 14.

³ Just. L. xvii. c. 1.

Egyptian



Book III. Egyptian court by their mutual animosities; and Berenice
 Sect. 2. had taken care to inspire Arsinoe with the same hatred of
 Eurydice and her children, with which she herself was
 animated.

ARSINOE left Egypt, therefore, with the strongest prejudices
 against Lyfandra and her husband; which, on her arrival in
 Macedon, were not lessened by the high reputation of the young
 prince. He was looked up to by all with a sort of adoration:
 his military abilities and his amiable manners had endeared
 him equally to the army and to the people: and to his valour
 and conduct, his father stood confessedly indebted for some of
 the finest provinces of his kingdom. Filled as Arsinoe was
 with hereditary enmity, such accomplishments, strengthened
 by the consideration of his being heir apparent to the throne,
 were of a nature too distinguished, not to increase the aversion
 and the jealousy of that resentful and ambitious princess.
 They afforded, at the same time, many dangerous and spe-
 cious arguments to an artful woman, whose lovely form and
 captivating powers carried her insinuations with irresistible
 force into the suspicious mind of a doating and inhuman ty-
 rant. She soon brought over Lyfimachus to her fatal pur-
 pose⁴. Agathocles was suspected, imprisoned, and put to
 death⁵.

conceives
 suspicions of
 his son Aga-
 thocles:

puts him to
 death.

THE

⁴ Some have said (see Panf. Xyland. in Atticis, p. 9.) that she had conceived a
 passion for the young prince; and that, finding her incestuous solicitations rejected,
 she pursued him with implacable hatred.

⁵ There happened also at this time an incident, which appears to have precipi-
 tated the fate of the young prince. Ptolemy, the eldest son of Ptolemy king of
 Egypt, and Lyfandra's brother, had, upon the preference in the succession being
 given



THE murder of Agathocles threw Macedon into great confusion. His melancholy fate occasioned a general indignation, and called to remembrance his many virtues; whilst Lyfimachus, whose temper became every day more distrustful, and who looked upon the honours paid to his son's memory as so many insults offered to himself, wreaked his vengeance on all who seemed even to lament him; so that the most virtuous of the Macedonians saw themselves exposed to the vindictive passions of this gloomy and cruel tyrant.

BOOK III.
Sect. 2.

Indignation
and fears of
the friends of
Agathocles;

LYSANDRA also knew well, that the same hand which had destroyed her husband, was raised likewise against her life; and that her enemies only waited the opportunity of involving her and her dependents in one general ruin. Exasperated, therefore, by her wrongs, and doubtful of her safety, this unhappy princess, accompanied by her brother Ptolemy, and such of the nobility as had been most attached to Agathocles, fled to Asia, and implored the protection of Seleucus. This prince, pleased, perhaps, with the opportunity, readily granted the noble fugitives all they asked; and, having fallen directly upon the province of Lydia, made himself master of Sardis, and was preparing to cross the Hellespont, when Lyfimachus prevented him. He had foreseen the storm that was gathering against him; and, too brave to decline the

they flee to
Seleucus,

who prepares
to make war
against Lyfi-
machus,

given to Philadelphus, brother to Arsinoe, left Egypt, and retired to the court of Agathocles; which, it is likely, made Arsinoe apprehensive that he would endeavour to engage Agathocles in his interest, and through him recover the crown, of which he had been despoiled. But more of these transactions hereafter, in the history of Egyptian affairs.



BOOK III. contest, or unwilling to hazard the issue in Macedon,
SECT. 2. (where, besides the power of a formidable enemy, he should have to encounter the disaffection of an injured people) had passed into Asia, and was advancing towards Seleucus.

and meets
him in battle.

Lyfimachus
slain.

THE armies, headed by the two only surviving generals of Alexander, met on a plain on the Phrygian borders, called *the field of Cyrus**. Seleucus was aged seventy-seven years, and Lyfimachus eighty. Both of them were hardy and experienced warriors, who, during a long period of years, had been bound to each other by all the ties of friendship, if such a thing as friendship can, indeed, be known to the ambitious. Notwithstanding their advanced age, they both acquitted themselves with all the vigour and activity of youth; but Seleucus's fortune prevailed, and Lyfimachus fell.

Seleucus slain
treacherously

by Ptolemy
Ceraunus.

SELEUCUS now considered the kingdom of Macedon as a prize belonging to the victor; and, having resigned his Asiatic dominions to his son Antiochus, seemed to please himself with the expectation of spending the remainder of his days, after a variety of revolutions, in the peaceable enjoyment of his native country. He little thought, that he was to receive his death from one of those persons, in whose behalf he had employed his arms. Lyfander's brother, Ptolemy, one of the most flagitious characters to be met with in history, had cast an eye on the throne of Macedon, and had determined, whatever crime it should cost him, to possess himself

* Κίρην πεδίοις—Strab. Casaub. L. iii. p. 432. It appears from Arrian, (ii. 4.) that it was the place of encampment of Cyrus the younger, near the gates of Cilicia from Cappadocia: he calls it Κίρην στρατόπεδον.

of



of it. Seleucus, too generous and unsuspecting, lived with him in the most familiar manner, and soon afforded him the opportunity he wished for. As he was on the point of entering Macedon, Ptolemy, watching the convenient moment, treacherously came behind, and stabbed his benefactor⁷, about seven months after Lyfimachus's death.

Book III.
Sect. 2.

THE success that attended this perfidious action, shews us the abject condition, not only of Macedon, but also of the adjacent states of Greece and Asia, at this juncture. Ptolemy, detested as he must have been, bathed in the blood of his benefactor, the murderer of a prince universally respected and beloved, found it, nevertheless, an easy matter to seat himself on a throne, to which he had no pretensions but what were founded on the atrocious action he had just committed. It is plain, it was to their exhausted situation he owed his security. Worn out by continual wars, they dreaded a contention, which was to renew their miseries. Antigonus, son to Poliorcetes, attempted, indeed, an opposition; but of little moment: and Antiochus himself, Seleucus's son, was forced to put off to a future day the revenging of his father's blood, the situation of his Asiatic affairs requiring his immediate presence.

Ptolemy-
Ceraunus
gets possession
of Macedon;

THE title, by which the Egyptian prince held the crown, was odious; and the public hatred was increased by succeeding enormities⁸. Arsinoe, his half-sister, Lyfimachus's widow, retained still a portion of Upper Macedon, in the chief city of which, Cassandria, she had her residence, together with the sons

courts the
widow of
Lyfimachus;

⁷ OLYMP. CXXIV. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 282.

⁸ Just. L. xxiv. c. 2, 3.

G g

whom



BOOK III. whom she had born to Lyfimachus. This was a mortifying
 Sect. 2. circumstance to Ptolemy. He held but a mutilated kingdom, whilst this part was wanting. The young princes, besides, were sons to a king of Macedon, and might in time set up claims, which he should find it difficult to defeat. Should he attempt Cassandria by force of arms, and fail, it must lay open his designs, and might prove his ruin. He resolved, therefore, to proceed by art and subtilty; and, pretending to be captivated by the charms of Arfinoe, offered to share the throne of Macedon with her; and, as a farther inducement, to settle the succession upon her sons.

prevails on
 her to marry
 him: MATERNAL tendernefs, and perhaps yet more her vanity and ambition, were too much flattered by these offers for her to reject them. She wanted, however, further assurances of his sincerity. This was an easy task. The most sacred oaths were employed on the occasion: Ptolemy, before the altar, imprecating on himself the severest vengeance of the gods, if he was not moved to this suit by the firmest and most ardent affection, and promising, whilst life remained, never to depart from his present regard and professions. The solemnity of the marriage, which was celebrated with the utmost splendor, was followed by the pomp of Arfinoe's inauguration; on which occasions Ptolemy so successfully maintained the character of a tender lover, that his wife, banishing every suspicion, gave herself up to the fond belief of her husband's truth and constancy, and commanded the gates of the city of Cassandria, where her children resided, and her treasures were lodged, to be opened for his reception.

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THIS was the grand object, for the sake of which he had been practising every hypocritical art. No sooner had he entered the gates, than he ordered his troops to possess themselves of the citadel; and the young princes, one aged sixteen, the other thirteen, who had appeared to attend his entry, and do him honour, to be immediately put to death. Upon the first notice of what was designed against them, they had fled to Arfinoe for protection; but the wretched mother could afford them none; the assassins not only rushing into her presence, but, regardless of her shrieks, murdered both the princes even in her arms, whilst she in vain endeavoured to cover them from the strokes of the inhuman executioners. As if all this barbarity had not been sufficient, after stripping her of her royal attire, and cloathing her in a mean garb, this unhappy princess was dragged out of the city, and sent into exile to Samothrace.

BOOK III.
Sect. 2.

murders
both her
sons,

and banishes
her;

SUCH enormous guilt seemed to provoke some exemplary punishment; and it soon overtook him. A vast body of Gauls*, amounting to three hundred thousand, had left their native home in quest of new settlements, and after following the course of the Danube for a considerable way, had divided into three bodies, one of which had broken into Macedon. Ptolemy had not force sufficient to cope with this formidable multitude; yet, as if urged on by divine vengeance for his crimes, he refused the only expedients that might have saved him. They demanded a certain quantity of gold, promising on that condition to march through his dominions without committing any depredation. Their demand was haughtily rejected. The

is attacked
by the
Gauls;

* Pausan. in Phocicis. Just. L. xxiv. c. 5, & seq.

G g 2

Dardanians



Book III. Dardanians would have marched to his assistance. He dis-
 Sect. 2. dained the offer; and, in full confidence of his own strength,
 rashly defies them to battle, and in contempt of that of the enemy, took the field with
 such tumultuary troops as he could get together, and defied
 the enemy to battle. The event was answerable to the folly
 and falls. of his conduct. With most of his men he perished¹⁰; and,
 the barbarians cutting off his head, carried it through their
 ranks exposed on the top of a lance. Ptolemy reigned about
 two years, and is distinguished in history by the appellation
 of *Ceraunus*, or *thunderbolt*; a name aptly expressive of his im-
 petuous and ruthless violence.

The Gauls
 lay waste
 Macedon;

NEVER were people in a more deplorable condition than
 the Macedonians at this period; without a king; without an
 army; exposed to the depredations of incensed barbarians, and
 subject to every insult which their cruelty or their lust might
 dictate. Sothenes undertook at length to repress them.
 This noble Macedonian, called forth by the distresses of his
 country, assembled whatever adventurous spirits were yet to
 be found in Macedon, and, having formed them into a cho-
 sen band, occasionally surprised and harrassed the ravagers.
 Repeated successes increased his reputation and his numbers,
 until by degrees he found himself enabled to attempt regular
 engagements; in one of which Belgius fell. But Macedon
 had not yet seen the end of her calamities. Brennus, another
 of the barbarian chieftains, who had remained behind in Pan-
 nonia, excited by the fame of Belgius's exploits, and of the
 rich plunder he had acquired, also hastened to share the spoil;
 and entered Macedon, say historians, at the head of an hun-

¹⁰ OLYMP, CXXIV. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 280.



dred and forty thousand foot and ten thousand horse. To such a force the resistance of exhausted Macedon was unequal. Sothenes's army, together with their gallant chief, were soon overpowered and cut to pieces; and, a few places of strength excepted, all was abandoned to the mercy of the conqueror. Laden with plunder, they left at length a country, where they could find nothing more to gratify their avarice; and shaped their course towards Greece.

Book III.
Sect. 2.

march to-
wards
Greece;

GREECE, enfeebled by a succession of evils, which her domestic follies, and the ambition of the princes of Macedon, had brought upon her, had seemingly nothing to oppose to this torrent of barbarians. Brennus, well informed of her situation, and flushed with victory, promised himself an easy possession of all the treasures, with which her cities were said to abound. He knew not what resources may be found in strict discipline and wise counsels. Animated by the dangers that threatened them, the Grecian states mustered immediately what strength they could, and secured the defiles of Thermopylae, through which lay the route of the barbarians from Macedon; the Athenians under the command of Callippus, of whom history makes the most honourable mention¹², taking the lead in this important service: whilst their fleets sailed to the coasts of Thessaly, in order to support the operations of the army by land. Brennus had advanced, as if all opposition was to fly before him. But, to his amazement, neither the multitudes he commanded, the gigantic stature of his Gauls, nor the ferocity of their onset, were here successful. The mili-

are stopped
at Thermo-
pylae;

¹² See Pausan. in Atticis.

tary



BOOK III, Sect. 2. tary skill, and the superior excellence of their weapons, gave the Greeks a decided advantage; after repeated efforts, and the loss of many of the bravest of his troops, he found himself under the necessity of desisting.

invade Aetolia;

HE then detached forty thousand men to ravage Aetolia, which joined Thessaly on the south; in hopes that the Aetolians, who formed a considerable part of the Grecian army, would go to the defence of their own country. But enough still remained to guard the pass; and his detachment, after taking only the city of Callion, and encreasing the detestation in which the barbarians were held, by the excessive cruelties they committed, were half of them cut off.

attack Delphi:

AT length the inhabitants of that part of Thessaly where the Gauls were encamped, wishing to get rid of these burdensome guests at any price, directed Brennus to the path over mount Oeta, by which the Medes had entered Greece in the days of Leonidas. Leaving therefore Aciachorius to command in his absence, he began his march at the head of a considerable army, sixty-five thousand chosen men, says Justin¹², in order to surprize the temple of Delphi, famed for the precious offerings it contained. The same fortune he had before experienced pursued him thither also. As the Gauls approached the mount, on which the oracular temple stood, strange voices and solemn sounds struck their ears on every side; the mountain began to shake, and huge rocks, loosening from their foundations, precipitated down upon the affrighted Gauls, and crushed them in

¹² Just. L. xxiv. c. 7.

numbers.



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numbers. The inhabitants, in the mean time, though hardly four thousand strong, inspired with a courage more than human, rushed forth against the barbarians¹³; who, panic-struck, betook themselves to flight; many of them, in their consternation, turning their swords one against another, perished by mutual wounds. The slaughter, which was prodigious, continued till the close of day¹⁴.

Book III.
Sect. 2.

are repulsed,

THE night, that followed, gave them no respite. Besides hideous voices, the crash of rocks, together with the cry of the enemy pursuing, which they still heard or seemed to hear, a tempest uncommonly dreadful overtook the remains of this wretched army; attended with such piercing cold, that most of the wounded expired of the anguish it occasioned. Brennus had been likewise wounded; but his bodily sufferings were light in comparison of what his mind endured; he felt the whole severity of divine vengeance, and in his distraction laid violent hands on himself. The few, who survived, having with much difficulty joined

and retire in
consterna-
tion.

Brennus kills
himself.

¹³ Some historians say that they were led on by personages of divine appearance; whom they suppose to be Apollo, Minerva, and Diana.

¹⁴ According to Pausanias (in Phocicis, p. 340.) the discomfiture of the Gauls at Delphi happened the 2d year of the 125th Olympiad; that is, 278 years before Christ. This agrees exactly with what the accurate Polybius tells us (L. ii. c. 41) that Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, Lyfimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy Ceraunus, died all in the course of the 124th Olympiad. Ptolemy Ceraunus we suppose here to have fallen in battle against the Gauls, the 4th year of that Olympiad. He is said to have reigned two years. He therefore slew Seleucus the 2d year of that same Olympiad. And seven months before that had Lyfimachus been slain. Sothenes, the successor of Ceraunus, held the administration about two years, that is, until the 2d year of the 125th Olympiad, when he was killed by Brennus, who in consequence of his victory invaded Greece.

Aciachorius,



BOOK III.
Sect. 2.

Aciachorius, endeavoured to retreat from this inauspicious country. But, wheresoever they went, they found enemies; the several nations, as they passed, rising against them; and of all those vast multitudes, which had poured out of Macedonia into Greece, not one, we are told, escaped".

" Paulmier de Gretemefnil, in his *Græc. Antiq.* L. vi. c. 8. maintains, that the Gauls really sacked Delphi, and that what Pagan writers say to the contrary is only to be considered as an invention of the Greeks, dictated by their vanity and superstition. And he founds his assertion chiefly on the testimony of Strabo, who, as quoted by that learned critic, says that a considerable part of the Delphic treasure was carried off by the Gauls to Toulouse, and found there by Caepio, the Roman general, when he plundered that city. But, upon examining Strabo, it appears, that this is only a partial quotation; and that, taken all together, his evidence bears quite another way. His words are these: " There is indeed a tradition, that the Tectosages" (a tribe of Gauls near the Pyrenes) " were among the Gauls who invaded Delphi, and that the treasure found at Toulouse by Caepio the Roman general was part of the plunder which they had carried off from Delphi, and which, upon their returning home, they had consecrated to the gods, in order to placate them, having added to it much treasure of their own; and that Caepio, for presuming to lay hands on this sacred deposit, had perished miserably with his whole family. But what Posidonius relates is much more credible. He says, that the treasures found at Toulouse, to the amount of 15,000 talents, were either laid up in the temples, or concealed in the sacred lakes, and consisted altogether of unwrought gold and silver. But at the time when the Gauls invaded Greece, the Delphic temple had no such treasure, having been lately plundered by the Phocians. And what little the Gauls might have got there, the soldiers would probably have had divided among them. Neither is it likely, that these Tectosages ever reached their native land, having suffered great miseries, after they left Delphi, and been dispersed under different leaders in different countries." *Strab. Casaub. L. iv. p. 130.* — Allowing, however, what Strabo does not seem willing to allow, that a part of these invaders reached Toulouse, and brought some portion of the plundered wealth home with them, it does not follow that this was the plunder of Delphi. They had already enriched themselves with the spoil of Macedonia; and Pausanias (in Phocicis) expressly tells us, that, when the Gallic chiefs marched to Delphi, a part of the army was left at Heraclea, to guard the treasure they had amassed, and which they left behind them in their camp; *ὡς ἰμελλοὶ φρουρήσουσι τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατώιδου χρημάτων.*

SUCH



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SUCH are the extraordinary circumstances, with which ancient writers have recorded this irruption and adorned their narrative.

BOOK III.
SECT. 2.

AMIDST these fictions, it is not impossible to trace the truth. From Justin ¹⁶ we learn, that the Delphians, far from relying on any supernatural intervention, provided for their preservation with admirable dexterity. They issued orders, in the name of the oracle, to the inhabitants of the adjacent villages, to abandon their dwellings, leaving them well stored with all manner of provisions and plenty of wines. This scheme had the desired effect. The Gauls, sharpened by hunger, and meeting with no enemy to oppose them, freely indulged themselves, thinking they were in full security. The contrivance gave the Greeks an opportunity of making more effectual preparations, and of collecting succours from the neighbouring cities; and the barbarians, disordered by excess, lost much of that vigour, by which their operations had been generally distinguished.

Causes of
their discom-
fiture.

Precautions
of the Del-
phians.

THE situation also of Delphi furnished the inhabitants with the means of displaying their ingenuity in another manner. Mount Parnassus, on the side of which stood the sacred city, had many caves and windings, from whence proceeded a variety of curious echoes. By stationing people in proper places, with instructions to shout and scream out, as occasion required, it is plain, that the natural effects of the place must have produced a multiplicity of strange voices, which issuing loudly forth, without any visible cause, from every side,

Situation of
Delphi.

¹⁶ Just. L. xxiv. c. 7.

H h

with



BOOK III. with an extraordinary encrease of reverberating sounds, could
 Sect. 2. not but strike terror and dismay into an uninstructed multitude, and beget in them an opinion, that beings more than human were concerned in producing them.

The mountaineers of Parnassus tumble down fragments of rocks on the Gauls ;

ON the same principle may be explained the concussions of the mountain, and the disruption of those large fragments, which, we are told, rolled down, and overwhelmed the Gauls, as they attempted to ascend. Well acquainted with the heights of Parnassus, the inhabitants, doubtless, had it in their power to loosen many of the rocks of that precipice, and to roll them down on the enemy. The mountaineers of the Alps¹⁶ practised the like operation against Hannibal, in his passage into Italy : and these massy bodies, bounding in their descent from cliff to cliff, and dashing at length against the bottom with impetuous violence, might well cause somewhat of a tremulous motion all around.

the Gauls, rude and ignorant, easily impressed with terror.

THE Gauls, therefore, a rude people, and prone to wonder, finding themselves assailed by strange voices and terrifying sounds, which seemed to proceed from beings of a superior order ; hearing the noise of mountains tumbling over their heads, and seeing numbers of their companions destroyed by the sudden ruin that appeared to descend from heaven ; feeling, at the same time, the ground to loosen and tremble beneath their feet ; might very possibly be led to conclude, that the gods interested themselves against them. The rest is easily accounted for. The mind, once struck with a panic, is apt to magnify the most trifling objects, and

¹⁶ See Liv. L. xxvii. c. 34.

often.



often imagines circumstances that never had existence. The superstition of the times assisted the illusion; and the Greeks, both then, and for ages after, whether misled by credulity or prompted by interest, failed not to support the credit of these legendary tales.

Book III.
Sect. 2.

It appears, nevertheless, from Pausanias ¹⁷, that the act of despair, of which Brennus was guilty, was owing to the apprehensions he had of his own countrymen. He it was who had engaged them in this unprosperous expedition; and he dreaded their resentment. There is also the fullest evidence from Strabo ¹⁸, and other antient writers, that the Gauls were not all cut off. Justin himself, who says, not one of them escaped, acknowledges, in another place, that part of them made their way into Thrace, and part into Asia ¹⁹. This is also confirmed by the testimony of Polybius ²⁰, from whom we learn, that they formed a considerable settlement in the neighbourhood of Byzantium; and after some years brought even the Byzantines under a tributary subjection.

True cause
of Brennus's
despair.

Loss sustain-
ed by the
Gauls exag-
gerated.

THE success thus obtained by the arms of Greece against these barbarian tribes, who, spreading devastation through most of the European nations, had, for above an hundred years, disputed the prize of empire with Rome herself, shews the spirit and vigour of the Grecian people when fully exerted; and leads us to conceive what they might have achieved, had they not suffered their strength to consume away in

Noble vigour
exerted by
the Greeks;

¹⁷ See Pausan. in Phocicis.

¹⁸ See Strab. ubi sup.

¹⁹ Just. L. xxxii. c. 3.

²⁰ See Polyb. L. iv. c. 46.



Book III. domestic divisions, and destructive contests for sovereignty
Sect. 2. between city and city. United firmly together, and employ-
 ing their joint efforts for the preservation of their common
 liberties, they might long have spurned the yoke of bondage,
 and have bid defiance to every foreign foe.

by the Athe-
 nians in par-
 ticular.

IT is also worthy of observation, that the Athenians, in whom, for many years before, the spirit of antient days seemed to have been altogether extinguished, should, on this occasion, have deserved to be ranked among the foremost of the deliverers of Greece; and it is no less remarkable, that, after the expulsion of these barbarians, this principle of virtue, by which they were now actuated, should at once lose its whole activity and power. From this time, therefore, they make but a contemptible figure in the affairs of Greece; acting only a secondary part in the various revolutions that followed; and seemingly concerned, not so much for the preservation of their liberties, as into whose hands they should deliver them.

Antigonus,
 son to Deme-
 trius Polior-
 cetes, gets
 possession of
 Macedon;

THE kingdom of Macedon had suffered severely during the late irruptions of the Gauls; and it might have been expected, that, impoverished as it now was, it would have been permitted to enjoy some interval of repose. It appears, nevertheless, to have been still an object of ambition to the neighbouring princes. Antigonus, son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who, since his father's misfortunes, held possession of some of the Peloponnesian cities, revived pretensions to it, which he had attempted to urge in the beginning of the reign of Ceraunus. His plea was, "his father had sat on the throne of Macedon, and, by his mother Phylla, he
 " was



“ was of the house of Antipater.” Accordingly, when he found the Gauls had retired, he marched an army into what he called his own dominions. Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, on the other hand, advanced a title not less specious; “ he claimed Macedon in right of his father, who in a fair battle had won it with his sword from Lyfimachus;” and prepared to support his claim by a powerful armament. Means, however, were contrived to compromise the matter. It was agreed, that Antigonus should wed the princess Phylla, whom Seleucus had by Stratonice before he resigned her to his son: and in consequence of this marriage, Antiochus relinquished his pretensions to Macedon in favour of Antigonus.

THIS re-establishment of public tranquillity was of short continuance. A body of Gauls²¹ had halted, and settled on the northern boundaries of Macedon, at the time Brennus was carrying on his ravages to the southward. They soon heard that Antigonus had brought much treasure from Peloponnesus, and that Macedon began again to give proofs of cultivation and prosperity. Allured by the prospect of plunder, they sent an embassy to Antigonus, requiring the payment of a certain subsidy, on which condition they tendered him peace. Antigonus refused to comply with terms so dishonourable; at the same time, thinking to intimidate his adversaries by a display of his power, he entertained their ambassadors with great parade, and made a splendid exhibition of his army and equipments for war. The report of the ambassadors, upon their return home, served only as an addi-

is attacked
by another
body of
Gauls,

²¹ Just. L. xxv. c. 1, 2.



BOOK III. tional incitement to the barbarians, who immediately made
 Sect. 2. an inroad into Macedon. Antigonus saw his mistake, and
 endeavoured to repair it. As if fearful of giving battle, he
 suffered them to carry on their depredations unmolested ;
 but when incumbered with booty, he fell on them with his
 troops, which he had disposed in places proper for the purpose,
 and made great slaughter ; few of the enemy, say historians,
 escaping. It is nevertheless evident, that, with all these
 exterminations, of which we so frequently read, the Gauls
 must have had at this period powerful settlements in most of
 the adjacent countries, especially to the north of Macedon ;
 for, from this period, scarcely any war was undertaken among
 the nations of those parts, in which they were not employed
 as mercenaries.

and defeats
 them.

Pyrrhus in-
 vades Mace-
 don :

his various
 fortunes
 from his in-
 fancy.

THIS invasion was hardly over, when, as if Macedon was
 never to enjoy repose, a new enemy²² appeared. Pyrrhus has
 been already mentioned ; but so uncommon a character de-
 serves more particular notice. His life had been a constant
 scene of adventures. Even in his infancy, when his father
 Aeacidas, king of Epire, and nephew to Olympias, had
 been driven from his throne, through the intrigues of Cas-
 sander of Macedon, his life had been preserved in a won-
 derful manner. Cassander, the mortal foe of Olympias and
 her lineage, had sworn the extirpation of the house of Aea-
 cidas ; and had given directions to his faction, that the
 young prince especially should not escape. Pyrrhus's at-
 tendants contrived, nevertheless, to convey him out of Epire ;
 but, in their flight, they found themselves stopped by a ri-

²² Plutarch in Pyrrho. Just. L. xxv. c. 3, 4, 6. Pausan. in Atticis.

ver,



ver, swollen and unfordable by heavy rains. There was no boat, and the pursuers were at hand. In this distress, one of his retinue, having written with the tongue of a buckle on a piece of oak-bark, an account of the fortunes of the infant they had in charge, and of the dangers that threatened him, fastened it to a javelin, and threw it to the opposite side; which moving the compassion of the people of the country, they provided immediately a raft, and got him over. From thence they made their way to the court of Glaucias king of Illyria, who was married to Beröe, a princess of the royal house of Epire. Upon coming into the king's presence, being doubtful of the reception they should meet with, they laid the child at his feet in the posture of a suppliant. The king, who dreaded Cassander, remained a considerable time wrapped in silent suspense, seemingly revolving what part he should act. During which, Pyrrhus, of his own accord, creeping close to him, took hold of his robe, raised himself up, and clung round his knees. Won by this artless pleading of the little infant, Glaucias caught him in his arms, and delivered him to the queen, to be brought up with his own children; and, though afterwards repeatedly solicited by Cassander, who employed both threats and promises, he steadily refused to withdraw his protection from him; and when twelve years old, he conducted him in person back to Epire, and placed him on the throne of his ancestors. Pyrrhus had reigned about five years, when, another revolution taking place, he was again obliged to quit Epire; and fled to Demetrius Poliorcetes, who had married his sister Deidamia. With him he remained for some years; he fought by his side at the battle of Ipsus; and, when a treaty was concluded by Demetrius with Ptolemy and Seleucus, he went as an hostage for his patron into Egypt.



Book III. Egypt. This visit to the Egyptian court proved the means of restoring the fortune of Pyrrhus. His accomplishments recommended him to the favour of Ptolemy and Berenice, who gave him in marriage Antigone, daughter of Berenice by her first husband, and enabled him to recover the kingdom of Epire. The share he afterwards had in the revolutions of Macedon, his obtaining a part of that kingdom, and losing it again, have been already related.

PYRRHUS, now restored to Epire, relieved from foreign wars, and in the peaceable possession of his hereditary throne, had nothing to divert his attention from the prosperity of his kingdom. But his mind knew not repose. The Tarentines, who had rashly engaged in war against Rome, applied to him for assistance; and his ambitious spirit eagerly seized an opportunity from which he fondly promised to himself nothing less than the conquest of all the kingdoms of the earth. What events this expedition produced, is the business of another history. It may be sufficient here to observe, that after various exploits in Italy and Sicily, which only ended in making his name memorable, he had returned to Epire, full of indignation against Antigonus, to whom he had applied for succours without obtaining them. In revenge, therefore, he made an irruption into the Macedonian borders. His view at first was only depredation; but, place after place falling before him, and the Macedonians themselves (by whom he was held in great admiration on account of his martial achievements, and a strong resemblance they fancied he bore to Alexander the Great) favouring his progress and deserting to him, he was tempted to proceed; and,

Pyrrhus defeats Antigonus, and gets



and, having defeated Antigonus in a pitched battle, found himself almost unexpectedly in possession of the throne of Macedon.

BOOK III.
SECT. 2.

possession of
Macedon :

THIS revolution was far from alleviating the calamities of the Macedonians. Pyrrhus valued victory, as it was the means of plunder, and used it accordingly. He had, besides, enlisted into his service a body of mercenary Gauls, whom he recompensed by permitting them to plunder those nations whom they had helped him to conquer. Accordingly, wherever they came, neither public nor private wealth escaped: the sepulchres of the Macedonian kings at Aegae they even polluted and ransacked, for the sake of the treasures they were supposed to conceal.

permits his
mercenary
Gauls to
plunder ;

ANTIGONUS, however, had not yet given up the contest. He was still master of Thessalonica and the adjoining coasts; and, having assembled a new army, marched against Ptolemy, the son of Pyrrhus, whom his father had left to govern the kingdom during his absence in Epire; but Antigonus was again defeated, and with difficulty saved himself by flight. Had Pyrrhus known how to make a proper use of his present advantages, the throne of Macedon had probably been forever lost to Antigonus; but, hurried away by his passion for war, he soon prosecuted other adventures.

leaves Pto-
lemy, his son,
governor of
Macedon, by
whom Anti-
gonus is
again defeat-
ed;

CLEONYMUS, a prince of the royal blood of Sparta, driven by certain wrongs from his country, had applied to him for protection. "Areus," he alledged, "had usurped the Spartan throne to his prejudice; and, which to him was a far more grievous injury, his wife Chelidonis, whom he dear-

marches
against Spar-
ta,



BOOK III.
Sect. 2.

and is near
surprizing it.

ly loved, had been seduced by Acrotatus, son to Arcus, and was forcibly withheld from him." Pyrrhus listened willingly to complaints, which opened new scenes to his ambition; he promised to avenge the cause of Cleonymus; and, marching at the head of twenty-five thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants; arrived within sight of Sparta before his adversaries were aware of his intentions. His approach spread consternation throughout the city. Arcus was absent in Crete, and had carried with him the flower of the Spartan army; those who remained at home being mostly persons who, from their age or sex, were incapable of military service. Had Pyrrhus therefore proceeded with his wonted impetuosity, it was scarcely possible that Sparta should have made a long defence; but he had reached that city at close of day; and, fearing that amidst the confusion of the night he should not have it in his power to restrain his troops from pillaging, he thought it advisable to delay the attack until the morning.

Heroism of
the Spartan
women.

His delay saved the Spartans. The council having assembled upon the first alarm, it had been proposed to send off the women; but the women of Sparta were unacquainted with fear: apprized therefore of the proposal, they deputed Archidamia to deliver their sentiments to the senate. She entered the assembly armed, with a sword in her hand, and thus addressed them, "Deem not, men of Sparta, so meanly of the Spartan women, as to imagine they will survive, when their country is no more: consider not then, *whither* we are to fly; determine only what we are to do; and whatever station shall be assigned to us, that we are prepared to undertake and to perform." Animated by

this



this spirited address, it was resolved to employ the night in sinking a trench opposite to the enemy, its extremities to be guarded by waggons fixed firmly in the ground, in order to prevent the passing of the elephants; the trench to be in breadth six cubits, in depth four, in length eight hundred. One third of this work the women undertook to execute; the old men were to complete the rest; the young men not being allowed to assist in it, that they might be in full strength to sustain the enemy's charge in the morning.

AT day-break Pyrrhus saw with amazement what the night had produced; commanding, however, a general assault, he endeavoured to force his way by storm; but every where he found a vigorous resistance; the Spartan line opposed an impenetrable rampart of shields and bristling weapons; and the mould having been newly thrown up, afforded the Macedonians a treacherous footing; so that, tumbling back into the ditch, numbers were slaughtered. Meanwhile, Ptolemy, the son of Pyrrhus, had nearly triumphed over all the precaution of the Spartans. Observing them to be too secure of one part, which was fortified by the waggons, and less attentive to its defence, he made an attack upon that quarter, at the head of two thousand Gauls. Already had he cleared away the carriages, and was laying open a passage, when Acrotatus, perceiving the danger, sallied from the opposite part of the city, and, wheeling round by the hollow-way that lay at the foot of the hills, unexpectedly attacked and dislodged the Macedonians with great carnage²³.

Brave defence of the Spartans.

NIGHT

²³ We have here from Plutarch (in Phocicis) a striking instance of the shameful disregard in which the connubial vow was held by the pagan world. As Acrotatus,



BOOK III.
Sect. 2.

NIGHT at length parted the combatants, but without abating their fury. They waited impatiently for the morning; and, as soon as it appeared, the action was renewed with the same obstinate violence. The women of Sparta shared every danger with their countrymen; they supplied them with ammunition and refreshments, they attended the wounded, and carried off the dead. After repeated efforts, Pyrrhus, who saw the trench was not to be forced, determined to penetrate the barricado of waggons, which his son had unsuccessfully attempted the preceding day. Through these he forced his way; and, with a number of horsemen getting within the Spartan lines, advanced full speed towards the city. At sight of this the Spartan women sent forth a shriek of despair, imagining, that Sparta had fallen into the hands of the enemy. The moment was truly critical; Sparta was in the most imminent danger; and appears to have been saved merely by one of those unforeseen events on which the fate of kingdoms often depend. A Cretan archer, taking aim at the king, buried an arrow in the body of his horse, who, plunging in the agonies of death, threw his rider. The Macedonians, apprehending their sovereign was slain, fell back. And the Spartans, at the same instant, rushing forward, recovered their ground, and compelled Pyrrhus to consult his safety by retiring.

Pyrrhus is
repulsed,

tus, after performing the exploit of dislodging the enemy, was returning through the city, he appeared to the Spartan women, says the biographer, taller and more graceful than ever, and they could not forbear envying Chelidonis such a lover: nay, even some of the old men followed, and cried out, "Go, Acrotatus, and enjoy Chelidonis; and may your offspring be worthy of Sparta!" and yet had the disloyalty of this very Chelidonis been one of the principal causes that had provoked the present war.

HE



HE was not discouraged. "To-morrow," said he, "we will resume the fight; by which time the Spartans will have felt their wounds, and be less able to resist us." But that very night a body of troops from Antigonus entered the city. And a few hours after Arcus himself arrived, with two thousand men. Pyrrhus saw, that to storm Sparta was now altogether impracticable; and, having received an invitation from the people of Argos to hasten to their assistance against Antigonus, he gladly availed himself of the pretence, and prepared to withdraw his troops.

Book III.

Sect. 2.

prepares to
march for
Argos;

THIS was a matter of greater difficulty than he imagined. Arcus, filled with resentment, observed all his motions; and, as soon as he had begun his march, by hanging on his flank and rear, galled him severely. Ptolemy, endeavouring to cover his father's retreat, and adventuring too far among the enemy, was surrounded and slain. This was a severe blow to Pyrrhus. He was his son by Antigone, step-daughter to Ptolemy king of Egypt; and was accounted one of the most amiable princes of his time. Pyrrhus shewed his concern in a manner natural to his character. He turned upon the enemy, and sacrificed to his revenge all who fell in his way.

is pursued
by the Spar-
tans;his son Pto-
lemy is slain.

ON his arrival at Argos, he found the situation of affairs very different from what his hopes had represented them. He possessed, it is true, a faction among the Argives; but Antigonus had likewise his; and was encamped with a respectable force at a small distance from the city. The citizens of Argos, besides, began to see the mistake they had been guilty of, in calling in these high-spirited and ambi-

He is refused
admittance
into Argos,

Book III. tious princes ; and, apprehensive of the issue, both parties had
Sect. 2. united in requesting the two kings not to make their city a scene of bloodshed ; but, whatever might be their disputes, to decide them without the gates. Antigonus promised to comply. Pyrrhus also acquiesced ; but, tempted by the advantages he expected to derive from the possession of the city, in violation of his royal word, he prevailed upon some of his partizans to admit him privately by night.

attempts
to enter it
by night,

THE night chosen for the purpose being dark ; the gate narrow ; and the street, leading from it, strait and slippery ; the Macedonians, who were strangers to the place, were much embarrassed, and soon fell into confusion. Before the evil could be remedied, day-light appeared. Pyrrhus now saw himself beset with difficulties : the posts of importance were all in the hands of Antigonus's friends ; the citizens were coming down upon him from all quarters ; and the narrowness of the street, together with the crowds that poured in, made it impossible for his troops either to form or to advance. Convinced therefore of the folly of the attempt, he resolved to retire ; and accordingly directed his son Helenus, who commanded without the gate, to break down part of the city-walls, in order to give a free passage to his troops in their retreat. But his orders were unfortunately mistaken ; the troops without, striving to rush in to his assistance, added to the uproar, and at the same time one of the elephants falling, choaked up the gateway. Amidst the tumult which this scene of confusion occasioned, Pyrrhus, endeavouring to keep off the multitude, received a slight wound from the hand of an Argive ; when turning on him, to revenge the blow, the mother of the man, who happened to be
 looking



looking at the battle from the roof of an adjoining house, terrified at the danger to which her son's life was exposed, aimed a tile at the king²⁴; which falling on his helmet, brought him senseless to the ground; this misfortune one of Antigonus's officers perceiving, dragged him immediately aside, and struck off his head²⁵.

BOOK III.
Sect. 2.

and is slain
by the hand
of a woman.

SUCH was the humiliating fall of this warrior, whose active life had been productive of so much devastation and bloodshed.

PYRRHUS is ranked by many among the greatest generals of antiquity. Even Hannibal, if we may believe Plutarch²⁶, accounted him the first in genius and skill the world had ever beheld; Scipio, according to him, being only the second; and himself the third. Whatever authenticity may be in this story, the tradition shews in what high estimation his military abilities were held. He was certainly possessed of great talents, and he had been a blessing to the age in which he lived, had his turbulent spirit, and thirst for military fame, permitted him to employ his powers for the happiness, instead of the destruction of mankind.

his character
as a warrior,

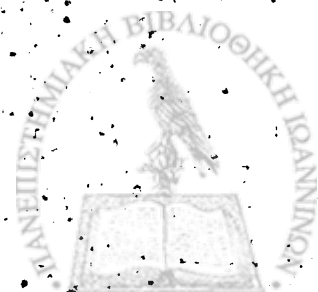
as a king.

²⁴ Such, it appears, was the terror the Argives had of Pyrrhus, that they considered the deliverance, which they obtained by his death, as the effect of some supernatural interposition. It was, said they, Ceres, who, having assumed the form of an old woman, discharged the tile on his head, in order to save her favourite Argos from this fell warrior. And accordingly a temple was raised to Ceres on the spot where Pyrrhus was slain. Pausan. in Atticis.

²⁵ OLYMP. CXXVI. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 272.

²⁶ In Pyrrho.

EPIRE



BOOK III.
Sect. 2.

The ills
which his
ambition
brought on
his kingdom.

EPIRE suffered, under his reign, all the calamities which generally distinguish the reigns of ambitious princes. Neither did the miseries he brought upon it end with his life. Alexander, his son and successor, inured by his father to arms from his earliest years, and seduced by that appearance of glory which Pyrrhus's achievements had cast around him, pursued the same martial track, and, like his father, marked his whole reign with commotion and bloodshed. Soon after the death of this prince, followed the ruin of his royal house; in which the same causes appear to have had a considerable share. His two sons, harrassed whilst they lived by different foes, died young. And the princess Laodamia, to whom the succession devolved, was murdered in an insurrection of her own subjects at the altar of Diana, where she had taken sanctuary²⁷. Such an atrocious violation of whatever was deemed most sacred, shews the degree of ferocity which the Epirots had contracted in the course of so many wars, and perhaps the resentment also they entertained of the ills, which the turbulence of their princes had brought upon them.

FROM this time, history speaks of them as a people sunk into the lowest and most abject condition; having neither wisdom to cultivate peace, nor vigour to defend themselves in war; but, wasted by incessant civil broils, and the incursions of foreign enemies, they dwindled into insignificancy, and were at length almost totally exterminated²⁸.

²⁷ Just. L. xxvi. c. 1, §.

²⁸ Justin ubi supra.

THIS



THIS representation of Justin will hardly be thought exaggerated, when we consider the ravages to which the Epirots had been so long exposed from their neighbours of Aetolia, of Thessaly, of Illyricum, of Macedon; nations practised in war and depredation, to whose hostilities their territories lay open: and especially too when we reflect upon the devastation which the Romans also made among them; laying in ruins in one day every town in Epiros, and carrying into captivity all the inhabitants, that were young and fit for service; to the amount, the Roman historians themselves confess, of an hundred and fifty thousand.

BUT these transactions belong to a later period. They have been only slightly mentioned here, on account of their connection with our history of the reign of Pyrrhus.



HISTORY OF GREECE.

B O O K IV.

S E C T I O N I.

C O N T E N T S.

Macedonian and Grecian affairs under Antigonus—his son Demetrius—and Antigonus the second, kings of Macedon.—Origin of the republic of Achaia—its decay—re-establishment—aggrandisement, and prosperity—from what causes.

UPON the death of Pyrrhus, Antigonus was again seated on the throne of Macedon. He now saw himself without a rival; and, as if he had succeeded to Pyrrhus's ambition, as well as to his power, he began already to form schemes for the reduction of Greece. But, the more formidable he affected to appear, the more formidable became the opposition to his views. The states that had favoured Pyrrhus, marked all his steps with jealous eyes; and even those who had been most forward in espousing his cause, could not, without just apprehensions, behold a king of Macedon master of extensive

Book IV.
Sect. I.

Antigonus
recovers the
kingdom of
Macedon;

K. k 2

possessions



Book IV.
Sect. 1.

excites the
jealousy of
the other
Grecian
states;

possessions in the very heart of Peloponnesus. Nay, Arcus, the Spartan king, who had fought on the same side, was not free from well-grounded fears, and thought it adviseable to strengthen himself against Antigonus, by applying for succours to Ptolemy Euergetes, then on the throne of Egypt, the most powerful prince of his time, and connected by friendship and interests with many of the Grecian states.

is attacked
by the Gauls:

AMIDST these preparations and expectations of war, a new and most formidable enemy appeared'. A fresh irruption of Gauls, after hovering for some time on the frontiers, broke in at length upon Macedon; which they ravaged with a barbarity unexampled even among those fierce invaders. Alarmed at the approach of a foe, whose very name carried dismay along with it, the Macedonians fled before them, and prepared to abandon a country, to the devastation of which they saw no end. In this exigency, Antigonus added caution to courage; and his conduct saved Macedon. Careful to avoid this impetuous torrent of barbarians, he permitted them to spend their fury in wild excursion. He observed all their motions at a distance; he harrassed them, as occasion offered; and he endeavoured to lead them into some of those defiles with which Macedon abounds. His plan succeeded. Intangled in the inclosures of mountains, where their exertions were confined, they found themselves suddenly surrounded by the forces of Antigonus, who had occupied all the passes. Terror and amazement seized them; whilst their distress was heightened by the bards that attended their expedition, in whose knowledge of future events they placed a superstitious and

his prudent
conduct:

* Just. L. xxvi. c. 2.

implicit



implicit faith. Possessed with gloomy apprehensions of the danger which surrounded them, with dreadful howlings, and shrieks of woe, they denounced discomfiture and death. The army caught the panic from their diviners; and, in the phrensy of despair, turning their rage on their wives and children, they slaughtered them all; and then, besmeared over with their blood, rushed on to battle. The mad onset of such a panic-struck multitude could avail but little against the regular charge and cool courage of the Macedonian line. They were accordingly cut to pieces to a man.

Book IV.
Sect. 1.

he defeats
them;

ELATED with the success, which thus had crowned his arms, Antigonus looked forward with heightened confidence, and hastened to complete the reduction of the Grecian states, in which he now expected to find little difficulty. He began with the siege of Athens². That city had submitted to the arms of his father Poliorcetes; and had paid him the most servile adulation in the day of his power; but in his day of distress she had shut her gates against him. Upon this and other grounds Antigonus founded claims, which he required the Athenians to admit; whilst their more recent declaration for Pyrrhus, to whom, during his contest with Antigonus, they had sent ambassadors, swelled the catalogue of wrongs, for which he insisted for reparation. The danger which threatened Athens, was considered as the common cause of Greece, whose fate seemed involved in the humiliation of this illustrious city. The veneration in which she was still held, cooperated with the idea of general danger, and drew aid from all parts. Arcus, the Spartan king, marched in person to her

plans the re-
duction of
Greece;

besieges
Athens,

² Pausan. in Laconicis.

assistance;



Book IV.
Sect. 1.

takes it;

assistance; and Ptolemy sent a powerful fleet, with troops, ammunition, and supplies of every kind. But, notwithstanding every exertion, Antigonus prevailed at length; and the Athenians were obliged to purchase his forgiveness by admitting a Macedonian garrison.

is attacked
at home by
Alexander of
Epire,

BUT, whilst Antigonus was thus making conquests in other kingdoms, he was on the point of losing his own. Alexander of Epire, Pyrrhus's son, stimulated, it is probable, by some of the Grecian states, who thought it their safest expedient to raise enemies to Antigonus at home, had entered Macedon³. Antigonus hastened back to repel the invasion; when the whole Macedonian nation, tired of a king, whose restless ambition allowed them no respite, revolted, and, declaring for Alexander, forced Antigonus, after some fruitless efforts, to relinquish all immediate hopes of a re-establishment, and to retire to the dominions he still possessed in Greece.

and loses
Macedon.

His son, De-
metrius, re-
covers it for
him:

ANTIGONUS had a son named Demetrius, then a stripling; who, unsubdued by this reverse of fortune, disdained to accompany his father in his flight, resolving either to recover the throne, which he had been taught to consider as his hereditary right, or to perish in the contest. The generous spirit of this gallant prince gained him friends: a party was formed in his favour; and so happily did he improve his opportunities, that he not only obliged Alexander to relinquish Macedon, but attacked him in Epire, and, in return, stripped him almost of *his* paternal kingdom⁴.

³ Just. ubi sup.

⁴ Just. ubi sup.



FROM THE ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

255

FROM this time Antigonus preserved Macedon till his death; but, uninstruced by his various troubles, he retained to the last his fondness for turbulent scenes. His favourite object was still the subjection of the Greek republics; and this pursuit he continued even in his most advanced age, endeavouring to accomplish by fraud and intrigue, what he could not venture to attempt by force of arms.

BOOK-IV.
SECT. I.

his views on
Greece;

OF this kind was the last act recorded concerning him^s. The tyrant Alexander held Corinth, one of the most important places in Greece, which commanded the entrance into Peloponnesus. This prince Antigonus contrived to have taken off by poison; but his sovereignty was bequeathed to his wife Nicaea, a woman advanced in years, fond of power, and of its possession exceedingly jealous. With such a character, some extraordinary artifice was necessary; and Antigonus devised one. His son Demetrius, who was young and handsome, he commanded to repair to Nicaea's court, to attach himself to her person, and to offer her his hand. Nicaea's vanity favoured the deception, and the marriage was accordingly solemnized, Antigonus himself honouring it with his presence.

attempts Co-
rinth by arti-
fice,

THE principal point, nevertheless, was still to be gained; Nicaea cautiously retaining in her own power the citadel, without which the possession of Corinth was of little consequence. Antigonus, pretending to be perfectly satisfied, continued to pay her particular attention, and affected to appear in person among her retinue, whenever she chose to appear in public. It happened, one day, that a celebrated singer

and gets pos-
session of it;

^s Plutarch in Arato.

was



Book IV. was to perform in the theatre, for the entertainment of Nicaea
Sect. I. and her royal guests. Upon her setting out, Antigonus, seemingly to do her honour, attended her litter; but, having gone a little way, whilst, unsuspecting of fraud, she was proceeding towards the theatre, he slipped aside, and, proceeding hastily to the fort, either through surprise, or the treachery of the guard, he obtained admittance, and introduced a garrison of his own.

loses Corinth again: ANTIGONUS, however, received no lasting benefit from an acquisition purchased at the price of so much artifice. The Corinthian citadel he held only about eight years, the Achaeans wresting it then out of his hands⁶. He would not, however, have tamely resigned the hopes of repossessing a fortress, the importance of which no man better understood; and he had even entered into alliance with the Aetolians, in order, jointly with them, to fall upon Achaia; but death⁷ put an end to all his ambitious projects, after a reign of thirty-four years, from his first acquisition of the throne of Macedon⁸.

dies:

a **his son Demetrius succeeds:** THIS prince, who is known in history by the name of Antigonus Gonatas⁹, was succeeded by his son Demetrius,

⁶ Polyb. L. ii. c. 43; ⁷ OLYMP. CXXXIII. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 244.

⁸ The sovereignty of certain cities of Peloponnesus he acquired ten years earlier, at the time of Polorcetes's captivity. We hear no more of Nicaea; historians possibly thinking, with Antigonus, that she had fulfilled her destination, and was now to be thrown aside.

⁹ Whence this name, whether from the place of his birth, as some writers have imagined, though, as far as appears, without sufficient foundation; or whether from his mis-shapen knees, the word Gonatas admitting of this interpretation⁹, is a question of little moment. The antiquarian may consider it.

¹⁰ See Rhodig. Lectura. Antiq. L. xxiv. c. 5.



whose reign was less active, and probably, for that very reason, less fatal to Macedon, than his father's. The wars he engaged in were few, and of short continuance. The most remarkable was against the Aetolians, whom he pretended to chastise for having invaded Acarnania, then belonging to Epire: but the Achaeans espousing their cause, Demetrius was worsted¹⁰, and prudently withdrew into Macedon. From that time he adopted a new plan of policy in relation to Greece; maintaining an interest in the different states, not by holding the sovereignty himself, but by supporting the petty tyrants, in whose hands usurpation had placed it: so that, as appears from Polybius¹¹, they became all his creatures, receiving his pay, and acting by his instructions. A species of power less odious, and equally effectual, than if he had held them in immediate and avowed subjection.

BOOK IV.
Sect. I.

his policy to-
wards the
Grecian
states:

not less

BESIDES the old woman of Corinth, he married not only a princess of the royal house of Syria, sister to Antiochus Hierax; but afterwards, during the distress of the house of Epire, Olympias, the widow of Alexander, in the view of engaging his protection to her afflicted family, prevailed on him to marry her daughter Pthia¹². This marriage was imprudent, and might have involved Macedon in many troubles. It was highly resented by the Syrian princess, who withdrew to Asia. And the affairs of Epire might have engaged Demetrius in measures pernicious to his

his mar-
riages:

¹⁰ Polyb. L. ii. c. 44.

¹¹ Ος ην αυτοις, says Polybius, speaking of this Demetrius, and the tyrants of Peloponnesus of his time, διοτι χρηστος και μισθοδοτης. See Polyb. Casaub. L. ii. c. 44. p. 182.

¹² Just. L. xxviii. c. 1.



BOOK IV. own dominions; but his death", and the wisdom of his successor, prevented the consequences that might have been expected.

Sect. I.
and death :

Antigonus
the second
succeeds :

his probity ;

THIS prince reigned only ten years ; and his kinsman, Antigonus, succeeded him. Demetrius, nevertheless, had left an infant son, Philip ; but the Macedonians, dreading the confusion with which a minority is often attended, and judging Antigonus to be a man of moderation, and well affected to his country, placed him on the throne, and obliged him, at the same time, to take the queen-mother to wife. He justified the favourable opinion his subjects had conceived of him. He accepted of the crown as a trust he was to hold for the young prince, son to the deceased king. He bestowed the same care on him, as if he had been his own son : he designed him for his successor ; and he employed his utmost attention to render him worthy of the throne he was one day to fill.

the wisdom
of his policy.

HIS character as a king was not less respectable: By his equity, he gained the confidence of his neighbours; and he acquired the love of his people, by a merciful administration of justice. He was cautious not to endanger the prosperity of his kingdom by an imprudent pursuit of foreign interests, which had been too much the policy of the two last reigns; and he chose rather to forego some distant claims, than to engage the Macedonians in expensive and doubtful wars.

OLYMP. CXXXVI. I. BEFORE CHRIST 235.

WHAT



WHAT rendered this happy temper of mind the more honourable, was the period in which Antigonus lived; when the turbulent state of affairs afforded the fairest opportunities to ambition; both Spartans and Achaeans endeavouring, either by force or intrigue, to bring about a revolution of government in most parts of Greece. It will be necessary to explain these matters more particularly.

BOOK IV.
SECT. I.

State of
Greece in his
days.

TOWARDS the end of the reign of Gonatas, considerable alterations had taken place in Peloponnesus. The republic of Achaia, which, till this period, had been contented with an unambitious privacy, began to assume a very different port, and seemed to have nothing less in view than the sovereignty of Greece. This republic had its first establishment in early ages, and was composed originally of twelve towns¹⁴, one of which, Helice, perished by an earthquake in the fourth year of the one hundred and first Olympiad¹⁵, and another, Olenus, was deserted and fell to ruins. The district, which these cities occupied, bordered upon the Crissæan or Corinthian gulph and the Ionian sea, extending along the coast from Sicyon to Elis. It was bounded to the south-east by Arcadia, so as to form the north-west angle of Peloponnesus; and did not much exceed fifty miles in length, and in breadth about twenty-five. The first government known among them had been, as in other parts of Greece, that of kings. But in process of time, these cities, stimu-

Republic of
Achaia;

its origin

¹⁴ We have from Polybius (L. ii. c. 41.) the names of these twelve towns, Patrae, Dymé, Pharae, Tritaea, Leontium, Aegira, Pellene, Aegium, Bura, Ceraunia, (or rather Carynea) Olenus, and Helice.

¹⁵ A short time before the battle of Leuctra. See Polyb. ubi sup. See also Pausan. in Achaicis.



Book IV. lated by the oppressive excesses of their princes, threw off
 Sect. I. kingly government, and united together in one confederacy¹⁶;
 and form: pledging themselves to each other to employ their joint and
 utmost efforts for their mutual defence. All were to have the
 same interests; the same friendships; the same coins, weights,
 and measures; the same laws; and the same magistrates.
 national as- These magistrates were to be elected annually by the ma-
 sembly. jority of the suffrages of the whole community. Twice every
 year, at spring and autumn, or oftener, if any great emer-
 gency required it, a general assembly was to be held, in
 which every matter of legislation and national concern was
 determined by a plurality of voices. This assembly consisted
 of deputies from the respective cities, chosen by plurality
 of voices. The magistrates, in whose hands the supreme ex-
 General of Achaia; ecutive power was lodged, were stiled Generals¹⁷ of the States
 of Achaia; and to them the military department, and the
 right of presidency in the national assembly, belonged. These
 generals originally were two; but, the Achaeans finding the
 inconveniencies which in many cases attended a divided au-
 thority, reduced them to one. Assistant to the general were
 demiurgi; the demiurgi, or council of ten, whose office it was to ad-
 vise with the general, and probably to stand as a barrier between
 him and the people, should he attempt to act in an arbitrary
 manner¹⁸. It was their province also to examine all matters
 intended to be laid before the popular assembly; and to propose
 them, if they appeared conducive to the public happiness; or
 otherwise to reject them. Polybius mentions another offi-
 scribe; cer, the scribe of Achaia; whose department seems to have

¹⁶ See Polyb. L. ii. c. 37.
 et passim.

¹⁷ Στρατηγοί.—See Polyb. L. ii. c. 42.

¹⁸ Δημιουργοί.—See Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. xlviii. p. 1200.—
 The title Demiurgi seems to imply Agents of the people

been



been chiefly of a civil nature ; perhaps not unlike that of the Book IV.
 Greffier of Holland ; and to him, perhaps, were the archives Sect. 1.
 of the nation, and the preparing and expediting of all public
 instruments intrusted.

THESE state-officers were not only elected annually, but how elected.
 it was also a rule, especially in the later times of the re-
 public, not to re-elect the same person two years successively,
 unless some very important consideration made an exception
 necessary or prudent. It appears probable, likewise, from
 Polybius, that, by the original constitution, these great ma-
 gistrates were to be chosen out of the different towns of Achaia
 by rotation ; though there is reason to believe, that this
 regulation was not always observed. Besides these superior
 magistrates, every town had also its municipal magistracy ;
 and it is not unlikely, as some have conjectured, that these
 municipal establishments throughout Achaia were counter-
 parts of the national polity ; consisting, in the same manner,
 of a popular assembly, a council, and a presiding ma-
 gistrate.

WHAT their laws were, we know but imperfectly ; owing Obscurity of
 probably to the obscurity in which they lived, during the the Achaean
 earlier ages of Achaia ; secluded in a remote corner from the states for
 other Greek nations, with whom, from the principles of some ages :
 their constitution, they could not cultivate a close connection,
 and, from their poverty and simplicity of life, had scarce-
 ly any intercourse. The country of Achaia, besides, rug-
 ged, barren, and without the elegancies to be met with in
 other parts of Greece, had nothing to attract the curious
 traveller ; and, although situated along the sea-coast, it de-
 rived.



BOOK IV. rived from thence but little advantage; the rocks, with
 Sect. 1. which its coasts were begirt, rendering the approach exceedingly dangerous.

So far from taking part, therefore, in those achievements of the great commonwealths of Greece, which are now the ornament of ancient story, the first battle in which they engaged in behalf of the Grecian liberties, was that of Chæronæa. And when the Greeks marched to Thermopylae, to oppose the Gauls, the Achæans, anxious merely for their little territory, contented themselves with assisting to block up the pass of the isthmus; the Achæans of Patrae alone¹⁹ passing over to the aid of the Aetolians, to oppose the detachment from the army of Brennus, which, as we have seen, broke into Aetolia, and sacked Callion.

THE few laws, however, which have reached us, stand as monuments of their wisdom.

The most remarkable of their laws.

“ No individual, nor town, belonging to the Achæan body, were to accept of any gratification whatsoever, in their public or private capacity, from prince or people, under the penalty of being cut off from the commonwealth of Achaia²⁰.”

“ No member of the Achæan league was to send any embassy to, or contract alliance or friendship with, any prince or people, without the privity and approbation of

¹⁹ Pausan. in Phocicis.

²⁰ Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. xli. p. 1181.

“ the



“ the whole Achaean confederacy ”.—This law seems to Book IV.
Sect. I.
have been the corner-stone of the Achaean fabric; and all
the members of the Achaean state were to be sworn to the
observation of it.

“ THE admission of any prince, state, or city, into the
“ Achaean confederacy, was not to have place, unless all
“ the members of the confederacy had consented there-
“ to ”.

“ AN extraordinary convention of the national assembly
“ was not be granted at the request of the ambassador of any
“ foreign potentate, unless the matters to be offered to such
“ assembly were first delivered to the general of Achaia
“ and the council of ten, in writing, and pronounced by
“ them to be of sufficient importance ”.

“ THE deliberations of every assembly were to be confined
“ altogether to the matter, on account of which the assembly
“ had been convened ”.

“ IN all debates, those who had spoken, were to deliver a
“ short draught of the arguments they had employed, in
“ order to be considered the ensuing day; and within the
“ third day, at farthest, was the business in question to be
“ finally determined: no debate being permitted to continue
“ beyond three days ”.

²¹ Polyb. L. iv. c. 9. ²² Polyb. ubi sup. et passim. ²³ Polyb. Excerpt.
Legat. xli. p. 1185. et xlvii. 1200. ²⁴ Polyb. ubi sup. ²⁵ Liv. L. xxxii.
a. 23. — See also Ubbø. Emm. Vet. Graec, tom. iii. p. 274. & seq.

BUT,



BOOK IV.

Sect. I.

Their hu-
mane spirit,
and integrity
of manners :

held in
admira-
tion by the
neighbour-
ing states :

BUT, whatever their system of laws may have been, of which a very incomplete idea is now to be had, it is certain, that the equity and humane spirit of their civil constitution, supported by their simplicity of manners and unblemished faith, made them at length so much the admiration of the adjoining nations, that to their arbitration the proudest of their neighbours referred their differences. The Thebans and the Spartans, after the battle of Leuctra, as Polybius⁴⁶ informs us, submitted to their decision all matters in dispute between them; and even the Greek cities of Italy, when, harrassed with repeated insurrections, occasioned by the overthrowing of the Pythagorean schools, they were in danger of a total dissolution of government, applied to them for advice, in what manner to amend their political establishments; and found effectual relief, by adopting the plan which they prescribed.

divided and
humbled by
the Macedo-
nian princes;

IN the meridian of the power of Antipater, and the Macedonian princes that succeeded him, the Achaeans had their full share of the despotism, which afflicted Greece during that wretched period: the shadow of their commonwealth hardly remained; most of their members, at the instigation of Macedonian agents, having deserted the national league, and fallen under the dominion of various tyrants.

recover their
antient go-
vernment :

BUT the distracted state of Macedon under Lyfimachus and Ptolemy Ceraunus proving favourable to the Achaeans, some of their towns improved the opportunity, and restored again the antient form of government. Patrae and Dymé led the

⁴⁶ See Polyb. L. ii. c. 39. p. 175, 176.

way ;



way; and they were immediately joined by Tritaea and Pharae. The rest, who still continued under the yoke of tyranny, followed by degrees the example; some by persuasion, and some by compulsion, prevailing with their tyrants to abdicate their usurped government ²⁷.

BOOK IV.
SECT. I.

SUCH, during more than twenty years of the reign of Antigonus Gonatas, was the situation of the Achaeans; recovering slowly from the shock they had lately sustained. Their towns were small and ill-peopled, their territory narrow and unfertile, and their coasts harbourless and impracticable. So circumstanced, they seemed to wish for nothing more than to be permitted to enjoy an humble independence; when Aratus

Aratus appears;

²⁷ It appears from Polybius (L. ii. c. 41.) that the Achaeans had erected a pillar (no unusual memorial in antient days) on which were inscribed the names of the several cities, which had from time to time been incorporated into the republic of Achaia; the names of those four cities, Patrae, Dymé, Tritaea, and Pharae, which had been the original institutors, or rather re-establishers, of the Achaean confederacy, excepted. This honour, of being considered as the founders of the state, was the only peculiar honour these four cities enjoyed. It being a constitutional maxim with this illustrious commonwealth, that whatever city, state, or people, were adopted into it, became, immediately upon their admission, invested with all the rights and privileges which the other more antient members of this republic enjoyed, without the least mark of inferiority or dependence. And to this generous spirit of equality, and humanity of its institutions, *ισότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ*, Polybius (L. ii. c. 38.) ascribes that compact union and stability, which gave to the Achaean form the advantage over all the other republican establishments throughout this part of Greece, even, according to that historian, over the Spartan itself.

The restoration of the association of the Achaean cities took place in the 124th Olympiad, the same year in which Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy Ceraunus, were slain, and Pyrrhus of Epire passed into Italy to the aid of the Tarentines. The embarrassed state of Macedon, and the adjacent countries, during this period, together with the foreign wars Pyrrhus was employed in, gave to these Peloponnesians the opportunity of recovering their liberties.

M m

appeared,



BOOK IV. appeared²⁹, who was to give the highest finishing to this
 Sect. I. seemingly-inconsiderable republic.

wonderful
 preservation;

THIS extraordinary personage was by birth of Sicyon. And the first sentiments, of which his mind seems to have been susceptible, were an enthusiastic love of liberty, and an invincible abhorrence of tyrants. The earliest ideas he had received led to the forming of these impressions; and every circumstance, as he grew up, contributed to strengthen them. His father Clinias, who held a distinguished rank among the Sicyonians, had been murdered by Abantidas, tyrant of Sicyon; most of the Grecian cities being then under tyrannical dependents of the Macedonian king. The spirit of freedom which marked the character of Clinias, had rendered him obnoxious; and the tyrant, who resolved the destruction of his whole family, had ordered, that Aratus, then but seven years old, should be murdered also. But whilst the tyrant's instruments were employed in the assassination of his father, he escaped unobserved amidst the confusion occasioned by the bloody business; and, not knowing where to find an asylum, strayed by chance into the house of Soso, sister to Abantidas. Amazed at seeing him, it struck her mind, that the gods themselves must have conducted him thither. And her superstition did what her humanity would not have done. She looked upon herself as called upon by divine command to provide for the child's preservation; and, having concealed him until night, she sent him off to Argos.

²⁹ See Plutarch in Arato. Polyb. L. iii. c. 43. et passim. Pausan. in Corinthiacis.

THERE



THERE his father's friends took care of Aratus: they educated him suitably to his birth; and he soon shewed that he was not unworthy of the attention bestowed upon him. For he had not yet reached his twentieth year, when, fired with the thoughts of revenging his father's blood, and the wrongs of his country, he determined to return to Sicyon. Abantidas was no more. But, as in these days tyrant succeeded tyrant, Nicocles filled his place, and held the city in subjection. Alarmed at the accounts brought him of Aratus, his spies had directions to observe all his motions. Aratus, nevertheless, conducted his plans with all that subtilty of address and intrigue for which his natural genius, improved by the circumstances of his life, had so admirably fitted him: he eluded all the tyrant's machinations, and not only made himself master of Sicyon, but would have surpris'd Nicocles himself, had not his guilty fears previously suggested to him the precaution of preparing a subterranean passage against the hour of danger; through which he made his escape.

relieves his
native city
Sicyon from
tyrants;

SICYON was now restored to her liberties; but she was nevertheless still encompassed with enemies. The surpris'e of Corinth by Antigonus, which had lately taken place, shewed Aratus what he had to fear from that quarter. Various kinds of tyranny prevailed at the same time in most of the neighbouring cities. And even in Sicyon the creatures of the late tyrants, either from corrupt views or a consciousness of guilt, were still unfriendly to the cause of liberty, and hated the assertor of it. Against these dangers Aratus saw no resource more effectual than the friendship of the Achæans, who bordered on the Sicyonian territory, and, though yet of small account, were the only people of Peloponnesus, in whose breasts

strengthens
himself
against the
creatures of
the late ty-
rants,



Book IV. the spirit of freedom glowed. To incorporate the Sicyonians with this republic, was his great object. Achaia and Sicyon entered into his views; they embraced with eagerness the proposal: and the Sicyonians were admitted accordingly into the Achaean body.

Sect. I.

and associates
Sicyon to
Achaia.

Confused
state of pro-
perty at Si-
cyon,

SOMETHING was yet wanting to the peace of Sicyon. Five hundred and eighty of its citizens had been driven into exile: during the late disastrous times, and, though recalled to their native home, they had still to encounter all the distresses of indigence; their landed property having, in a course of years, passed through different hands; and many of those, in whose possession it then was, holding it by legal titles.

settled by
the wisdom

How to relieve this numerous body of claimants, so justly the objects of public compassion, was difficult. A general act of resumption had been an act of cruelty, injustice, and violence; and, if attempted, might have brought on commotions not to be easily pacified. Aratus, ever ardently anxious for the general good, determined to apply for aid to his friend Ptolemy Philadelphus; that prince, who was an admirer of the fine arts, having often employed Aratus to collect for him the paintings of the great masters of Greece, in which Sicyon is said to have abounded; the Sicyonian school having been in the highest repute for several ages. That he might plead his cause the more forcibly, Aratus set off in person for the Egyptian court. Ptolemy generously complied with Aratus's request, and furnished him with sums of money sufficient for his purpose. In the administration of which trust he proceeded with such wisdom, and strict observance of equity, that the old proprietors, and the new possessors,

and probity
of Aratus.



fers, were equally well satisfied with his conduct: a transaction which completed the settlement of Sicyon, and gave to Aratus a stronger interest than ever in the affections of his fellow-citizens.

BOOK IV.
SECT. I.

THE abilities and liberal spirit, which Aratus had shewn on this occasion, drew on him the attention of all this part of Greece. The Achaean states in particular considered him as an important acquisition, and advanced him to the highest honours their commonwealth had to bestow. The ensuing year he was elected general of Achaia.

Aratus
chosen general
of Achaia.

SUCCESS enlarged his views. The power of the Macedonian king in Peloponnesus was at this time exceedingly formidable; and his possessions were extensive. The petty sovereigns, at the same time, of the several cities were almost without exception his vassals: subsisting by his protection, and subservient to his commands. It was easy to perceive, that a prince thus circumstanced, whose schemes were directed to give law to Greece, would not long suffer Achaia to remain undisturbed. Aratus conceived the bold thought of overthrowing this dangerous plan of empire. Corinth, the key to the whole peninsula, was then held by Antigonus: and Aratus determined to try whether he could not effect the re-establishment of the Corinthian liberties, in the same manner he had re-established those of Sicyon. The opinion entertained of the natural strength of the Corinthian citadel; the confidence of the garrison; and the improbability of such an attack coming from so feeble a hand; contributed all to the success of Aratus. He made the attempt in the night; he scaled the walls by ladders, with only an hundred men, the

restores Corinth to her liberties;



BOOK IV. rest being ordered to follow another way. He was already
 Sect. 1. in the city, and had nearly gained the ascent to the citadel, before he was discovered. His falling in accidentally with the guard, patrolling the streets, gave the first alarm to the Macedonians. They would then have resisted. But Aratus had disposed his different parties in so advantageous a manner, and was so seasonably supported by those who were to co-operate from without, that, when morning appeared, the garrison, defeated on all sides, were forced to abandon the place.

THE same generous temper of mind which he had shewn in the delivering of Sicyon, marked also his conduct to the Corinthians. He caused them to assemble in the theatre; when, after addressing them in a manner suitable to the great event, he opened to them the motives by which he had been influenced: "his zeal for the independence of his country, and
 " the hopes he had entertained of forming an effectual barrier
 " against the Macedonian king, the sworn enemy of the
 " Grecian liberties;" he concluded by presenting them with the keys of their citadel, of which they had not been in possession since the days of Philip of Macedon; and invited them, at the same time, to accede to the Achaean league, as the best measure for securing what they had now recovered. They answered him with loud acclamations of joy, hailing him their deliverer, and expressing their grateful acceptance of the offer he had made. So that Aratus not only had the praise of having given liberty to a people long humbled under the yoke of oppression, but the glory also of having added considerably to the importance of the Achaean states; who thus saw one of the most illustrious of the Grecian cities enrolled among them²⁹.

and incorpo-
 rates the Co-
 rinthians
 among the
 Achaean
 states :

²⁹ See Polyb. L. ii. c. 43.

THIS



FROM THE ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

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THIS expulsion of the Macedonians from Corinth happened about eight years after the revolution at Sicyon; Aratus being then for the second time general of Achaia. Book IV.
Sect. 1.

ONE circumstance in the conduct of Aratus, on this occasion, deserves to be particularly mentioned. In order to procure proper intelligence, it was expedient to bribe certain persons, who had connections in Corinth, for which purpose a considerable sum of money was necessary³⁰. Aratus knew the low state of the Achaean finances, and he knew also how much the success of his enterprise depended upon secrecy; he would not therefore seek for resources in the assistance of his friends, whose suspicions or indiscretion might have betrayed his purpose; but raised the money privately on his own account, pledging for it his plate and the jewels of his wife. Such, observes the historian³¹, was the passion of this spirited Greek for gallant achievements, that he endeavoured not only to vie with Phocion and Epaminondas, who were accounted the most excellent of all the Greeks, in not sacrificing virtue to money: he ascended a step higher: he parted privately with his own property, in the cause of those who were not even apprized of his generous intentions: he embarked his estate in an enterprise, wherein he alone was to expose himself for his fellow-citizens: he purchased great danger at great expence: he hazarded his fortune and his life for the glory of advancing the prosperity of his country.

his generosity on this occasion.

³⁰ Sixty talents, according to Plutarch; (between eleven and twelve thousand pounds).

³¹ See Plutarch in Arato.

THIS



become exceedingly formidable. Aratus certainly appears to have been the enemy he dreaded most: for when tidings were brought to Macedon, that he had been taken prisoner in one of his inroads into Attica, he immediately dispatched a vessel to Athens, with orders that he should be sent to him in chains. And though he kept within his own kingdom, he spared neither treasure nor intrigue to support, as his father had done before, the petty tyrants of Peloponnesus, whose only merit was their enmity to Aratus.

BOOK IV.
Sect. I.

THE curious account history gives us of the tyrant of Argos, whose trusty friend Antigonus Gonatas had professed himself, and whose character, as may be gathered both from Polybius and Plutarch, seems, in part at least, to have been applicable to the several Peloponnesian tyrants of those days, may serve to shew what wretched instruments the kings of Macedon had the meanness to employ.

General
character
of the Gre-
cian tyrants
of those days;

“ THIS tyrant (whose name was Aristippus) who had An-
 “ tigonus for his ally, who had a numerous body-guard, and
 “ who had not suffered one man in Argos to live, whom he
 “ thought his enemy, would not permit his guards to do duty
 “ within the palace, but only around it. When supper
 “ was over, he dismissed all his servants, making fast the
 “ door of the hall himself, and with his mistress ascend-
 “ ed by a trap-door into a small chamber above. Upon
 “ that door his bed was placed, and there he slept, as a
 “ person in his anxious state may be supposed to sleep. The
 “ ladder by which he ascended, his mistress’s mother re-
 “ moved, and secured it in another room till morning, when

particularly
of Aristippus,
tyrant of Ar-
gos.

N n

“ she



BOOK IV:
Sect. I.

Other cities
join the
Achaean.

THIS exploit, which, according to Plutarch, is one of the greatest recorded in history, and the last, he thinks, which the Greeks have to boast of, led the way to important alterations. The people of Megara, though on the other side of the Corinthian isthmus, renounced the alliance of Macedon, and joined the Achaeans. The cities of Troezene, Epidaurus, and Cleonae, on the eastern coast of Peloponnesus, followed the example. The spirit of liberty caught even Lyfides, the tyrant of Megalopolis; who of his own accord abdicated the sovereignty, and applied to be admitted into the Achaean league.

The alertness
of Aratus;

AMIDST these extraordinary revolutions died Antigonus Gonatas, about two years after his losing Corinth, being succeeded, as we have seen, by his son Demetrius. Aratus continued his active exertions. He again attempted Athens, which he had formerly attacked in the days of Antigonus; and, though now a second time repulsed by the Macedonians, whose strength was considerable in those parts, he was not discouraged. For when Demetrius invaded Aetolia, he immediately took the field, and joined the Aetolians, notwithstanding those people had lately broken into Achaia, and committed severe depredations. The consequence of this junction was the defeat of Demetrius; who thereupon abandoned the war, and retired to his own kingdom. This was the last excursion Demetrius ventured to make into the southern parts of Greece, whether employed at home against the barbarian nations, who are said to have infested his frontiers; or whether, as it is most likely, he was unwilling again to try the decision of arms with the Achaeans, who were now become



become exceedingly formidable. Aratus certainly appears to have been the enemy he dreaded most: for when tidings were brought to Macedon, that he had been taken prisoner in one of his inroads into Attica, he immediately dispatched a vessel to Athens, with orders that he should be sent to him in chains. And though he kept within his own kingdom, he spared neither treasure nor intrigue to support, as his father had done before, the petty tyrants of Peloponnesus, whose only merit was their enmity to Aratus.

BOOK IV.
Sect. I.

THE curious account history gives us of the tyrant of Argos, whose trusty friend Antigonus Gonatas had professed himself, and whose character, as may be gathered both from Polybius and Plutarch, seems, in part at least, to have been applicable to the several Peloponnesian tyrants of those days, may serve to shew what wretched instruments the kings of Macedon had the meanness to employ.

General
character
of the Gre-
cian tyrants
of those days;

“ THIS tyrant (whose name was Aristippus) who had An-
“ tigonus for his ally, who had a numerous body-guard, and
“ who had not suffered one man in Argos to live, whom he
“ thought his enemy, would not permit his guards to do duty
“ within the palace, but only around it. When supper
“ was over, he dismissed all his servants, making fast the
“ door of the hall himself, and with his mistress ascend-
“ ed by a trap-door into a small chamber above. Upon
“ that door his bed was placed, and there he slept, as a
“ person in his anxious state may be supposed to sleep. The
“ ladder by which he ascended, his mistress’s mother re-
“ moved, and secured it in another room till morning, when

particularly
of Aristippus,
tyrant of Ar-
gos.

N n

“ she



BOOK IV. " she brought it again, and called up this wonderful prince,
 Sect. 1. " who crept like a reptile from his hole !"

" THIS manner of life," continues the historian, " was
 " Aristippus under the necessity of leading ; thus it was he
 " enjoyed that pomp of despotic sovereignty, which is gene-
 " rally so much envied and admired as the pinnacle of
 " human happiness " ."

THE change, which now took place in the affairs of Ma-
 cedon, opened an extensive field to the enterprising genius of
 Aratus. Antigonus the second, who, as we have seen, had
 ascended the throne on the death of Demetrius, employed
 himself at home in remedying the many internal evils, to
 which the mistaken counsels of Gonatas and his son had
 given rise, and seemed to look on the transactions of the
 more remote states of Greece with an eye of indifference.
 Relieved, therefore, from the obstructions he had hitherto ex-
 perienced, Aratus hastened to improve the opportunity. He
 renewed the attempt on Athens, where there still was a strong
 garrison ; but it was discovered, that the governor, who had
 no longer the same attachment to the court of Macedon, was
 not incorruptible : and Aratus offered him his price. The
 sum stipulated was an hundred and fifty talents (near thirty
 thousand pounds) of which Aratus, who valued no expence,
 when the purchase was the liberties of his country, paid
 twenty himself. The forts were accordingly surrendered
 into the hands of the Athenians ; and Athens was incorpo-
 rated among the states of Achaia.

Aratus pur-
 chases liberty
 to Athens,

" Plutarch in Arato.

THERE



THERE was something peculiarly noble in the conduct of Aratus upon this occasion. In one of the preceding attacks on the Macedonian garrison at Athens, a report had prevailed, that he was slain. Immediately the Athenians, in servile adulation to their Macedonian masters, put on garlands of flowers, and broke out into the most illiberal expressions of joy: but Aratus was above resenting the poor insult. He left them to learn, from his example, what their sentiments ought to have been.

Book IV.
Sect. I.

though ill-treated by them:

HE then tried what could be done at Argos; which he had often attempted before, but without success; so strenuous, till then, had Macedon been in supporting the tyrants of that city: but Aristomachus, who now held the sovereignty, finding that dependence could no longer be placed on assistance from Macedon, gladly accepted terms, and, having abdicated, was received into the Achaean confederacy.

and restores Argos to her liberties.

INTIMIDATED by these examples, the petty tyrants around soon dropped all opposition. Hardly one of the adjoining states remained inimical or independent: all entered either into alliance with the Achaeans, or fell under their subjection. The people of Phlius and Hermione, in the neighbourhood of Argos, and of Aegina in the Saronic gulph, declared in their favour; the greater part of Arcadia paid them contributions; the Aetolians as well as the Spartans were their allies; and the king of Egypt himself, the first in power of all the princes of those days, accepted the title of protector of the liberties of Achaia. As an enemy to the Macedonian kings, he saw with pleasure the Achaeans strengthening themselves against them; and he engaged to support them in the possession

Flourishing condition of Achaia at this period.



BOOK IV. Sect. I. sion of their just rights, should his assistance at any time be necessary.

Probable consequences to Greece, had Achaia continued to flourish.

IN this respectable situation were the Achaean affairs during the first years of the reign of the second Antigonus. And, could this noble fabric of liberty have retained that solidity and compactness, which it seems to have had at this period, Greece might probably have long bidden defiance to the various enemies who successively rose up against her.

BUT, to these fair appearances a very different scene soon succeeded. Such being the instability of human councils, that those, whose unanimity and virtuous spirit of freedom had framed this noble establishment, became now the very persons whose selfish ambition, jealousies, and dissensions, wrought its overthrow.

A MORE important and instructive portion of history is not to be met with in the Grecian annals. It will be necessary to unfold the various events, which led to this catastrophe.

BOOK



B O O K IV.

SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

The Aetolians—their character—jealous of Achaia—excite Cleomenes, king of Sparta, against the Achaeans—character of Cleomenes—his abilities and success—the Achaeans distressed by Cleomenes—call in the aid of Antigonus king of Macedon—Antigonus marches against Cleomenes—defeats him—Cleomenes escapes to Egypt—Antigonus returns to Macedon—fights the barbarians—obtains a complete victory—dies—his character.

THE Aetolians were a people situated on the Ionian Book IV.
 sea, to the north-west of the isthmus of Corinth, in Sect. 2.
 that small angle of country opposite to Achaia, and divided from it by the Corinthian gulph; bounded by Acarnania to the north, the Locri Ozolae to the east, and stretching to the north-east as far as the mountains of Thessaly; their whole extent of territory being about fifty miles from north to south, not above twenty miles from east to west, and in some places scarcely ten. Their state, like that of Achaia, was composed

The Aetolians;

their situation;



Book IV. Sect. 2. composed of a number of confederate towns, formerly independent of each other, but induced to unite from a dread of the Macedonian power, in the days of Philip the son of Amyntas. Their polity, in many respects, bore a near resemblance to that of the Achaeans. They had been from early times inured to arms, which were, indeed, the principal object of their attention. Their country, mostly mountainous, affording them but a scanty subsistence; so that they owed their chief support to the descents they made into the adjacent lands, where, sweeping away whatever plunder they could seize, they rushed back with impetuosity to their strong-holds and mountain-fastnesses; whose situation, scarcely accessible without a guide, baffled all pursuit. Suitable to this mode of life were their manners; warlike, fierce, impetuous, insolent. Though at this time in alliance with Achaia, they saw with indignation a people no-way superior to themselves, whom they had often plundered with impunity, and whose establishment, laws, and situation, so nearly resembled their own, taking the lead both in council and in arms, and bearing off the prize of empire, which, in their own idea, they might themselves have so justly claimed. They endeavoured to inspire the Spartans with similar thoughts; and the Spartans were but too ready to listen to their suggestions.

polity;

character;

jealous of
the Achaeans;excite the
Spartans
against them.Cleomenes
king of Sparta,

his character.

CLEOMENES was now seated on the Spartan throne, whose misfortune it was, that even his virtues were to be fatal to his country. To an uncommon share of understanding, this extraordinary prince joined great integrity of heart, martial spirit, and an ardent love of glory. But, too eager in the

* See Polyb. L. ii. c. 45, & L. ix. c. 38 & passim. Pausan. in Achaicis. Plutarch in Cleomene & Arato.

pursuit



pursuit of his favourite object, his rapid mind often overlooked the inexpediency of the means he was to use; and he sacrificed to ambition, the prosperity of a people whose happiness he thought he was consulting.

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Sect. 2.

THE times, in which he lived, were very different from those which the illustrious commonwealth of Lacedemon had once known: to that poverty and hardy discipline, which had formed the sinews of her strength, had succeeded excessive opulence, and an abandoned voluptuousness of manners. Some even of their kings were not ashamed to encourage the general profligacy by their edicts, as well as by their example. Arcus, and his son Acrotatus², as if seeking to relieve their citizens from all restraints whatsoever, had discountenanced the public meals, that last pledge of Spartan frugality and temperance. Acrotatus lived, at the same time, in the face of his country, in open adultery with the wife of Cleonymus, his father's uncle: and when he had, in consequence of this scandalous amour, involved his fellow-citizens with Pyrrhus of Epire³, they gave a strong proof of the degenerate tameness of Spartan manners; they punished not the guilty cause of an unjust and unnecessary war. One or two of the Spartan princes, it must be allowed, had, at different times, attempted to stem the torrent of public corruption; yet had the attempt always proved abortive; deposition, banishment, and even death, having been the only recompence of their exalted virtue.

State of
Sparta at
this period;

from what
causes.

² See Athenae. Deipnosoph. Casaub. L. iv. 71.

³ See book iii. sect 2.

SUCH,



BOOK IV. SUCH, when Cleomenes appeared, was the state of Sparta;
 Sect. 2. and he himself had been eye-witness of a very affecting instance of the depravity of his countrymen. His father Leonidas had reigned with Agis; Leonidas of the elder branch, Agis of the younger. Leonidas was son to that Cleonymus, whose wife Chelidonis Acrotatus had seduced; and, upon the death of the son of Acrotatus, had mounted the throne. Agis, who had succeeded his father Eudamidas, was the sixth in descent from the famous Agefilaus, and a near kinsman of that Agis, who fell in battle against Antipater, fighting for the liberties of his country.

his virtuous
 designs;

AGIS*, who was himself of unblemished manners, and animated with a sincere zeal for the prosperity of Sparta, saw with deep concern the breaches which avarice, luxury, and ambition, had made in the constitution of his country. The laws of Lycurgus were totally disregarded; the lands were all in the possession of a few families, who rioted in opulence; whilst the rest of the Spartans, despoiled of their patrimony, dragged on a wretched life in indigence and humiliation. To these distresses, this prince resolved to apply the natural remedy, which the institutions of Lycurgus prescribed; and, in obedience to the original appointment of that great lawgiver, he determined to enforce the sumptuary laws, to cancel all debts, and to make a new division of lands. This resolution was the more singular, and worthy of praise, as he had been educated in the midst of delicacy and affluence; whilst the private estates of his own family

disinterested-
 ments;

* See Plutarch in Agide.

were



were among the greatest in Sparta. But, regardless of private interest, he pursued his plan; and, in the high fervor of youth (for he was aged but twenty years) warm in the cause of virtue, this generous prince thought he should find little difficulty in accomplishing a reformation, which was solicited by so many affecting considerations of justice and of national benefit.

BOOK IV.
Sect. 2.

attempts to restore the constitution;

HE proved to be mistaken. The greater number of the monied men and proprietors of lands, together with most of the Spartan ladies, who, by the new regulations, were to lose all their wealth and articles of vanity, seeing their dearest concerns in danger, opposed him vigorously. His colleague Leonidas, whilst his father was a fugitive abroad, had spent several years at the court of Seleucus, where he was accustomed to Asiatic luxury and magnificence; he had therefore no great esteem for the Lycurgic life, and joined heartily in the opposition; which was besides supported by the whole body of the Ephori, whom the faction of the rich had secured in their interests. For some time, however, Agis and his party prevailed. He had given the strongest proof of his own integrity, by throwing all his landed property, with his whole personal fortune, amounting to six hundred talents, into the national stock. And, induced by this example, some of the first men in Sparta had acted in the same manner. The refractory Ephori had been deposed; and Leonidas himself, who had persisted in rejecting every mode of reformation, having been impeached of certain violations of the constitution, which rendered him incapable of reigning^s, had been divested of the regal dignity,

is opposed by the rich;

his colleague deposed, and Cleombrotus appointed in his stead; re-establishes the laws of Lycurgus.

^s He had taken up his residence in foreign parts, before he came to the crown; and he had married a foreign wife.

O o

and



BOOK IV. and his son-in-law Cleombrotus, a prince of unquestionable
 Sect. 2. worth, appointed in his room.

Opposite
 party prevail
 again.

Cleombrotus
 banished.

BUT this gleam of success was of short continuance. Some of those, who had a principal share in the councils of Agis, but strangers to his probity, were guilty of interested, unjustifiable, and violent practices. By cancelling all bonds for debt, they got themselves acquitted of what they owed; but, endeavouring then to evade the partition of lands, an insurrection ensued; which the party in opposition taking advantage of, Leonidas was restored. He returned with all the resentments of a tyrant, who had just recovered the power of which he had been despoiled; and he openly avowed his vindictive and sanguinary purposes. The life of Cleombrotus was with difficulty spared, at the intercession of his wife Chelonis^e the daughter.

^e This amiable princess, though the daughter of a flagitious tyrant, appears to have been a pattern both of filial and of conjugal piety. The following account of her has been preserved to us by Plutarch, and may be considered as a valuable monument of ancient manners. Leonidas having been deposed, she refused the rank to which the promotion of her husband Cleombrotus had raised her, but, putting on mourning, accompanied her father into exile. Upon his restoration, and Cleombrotus's life being in danger, she returned back to her husband, and shared in his distresses; and at last was found by Leonidas, and his ministers of violence, in the temple of Neptune, where Cleombrotus had taken sanctuary, sitting by him in the squalid habit of a suppliant, her arms folded around him, with her two children, one on each side: When, addressing her father; "It was not for Cleombrotus", said she, "that this garb of woe was first put on by me; neither was it for him that these tears first began to flow. My sorrows had their beginning with your misfortunes: nor from that time have they ever ceased to be my portion. You are now victorious over your enemies, and are again in possession of the throne of Sparta: must I nevertheless still continue to wear these weeds of affliction? or shall I array myself in festive ornaments, when the husband of my youth, the husband you gave to me, is doomed



daughter of Leonidas, on condition of his going into banishment. But to Agis no mercy was to be shewn. His popularity, his abilities, his virtues, pleaded too powerfully against him; and it was determined, that his fate should deter future patriots from the like daring innovations.

BOOK IV.
SECT. 2.

OVERPOWERED by the triumphant faction, this unhappy prince had taken refuge in the temple of Minerva Chalcioccos⁷, from whence he never ventured, unless to the bath; and then was guarded by a band of friends, in whose firm attachment he had placed an entire confidence. But, seduced at

Agis betrayed.

“doomed to be the victim of your vengeance? — If, however, neither my tears, nor the tears of these little innocents, have the power of moving you, more severe will Cleombrotus’s punishment be, than even you wish it—he shall see his beloved wife die before him. For how shall I endure to live, under the reproach of having had my supplications rejected both by my husband and by my father? a wretched wife! a wretched daughter!—Whatever plea the unhappy Cleombrotus might have had to offer in his justification, I have already in some measure destroyed the force of it, by avowing your cause in prejudice to his. But, indeed, you yourself, by this inexorable cruelty, plead his apology; and shew how powerful a temptation a crown is, when the blood of a son-in-law must be shed, and a daughter abandoned, for the sake of it.”—So saying, she leaned her face against her husband’s cheek, turning her dimmed and streaming eyes on the croud around her. Every heart melted. Even Leonidas was overcome: “Rise,” said he to Cleombrotus, “and get thou into exile.”—“And as for thee, Chelonis,” continued he, “repay to thy father the kindness he has shewn in giving thee thy husband’s life, and remain with me.”—Chelonis, notwithstanding, would not be persuaded. But, her husband rising from the ground, she put one child in his arms, and took the other herself, and, after paying due homage at the altar, where they had taken sanctuary, went with him into banishment.

⁷ Minerva of the brazen temple. This temple, as appears from Pausanias (in Lacedæmonia) stood on an eminence the highest in Sparta, and seems to have been a kind of strong hold. And thence probably the name *πολιούχος*, guardian of the city, which, he tells us, was given to this Minerva.



Book IV. length by the tempting offers of Leonidas, to whom the basest
 Sect. 2. means were honourable, these infamous friends consented to
 become his betrayers, and perfidiously delivered him into the
 hands of Leonidas.

No sooner was the person of Agis thus treacherously in
 the tyrant's power, than he convened a packed council of
 the Ephori, and of his most devoted partizans. The shew
 of a judicial enquiry was resolved upon; and this unfortu-
 nate prince was arraigned before a tribunal predetermined to
 destroy him. On this occasion, however, he appears to have
 assumed a firmness not natural to him; his usual manner
 being rather gentle and diffident. He beheld his pretended
 judges with indignation and scorn; and, when charged by
 them with a design of altering the government, he boldly
 declared that he had formed the resolution from the fullest
 conviction of the indispensable obligations he was under, a
 resolution, he told them, he never should repent of, "to
 " restore the laws of Lycurgus to their antient vigour, and
 " to make those laws the sole rule of his administration."
 Unable to humble him to any sentiment of abjectness, they
 hastened to relieve themselves from the presence of a man
 whose superiority they could not but feel; they ordered
 him to be dragged away and strangled. Yet did they find
 it difficult to get these orders obeyed; the common officers
 of justice, and even the mercenary soldiers, refusing to be
 concerned in the execution of the unjust sentence. At
 length Demochares, one of those perfidious friends who had
 betrayed his master, laying hands on him, dragged him into
 the dungeon, where he was immediately executed.

act
 and put to
 death.

To



To make the vengeance of the party more complete, his mother Agefistrata, and grandmother Archidamia, were also involved in the same destruction; with aggravated circumstances of uncommon barbarity. These ladies were held in the highest veneration in Sparta, not merely on account of their rank, but for their amiable manners and irreproachable lives. Upon hearing of the detention of Agis, they had hurried away to the prison, in order to employ their intercessions in his favour; when Amphares, another of the perfidious friends of this unfortunate prince, coming out, assured them that Agis was safe, and invited them to go in and satisfy themselves of his situation. He accordingly introduced them into the dreadful place, where lay the lifeless corse of the unhappy Agis; when, after enjoying their distress at this sight of horror, the inhuman villain ordered them to be seized and strangled.

Book IV.
Sect. 2.

Cruel fate of
his mother
and grand-
mother.

IF any thing could be wanting to excite in us the strongest detestation of so extraordinary a wretch, there is a circumstance of still greater ingratitude, mentioned by Plutarch*. Amphares had been much indebted to the generosity of Agefistrata, who, being possessed of great wealth, had often bountifully assisted him in his distress; and the expectation of being acquitted of what he owed to her, Plutarch thinks, with good reason, was one of the motives that urged him to the perpetration of the horrid deed.

CLEOMENES was very young when these things happened, and had but an imperfect knowledge of this affecting

The effect of
these events
on the mind
of Cleome-
nes :

* In Agide.



BOOK IV. story; for a time, therefore, he had attended to it but
 Sect. 2. slightly; it soon, however, made a very different impression
 upon him*. Compelled by his father's orders, he had married
 Agis's brother, now a proscribed exile. She was considerably
 older than Cleomenes; and being besides, as may naturally be
 conceived, strongly prepossessed against Leonidas and all his
 race, she had yielded to this second marriage with great
 reluctance. But the rich inheritance, to which she was
 entitled (for she was the only child of one of the wealthiest men
 in Sparta) had tempted Leonidas; and his commands were not
 to be disobeyed. By degrees, the ingenuous disposition and
 generous deportment of the young prince, and, on her part,
 the most amiable sweetness of temper and elegance of mind,
 reconciled and endeared them to each other; a confidence,
 which knew no reserve, grew up between them. He often
 found her bathed in tears at the recollection of Agis and his
 fortunes; and, anxious to know the cause, would listen
 eagerly to the tale of woe; inquiring minutely, what were
 the manners of Agis; what his motives; his plan; in what
 manner he had been betrayed; and how he had fallen. At
 the melancholy recital of these particulars, he was wont to
 mix his tears with hers, admiring the public spirit and exalted
 purposes of that excellent prince, and wishing he could
 have the glory to resemble him. With these sentiments,
 which he carefully disguised whilst his father lived, had
 Cleomenes ascended the throne.

* See Plutarch in Cleomene.



AT his accession, he found not only the internal constitution of Sparta, but the whole system of Spartan affairs, in a ruinous and perplexed condition. The domestic distress in which the disuse of the laws of Lycurgus had involved most of the Spartan families, with that despondent imbecillity of spirit, which generally accompanies such distress, had caused a general depopulation throughout Laconia; so that, instead of natives sufficient to occupy the thirty-nine thousand shares, into which Lycurgus had originally divided the lands, only seven hundred families of the Spartan race were now to be found; of whom about six hundred, far from being capable of exerting any degree of vigour in the public service, were pining in abject penury, wretchedness, and contempt. Even the slaves, who formerly swarmed over all the country, were now considerably thinned in their numbers; many of them, as the Spartan families had gone to decay, having neither employment nor subsistence, had perished; and many others had been carried off by plunderers; the Aetolians alone having, in one inroad¹⁰, swept off above fifty thousand of them. At the same time, all Peloponnesus, as well as a great part of the rest of Greece, confessed the power of Achaia; and the little importance which still remained to Sparta, she seemed now chiefly to owe to the alliance she enjoyed with that formidable republic.

CLEOMENES felt all the embarrassments of his situation: feeble at home, his measures were controuled by the insolence of the Ephori and the faction of the rich: whilst,

¹⁰ Plutarch in Cleomene.

despised

Book IV.
Sect. 2.

feels for the
distresses of
his country :



BOOK IV. despised abroad, he had to endure, with humiliating indignation, the haughty pretensions of the Achaean states, and Sect. 2. the dictatorial mandates of the high-spirited Aratus.

attempts to revive the martial spirit of the Spartans ;

IN this choice of difficulties, it was hard to say which of them he should begin to contend with. His natural turn to martial enterprize determined him : and it is not improbable, that the representations of the Aetolians, of which we have already made mention, had a large share in this determination. It appears from Polybius ¹, that they had been exceedingly earnest to inspire the Spartan king with a jealousy of Achaia. They had even engaged, if we may believe that historian, to serve Sparta at the expence of their own honour ; and, whilst they kept up the appearance of acting in concert with the Achaean confederacy, to favour the progress of the Spartan arms.

with what views ;

THIS was, at the same time, the only plausible measure he could embrace to rouse the Spartans themselves ; for, immersed as they were in corruption, the glory of the Spartan name was still with them a favourite theme ; and they were always disposed to think well of the prince who attempted to retrieve it. At the head also of an army, he would be more powerful ; and, if he returned with victory, he might then assume the same dominion over the factious Ephori, which at present they exercised over him ; and find, in consequence, a season for the restoration of those laws, of which he now durst not even seem to think.

¹ L. ii. c. 45, 46.

Εὐκλείδης

SUCH,



SUCH, as far as a judgment can be formed, at this distance of time, from the accounts of different historians, appear to have been the views of Cleomenes. The tenor of his conduct will best explain them.

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Sect. 2.

His first attempt was on some cities of Arcadia, Tegea, Mantinea, and Orchomenos, of which he made himself master. From Polybius ¹² we learn, that on this occasion he employed the arts of intrigue rather than force; and that the Aetolians, in whose charge those cities appear to have been, were supposed to have betrayed them into his hands. There is also reason to believe, that he engaged in this enterprise at his own risque, and without the authority of the magistracy of Sparta. His view, unquestionably, was to spirit them up, if possible, to a war: and his design succeeded accordingly.

his success;

ENCOURAGED by these favourable beginnings, the Ephori ordered him to seize and fortify a certain castle in the district of Megalopolis, which commanded on that side the entrance into Laconia; historians call it Athenaeum. It must have been a pass of considerable importance, as the Achaean states, though hitherto passive, immediately upon this act of hostility declared war against the Spartans. This was the very measure Cleomenes wished for: he forthwith took the field with what troops he could muster, and began to commit great ravages throughout the territories of the cities in league with Achaia. But his whole force amounted only to five thousand men, and the Achaeans were marching against him:

is supported
by the Epho-
ri:

¹² L. ii. c. 46.

P. p.

with:



Book IV. with upwards of twenty thousand. He advanced, nevertheless, in order of battle, and with such appearance of resolution, that the enemy declined the engagement, and retired. So shameful a retreat, before such a handful of men, was nearly as prejudicial to the Achaeans as a discomfiture could have been, and raised exceedingly the reputation of the Spartan king. The blame of this dastardly conduct fell on Aratus, as he had, it seems, advised it. The truth was, Aratus, though in council the first man in Greece, of great capacity and boldness in the direction of affairs, and possessing an uncommon genius for intrigue and decisive measures, was generally lost to himself in the time of action; a certain constitutional defect prevailing then over that admirable judgment and presence of mind which he possessed in the cabinet". His life affords several remarkable instances of this frailty.

the Achaeans
retreat be-
fore him ;

brings the
Achaeans to
an engage-
ment ;

defeats them ;

loses Man-
tinea :

THE behaviour of the Achaean chief gave new vigour to Cleomenes: his numbers increased; and the Eleans, who had never been steady in the interests of Achaia, now openly declared against her. To chastise this defection (for such the Achaeans seem to have thought it) they made a rapid movement towards Elis; and were followed with the same expedition by Cleomenes, who came up with them at Lycaenum, near the Elean borders; and, as they were endeavouring to retreat, put them entirely to the rout, killing great numbers, and taking many prisoners. But, by a strange reverse, whilst the Spartans were exulting in their victory, Aratus, who watched the opportunity, having rallied some of his troops,

²³ See Plutarch in Arato.

struck



struck off into the road to Mantinea, and made himself amends by surprizing that city¹⁴.

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THIS loss, seemingly of no great moment, but probably aggravated by the enemies of Cleomenes, was considered at Sparta as overbalancing all the advantages which might be derived from the late successful action; and so alarmed did the Ephori pretend to be, that Cleomenes was instantly recalled home, and all design of continuing the war laid aside.

repentment
of the Spar-
tan Ephori;

THIS check, if not obviated, must have been to Cleomenes the final ruin of all his projects; but he employed every expedient in his power to prevent the consequences he so much dreaded. He had recourse to supplications: he had recourse to corruption; and at length, by interesting their avarice, he obtained of the Ephori, that he should be permitted to continue his operations. From what followed soon after, it is likely, that the haughtiness he experienced on this occasion from these imperious controllers of kings; fixed him in the resolution of freeing himself effectually from so mortifying a restraint.

prevails on
them to con-
tinue the
war;

THE ensuing campaign was signalized by the total overthrow of the Achaean army near Leuctra. Cleomenes had marched thither in the view of surprizing the town; and the Achaeans having hastened to its relief, attacked him

overthrows
the Achaeans;
near Leuctra.

¹⁴ The Mantineans, who at first belonged to the Achaean confederacy, having renounced their alliance, had surrendered their city first to the Aetolians, and afterwards to Cleomenes. This surprize of Mantinea by Aratus happened, according to Polybius, four years before the invasion of Peloponnesus by Antigonus. See Polyb. Caf. Oct. L. ii. c. 57. p. 198.



Book IV. under the walls. For some time the battle was in favour of Sect. 2. the Achaeans, who pushed the Lacedemonians vigorously on every side. But Cleomenes, having with great art drawn the enemy into some woody inclosures and hollow grounds, turned the fortune of the day, and defeated them with much slaughter; Lyfiadas, then general of Achaia, and formerly tyrant of Megalopolis, after having greatly distinguished himself, being numbered among the slain.

Aratus
blamed for
this over-
throw, and
disgraced.

THIS misfortune was imputed to Aratus. He was charged with having neglected to support Lyfiadas¹⁵; and so exasperated were the Achaeans, that in their next general assembly they declared him unworthy of national confidence, forbidding him either to levy troops in their name, or to interfere with their finances; leaving it to him to carry on the war, if he thought proper, at his own expence.

Cleomenes
reduces several
of the
towns of Ar-
cadia, and
places Spar-
tan garrisons
in them;

returns to
Sparta with
the mercena-
ries only;

THIS victory of Cleomenes was succeeded by the general devastation of Arcadia, and the reduction of several towns; for no sooner was one enterprize atchieved, than the Spartans attempted another; Cleomenes not allowing his army the least interval of repose¹⁶. In this he had his own private views. Harassed in the severest manner during the time they had been kept in the field, the Lacedemonians gladly accepted the offer of being left to garrison the Arcadian towns during the winter months. So that at the close of the campaign, the king returned to Sparta with the mercenary troops alone. As he approached the city, he opened his intentions to Euryclidas and some chosen friends, to whom the Ephori

¹⁵ See Plutarch in Arato.

¹⁶ Plutarch in Cleomene.

were



were obnoxious. He contrived to reach Sparta in the evening, about the hour when the Ephori usually assembled in the hall in which they supped. Euryclidas having accordingly entered with his associates, upon pretence of a message from the king, whilst he was holding the Ephori in discourse, the rest rushed upon them, and buried their swords in their bodies; one only escaping, who having fallen pierced with wounds, lay in appearance dead; but recovering afterwards, he crept out, and was suffered to survive.

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assassinates
the Ephori;

WHAT Cleomenes himself thought of this act of violence, we may easily gather from the uncommon pains he took to reconcile the Spartans to what had happened. He convened them together the ensuing day, and, after pleading warmly against the unconstitutional establishment of this order of magistrates¹⁷, he went through an invidious recital of the several acts of iniquity the Ephori, collectively or individually, had been guilty of; which, whilst they marked them as proper objects of public vengeance, led him to lament the unhappy necessity which compelled him to have recourse to assassination, in order to deliver his country from these ministers of oppression¹⁸.

seeks to palliate this act
of violence;

THE king might palliate the transaction; but it was impossible he could justify it. And probably the Spartans themselves suspected, what too often happens, that the overthrow of one species of despotism was only accom-

¹⁷ This body had subsisted, however, and become a part of the constitution, three hundred and fifty years before the time of Cleomenes.

¹⁸ See Plutarch in Cleomene.

plished,



Book IV. plished, with the view of raising on its ruins a despotism of
 Sect. 2. another kind, not less formidable than what had been de-
 stroyed.

seizes on the
 administra-
 tion ;

THE Ephori being thus removed, he commanded the judicial seats, on which they sat in the hall of justice, to be also taken away, one only excepted, to be left for the king, in whose hands, solely, he told them, the dispensation of justice was thenceforth to be placed. He then proceeded to banish eighty of the Spartan citizens, friends of the late administration ; and, so difficult is it to use power with moderation, he appointed, in violation of that very original constitution, which he pretended to restore, his own brother, Euclidas to be joint-king with him. Archidamus, the brother of Agis, had lived till lately an exile in Messenia, and had been recalled to Sparta, in order to take his seat on the throne belonging to his family ; but on his way thither, he had been murdered. By whom he was recalled, whether by Cleomenes, or by the party against him ; or to whom the guilt of his murder was to be imputed ; are matters not well ascertained. Some historians, indeed, have not scrupled to charge his death to the account of Cleomenes himself¹⁹ ; a suspicion

¹⁹ Polybius (L.v. c. 37. p. 533, 534. & L. viii. c. 1. p. 711.) says, that Archidamus had been restored to the Spartan throne, and that, after some time, suspecting the ambitious views of Cleomenes, he had again fled from Sparta ; but afterwards, through the mediation of Nicagoras, the intimate friend of Archidamus, Cleomenes prevailed on him to return ; and that, as he was on his way to Sparta, upon Cleomenes's pledged faith, he was murdered by him ; Cleomenes having gone to meet him, and (a circumstance highly improbable) perpetrating with his own hand the bloody deed. And he assigns this as the reason why Cleomenes, when at the court of Ptolemy Philopater, was betrayed, (as we shall read in the history of Egyptian



suspicion which will be thought, perhaps, not altogether void of probability, when it is remembered, that, besides the danger of a revolution, should his colleague disapprove of the new mode of government he meant to introduce, there was another interest, not less powerful with Cleomenes: Agiatis was his wife, to whom Archidamus had a prior right.

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His next care was the re-establishment of the agrarian and sumptuary laws of Sparta²⁰. He had before this period revived in his own person and family, the strictness of the Lycurgic discipline; and his dress, his table, his furniture, his equipage, were all of the simplest kind. He was now the first to surrender his own estate into the public stock. His relations

re-establishes the agrarian and sumptuary laws of Lycurgus, and enforces them by his own example.

Egyptian affairs, see b. x. sect. 2. of this work) by this very Nicagoras. It was to revenge the death of Archidamus, of whose ruin he had, through the artifice of Cleomenes, been made the instrument.—But Plutarch, less ready to credit every charge against Cleomenes, than seems to have been the case with Polybius, gives this story a very different turn. Cleomenes, according to him, had resolved, before he would proceed to any violence against the Ephori, to recall Archidamus, to whom the crown, in that branch of the royal family, belonged, in order to humble those imperious magistrates; who, he imagined, when the kingly government, according to the Spartan constitution, was complete, and could maintain its due weight, would not be so formidable. The party which had put Agis to death, discovering this design, and dreading the vengeance of Archidamus, if he should be re-established on the throne, formed their plan accordingly. They joined in inviting him to Sparta, and even assisted in his return; but they assassinated him immediately after. Whether it was against the consent of Cleomenes, as Phylarchus, a cotemporary historian, thinks, or whether his friends prevailed on him to abandon that unhappy prince, Plutarch does not take upon him to determine. If he gave his consent, Plutarch, however, is of opinion, it must have been owing to the importunities of his friends; and the greatest part of the blame, he asserts, is therefore to be charged to the account of those friends, who had the guilt of teasing him into it.

²⁰ See Plutarch in Cleomene.



Book IV. and friends followed his example. And the rest of the citi-
 Sect. 2. zens having also done the same, (for a refusal was what no
 man at this juncture would presume to attempt) the lands
 were immediately divided. He even assigned lots for each of
 the persons whom he had banished, declaring, that they
 should be all recalled, when tranquillity was once more
 re-established. And, to remedy the present depopulation,
 he filled up the number of citizens out of the most vir-
 tuous of the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries. He
 then gave his attention to the education of the youths, in or-
 der to train them according to the original severity of the La-
 cedemonian laws. He restored their hardy manner of cloth-
 ing, their schools of exercise, their public meals, and arranged
 their whole course of discipline upon the system of ancient
 times. A new face of things soon appeared in Sparta; nei-
 ther the drooping look of indigence, nor the scornful in-
 solence of wealth, were any longer to be seen; a people
 healthy and robust began again to crowd her streets, and
 all the arts, that administer to luxury and effeminacy, dis-
 appeared. Above all, he took care to instruct his subjects by
 his own example; he appeared a pattern of temperance
 and of plain manners; he assumed no kind of parade or
 shew above a common citizen, but conversed among his
 people with unaffected familiarity; and, whenever they made
 application to him in his regal capacity, he received them
 with cheerfulness, and entered upon their business with the
 utmost readiness and attention.

THIS was a noble reformation, and surely well deserv-
 ing of the highest praise, had it been effected by Cleomenes,
 not by bloodshed and iniquity, but by the fair and constitu-
 tional



tional road of law and general consent! The perplexing circumstances he was placed in, at the beginning of his reign, joined to the natural impetuosity of his own temper, rendered perhaps more violent by the opposition he had to contend with, form all the apology, that history has to offer for him²¹.

HAVING

²¹ Polybius, however, on most occasions, treats Cleomenes's character with a severity not to be justified. He even charges him (L. ii. c. 47. p. 185.) with *having dissolved the paternal polity, the political constitution of his country, and having changed the legal kingly power into a tyranny*. Yet Polybius himself acknowledges, in more places than one, that at his accession the Spartan constitution was nearly destroyed, by the corrupt innovations which ambition and the lust of power had introduced into it. To the praise of Cleomenes it certainly is, that he endeavoured to restore the original establishments of the Lycurgic law. But, to his reproach, that he effected it by means to which he ought never to have had recourse; by arbitrary oppression and bloodshed.—Polybius himself seems to account for his severe strictures on this prince. He compiled this part of his history, he tells us (L. ii. c. 55. p. 196.) from the commentaries of Aratus, the avowed enemy of the Spartan king, and who doubtless sought for a justification of his own unconstitutional counsels by throwing what blame he could on Cleomenes. And that so judicious and generally candid a writer as Polybius, should have been betrayed into this track, we shall not wonder, when we recall to mind, that he himself was of Megalopolis, that very city whose ruins were a monument of Cleomenes's violence.—As for Livy, he is the copyer of Polybius, and therefore, in conformity with him, pronounces (L. xxxiv. c. 26.) Cleomenes to have been *the tyrant of Sparta*.—Plutarch has dealt more fairly by him; blaming his acts that deserved censure; and, at the same time, doing justice to the noble and princely qualities of this extraordinary man. Plutarch therefore we have chiefly followed, without losing sight of the information that was to be found in other writers.—As to Pausanias, his account of Cleomenes deserves little regard. He tells us (in Corinthiacis) of Eurydamidas, a young prince on the throne jointly with him, whom he took off by poison, though neither Polybius nor Plutarch make mention of such a king. And he would have us even believe, that the Lacedaemonians held him in abhorrence; in express contradiction to the testimony of the two last-mentioned historians, from whom it appears, that, notwithstanding the unhappy issue of the wars he engaged in, and the calamities brought upon Sparta by their means, he was still held in high veneration among



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marches
against the
enemy;

lays waste the
territories of
Megalopolis;

forces the
Achaean
lines at He-
catombocum
and obtains a
complete
victory.

HAVING thus rendered himself absolute master of Sparta, policy as well as inclination urged him to give employment to that vigour, which he had now improved or created, and which, if not exerted abroad, might prove fatal to him at home. He²² marched his Spartans into the territories of Megalopolis, which he plundered and laid waste, none daring to oppose him; and, after some other exploits of this depredatory nature, he prepared to carry the war into the heart of Achaia. The Achaeans had formed a strong encampment at Hecatombocum, a place at some distance from Dymé, one of their frontier towns near the Elean borders; in which situation they expected, in case the Spartans attempted this pass, to inclose them between Dymé and the Achaean camp, and render their escape difficult. Cleomenes was not to be deterred. He began by ravaging the other side of Achaia, which he had entered from the Arcadian frontier, and, advancing at length towards them, he attacked them on this very ground, where they had fortified themselves with so much confidence, forced their lines, and defeated them with great slaughter. This was the severest blow the Achaeans had yet received. Their army had been composed of the flower of their nation; and they were almost all cut off. Their allies, besides, were falling off. The Mantincans before this period, after putting the Achaean garrison in their city to the sword, had called in the Spartans. And the same spirit was now said to prevail

among them; so that, though a captive in Egypt, they refused, as long as he lived, to have any other king, in hopes of his restoration. See Polyb. L. iv. c. 35. et Plutarch in Cleomene.

²² Plutarch in Cleom. et Arato.



in most of the other cities of Peloponnesus. In this emergency, they had not even Aratus to depend upon. Not knowing what measures to pursue, or whom to employ, they had applied to him, and again had offered him the command. But, either in resentment of the disgrace he lately experienced, as his friends would have it believed, or discouraged perhaps by the difficult posture of affairs, he had declined to be employed.

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THE only resource left them was to sue to Cleomenes for conditions of peace. The king of Lacedaemon required, that Sparta should be restored to her former pre-eminence among the nations of Peloponnesus; that he himself should be considered as the head of the Achaean confederacy; and be permitted to direct their councils and operations. To a people in dread of much harder terms, the demand seemed moderate. A congress was accordingly appointed to be held at Lerna in Arcadia, to which Cleomenes was invited. But, unhappily for Greece, a sudden indisposition obliged him to return to Sparta; and the final settlement of the various arrangements of the proposed pacification was postponed until his recovery.

Achaean are reduced to sue for peace to Cleomenes.

MEAN while, Aratus had found means to resume his former influence in the Achaean councils. He looked upon the present establishment of Achaia as the work of his wisdom; and he could not bear to think, that the Spartans, whom he had been accustomed to number among the dependents of his republic, should now take the lead, and prescribe laws; or that the prize, for which he had been contending

Aratus resumes his influence;

Qq 2

thirty



Book IV. thirty and three years²³, the monument of his fame, and the
Sect. 2. recompence of all his cares, should, in the decline of life, be
 wrested from him by a young prince, whose name till now
 was hardly known. Agitated by these reflections, he em-
 ployed himself in devising means to elude the intended mea-
 sure. A second congress had been appointed at Argos, and
 Cleomenes, with a respectable force, was on his way to that
 city. Aratus took this opportunity to execute his purpose.
 Under a show of zeal for the public safety, he threw out
 surmises of the intentions of Cleomenes; he hinted to the
 Achaeans, how dangerous it might be to admit within the
 city a body of enemies led on by a young ambitious warrior;
 and at last prevailed on them to dispatch an embassy to
 the Spartan king, requiring him not to come within the
 gates of Argos, unless he came alone; in which case three
 hundred hostages should be given for the security of his
 person; or, if he did not approve of this expedient, he might
 advance, at the head of his army, to a certain spot without
 the walls, called the Cyllarabis, where the wrestlers performed
 their exercises, and in that place they would treat with him.

contrives to
 prevent a
 peace with
 Sparta.

²³ Aratus was twenty years old when he delivered Sicyon. Eight years after, he restored also Corinth to her liberties, two years before the death of Antigonus Gonatas. He was therefore thirty years old at the time of Gonatas's death, which happened about the 4th year of the 133d Olympiad, 244 years before Christ. Demetrius, the successor of Gonatas, reigned ten years. If therefore, at the time when the victorious arms of Cleomenes obliged the Achaeans to have recourse to Macedon, thirty-three years had elapsed since Aratus first entered on the administration of affairs, it follows, that the calling in of Antigonus must have been about the 2d or 3d year of the 139th Olympiad, or the 222d or 221st year before Christ; Aratus being then aged about fifty-three years.

To



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To a prince naturally high-spirited, and at this period elated with victory, it might easily be foreseen what an appearance of mockery such a proposal would carry with it. He treated both message and messenger with the utmost disdain; and, in a high and menacing tone, discovered his sense of the indignity offered to his character. It is said, that afterwards, when too late, Cleomenes discovered the part Aratus had acted on this occasion.

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Cleomenes, affronted by the Achaeans, breaks off negotiating.

Thus, through the high spirit of one chief, and the duplicity of another, was the only measure which could have preserved Greece from bondage, irretrievably lost. Had Aratus, truly faithful to his country, placed his glory in her happiness, and been content with his counsels to assist operations, which now he had neither capacity nor courage to lead; or had Cleomenes, subduing resentment, condescended, on Aratus's own terms, to have entered Argos, where probably his demands, supported by his presence and persuasive powers, had found little opposition; they might have then prevented, what after that day there never was another opportunity of preventing; the ruin of their country. But the pride of Cleomenes, and the far more criminal pride and duplicity of Aratus, forbade it. And to that fatal pride Greece owed her destruction.

The artifice and ruinous measures of Aratus:

It is remarkable, that both Aratus and Cleomenes had the same scheme in view; both wished to unite all the nations of Peloponnesus into one commonwealth, and, by this means, to form such a bulwark for the defence of the common liberties of Greece, as might have bidden defiance to every foreign power. The only question was, to what people,



Book IV. people, and to what chief was the direction to be committed?
 Sect. 2: Aratus was determined that he would have the glory of doing
 all, or that no other should save or aggrandize his country; and,
 rather than suffer the administration to be in any hands but his
 own, resolved to throw all things into confusion. Unfortunately
 for mankind, there hardly has been a country, or an age, that
 has not had its Aratus!

the conse-
 quences
 throughout
 Peloponne-
 sus and the
 parts adjoin-
 ing.

THE breaking-off the treaty of pacification occasioned a
 general ferment throughout all Peloponnesus. Cleomenes,
 fired, at the indignity the Achaeans had offered, urged the
 war with more vigour than ever; he ravaged their ter-
 ritories, and he sacked their towns. Even in those places,
 which his arms had not yet reached, every thing threatened
 insurrection and hostility to the Achaeans, either from the
 intrigues of the Spartan emissaries, or from the rankling
 suspicions to which the conduct of Aratus had given birth.
 The Athenians, as well as the Aetolians, refused to assist Achaia.
 Aristomachus, formerly tyrant of the Argives, and now a
 member of the Achaean confederacy, betrayed Argos to the
 Spartan king. The Corinthians were on the point of deli-
 vering their city into his hands; and even Sicyon must have
 been lost, had not a timely discovery prevented the conspi-
 racy from taking effect.

Aratus con-
 ceives the
 thought of
 calling in the
 Macedoni-
 ans;

THESE mischiefs, nevertheless, with the guilt of which
 Aratus could not but charge himself, served only to hurry
 him into counsels pregnant with circumstances still more
 fatal. Resolved, at any risque, to exclude Sparta from the
 superintendency of Peloponnesian affairs, he fixed upon a
 measure the most pernicious, that any statesman of Greece
 could



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could in these times have adopted²⁴. The power then the most formidable to the Grecian liberties, was the kingdom of Macedon. Since the days of Philip, it had been the favourite object of its princes to bring Greece into subjection. The terror and devastation of war, the insidious arts of corruption and intrigue, whatever, indeed, could contribute to the breaking of that republican spirit, which animated her councils, had to this end been successfully employed. To these dangerous neighbours Aratus, as we have seen, had from his early years distinguished himself by his opposition; and to this noble opposition, which had rescued Greece from Macedonian usurpation, he owed all the glory of his life. But a total change of principles was now to take place. Rather than see Cleomenes at the head of Greece, he conceived the pernicious thought of making Antigonus of Macedon the instrument of Sparta's destruction. In order to accomplish this, he proposed to restore the Macedonians to the full possession of that power, from which he himself had driven them; and, from motives of envy and disappointed ambition, to invest its natural enemies with the sovereignty of his country.

THERE lay, however, two powerful obstacles in his way. In Greece the attempt was unpopular; and Antigonus seemed regardless of ambitious projects. With this prince Aratus had not the least connection, and he must have been considered by him as a person most hostile to

difficulties in
his way;

²⁴ Polyb. L. ii. c. 47, & seq. Plutarch in Cleomen. & Arato.

the



BOOK IV. the Macedonian interest. With his usual address, however,
Sect. 2. he surmounted both these difficulties.

his manner
of surmount-
ing them.

MEGALOPOLIS, of all the cities of Peloponnesus, lay the most exposed to invasions from Laconia; and there had antiently subsisted a friendly intercourse between the Megalopolitans and the Macedonians. Having gained over to his views two of the principal men of this city, he directed them to apply to the Achaean states for protection against Sparta; and, should they not be able to grant it, which Aratus well knew, they were not, to ask permission to implore the aid of Antigonus. The scheme succeeded as he had wished, and his instruments were appointed to proceed to the Macedonian court. He then instructed them, to mention him favourably to the king; to be active in removing from his mind the prejudices he might have conceived against him; and to offer him whatever pledge he should desire of the devotion and future fealty of Aratus. They were particularly to represent to Antigonus, that his interests and those of Achaia were the same; that the enterprising Cleomenes, when he had once subjected Greece, would soon make his way to the Macedonian frontiers; and that what Antigonus might now easily accomplish in Peloponnesus, he might find difficult to effect within his own kingdom, if invaded by a prince made bold by success, and made strong by his victories, whose very name would invite to his banners all the antient enemies of Macedon.

Antigonus
averse from
meddling

HITHERTO, as we have already observed, Antigonus had affected a total disregard of Grecian affairs. The expelling
even



even of the Macedonian garrisons from the Grecian towns, had not provoked him to interfere. And though often solicited by many of the states of Greece, and lately by the Actolians in particular, to take advantage of the present distractions, he had always, attentive to the prosperity of his own kingdom, steadily refused the invitation.

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with the affairs of Greece;

BUT now, to see the leader of Achaia his suppliant, and those very Achaeans, by whom his predecessors had been expelled from Peloponnesus, voluntarily opening their gates to him; to be presented with the opportunity of humbling that Sparta, which had held in scorn the mightiest of Macedon's kings; to enjoy the prospect of uniting Greece and Macedon into one sovereignty, and of seeing himself master of what even Alexander could never boast; were temptations, which even the temperate mind of Antigonus could not withstand.

but yields to the solicitations of the Achaeans:

HE promised all that was desired. Aratus, to give the more credit to the negotiation, had sent his own son to Antigonus by way of hostage; who stipulated, on the part of Achaia—"That the citadel of Corinth should be delivered into the king's hands—that he should be at the head of the Achaean confederacy, superintend their councils, and direct their operations—that money and provisions should be supplied at their expence, for the support of his army—that neither embassy nor letter should be sent to any power, without his approbation—nor any city, state, or people, be from that time admitted into the Achaean league, without his express consent²⁵." The two last stipulations were, in

extraordinary compact made by Aratus with Antigonus;

²⁵ See Polyb. L. ii. et passim. Plutarch in Arato.

R r

fact,



Book IV. fact, bonds of allegiance to Antigonus. They had their
 Sect. 2. foundation in the original confederacy of the Achaean states;
 but were at this time new-modelled, to serve the purpose of
 the present negotiation; and in this form, the several mem-
 bers of the Achaean league were required to swear to the
 observation of them: which oath was to be administered every
 year. From these articles it is evident, that the Achaean
 liberties were now but a name. The lord of Achaia was
 Antigonus.

the duplicity
 of Aratus;

IT is not, however, to be imagined, that Aratus ventured
 at once to avow every clause of this exceptionable compact.
 The whole transaction seems to have been the work of
 subtilty and dark disguise. Even previous to the appoint-
 ment of the second congress at Argos, it appears from
 Plutarch, that he had entered privately into a negotiation with
 Antigonus; and probably most of the articles here mention-
 ed were kept secret for a time, and disclosed gradually, as
 the nature of the case made it necessary, and as the power of
 Antigonus came to be more firmly established²⁶.

indignation
 of the Pello-
 ponnesian
 states at this
 transaction.

WHEN the other Peloponnesian states, especially those who
 had lately felt the yoke of Macedon, found their suspicions
 turned to certainty, and that it was determined they should

²⁶ Aratus, throughout this whole transaction, appears to have conducted himself
 with the greatest subtilty. Though the scheme was his own, in public he affected to
 have many difficulties concerning its expediency, and to offer many specious objections;
 which, doubtless, at the same time, his creatures had instructions, and were pre-
 pared to answer. Even in Aratus's Commentaries, Polybius himself (L. ii. c. 47.)
 acknowledges, that several material circumstances respecting this business were
 omitted by him, conscious it was not to his honour that the world should be apprized
 of them.



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again be given up into the hands of their oppressors, they were exasperated to the utmost against Achaia. So violent, in particular, were the people at Corinth, that they rose against Aratus to put him to death; and with difficulty he escaped from the city. Their only hopes were now in Cleomenes, the last refuge of the Grecian liberties; who, unequal as he appeared to the dangers he had to encounter, seemed to draw fresh vigour from his difficulties. Upon the first advice of the Macedonians being in motion, he had entered the isthmus, and had taken possession of a pass ²⁷ on the Oean mountains, which commanded the opening of the defile on the northern side; so that, whilst he continued in this position, it was impracticable for Antigonus to force his way, nor could he be joined by his friends from Peloponnesus; Aratus, who with the demiurgi had been deputed to wait on Antigonus, being obliged to cross the Corinthian gulph in order to get to the Macedonian camp ²⁸. But it was not possible that Cleomenes should provide for the safety of every place. The Achaeans found means to surprisè Argos, with a design to cut off the communication of Cleomenes with Sparta. This laid the Spartan king under the necessity of returning back into Peloponnesus, and to leave the pass open for the Macedonians.

Cleomenes possesses himself of the Corinthian isthmus;

is forced to abandon it;

the pass open for the Macedonians;

Such a formidable body of auxiliaries, for the Macedonians amounted in numbers to near twenty-two thousand men, soon enabled the Achaeans to resume their superiority in Peloponnesus. Corinth, with most of the other cities, which had declared for Sparta, surrendered to Antigonus;

most of the Peloponnesian cities surrender to Antigonus;

²⁷ Polyb. L. ii. c. 52.

²⁸ Plutarch in Arato.

R r 2

and



Book IV. and in less than one campaign, Cleomenes had nothing but
 Sect. 2. Laconia remaining. Amidst this wreck of his public fortunes,
 the distress of he lost the virtuous Agiatis, whose excellent sense and tender
 Cleomenes; affection had been his resource in his severest exigencies.
 And, as if every comfort were to be withdrawn from him,
 Ptolemy Euergetes, then king of Egypt, to whom he had
 applied for succours, refused to grant his request, unless his
 mother and his children were sent into Egypt as pledges of
 his fidelity. The perfidy which the Egyptian king had ex-
 perience from the Achaeans, in deserting his alliance, and
 calling in Antigonus, had induced Ptolemy, a prince other-
 wise remarkably humane, to make this ungenerous requisition;
 with which, however, such was the situation of his
 affairs, that Cleomenes was forced to comply”.

He obtains a
 supply of
 men and
 money;

His spirit, nevertheless, remained still unsubdued. Besides what he had received from Egypt, he had contrived to raise at home a farther supply of men and money, by enfranchising such of the Helotes as could pay a certain fine.

” The reader will not be displeas'd to find here, the account which Plutarch has preserved to us, of the noble firmness of Cratesiclea, the mother of Cleomenes, on this affecting occasion, when the necessity of affairs oblig'd this prince to send her and his children to Egypt. Having conducted them to Taenarus, where they were to take shipping, the hour of parting being come, his wonted fortitude forsook him; and the fierce warrior was seen to melt into the tender son and fond parent. Cratesiclea with concern mark'd his emotion; and, drawing him aside into an adjoining temple, “ King of Sparta,” said she to him, clasping her aged arms around him, and pressing him to her bosom, “ take care that, when we go hence, no one may perceive us weeping, or behaving in any shape unworthy of the illustrious city that gave us birth. *This alone* is in our power; the issue is in the hands of God.” This said; composing her countenance, she embark'd, bearing her grandson in her arms, and order'd the pilot, to put to sea with all possible expedition.—*Plutarch in Cleomenes.*

for.



for their freedom, and by inlisting among his troops a great many more of those that were fit for military service. Thus recruited in strength, he determined to strike terror into the enemy. The city of Megalopolis has been already mentioned. It was one of the most considerable in Peloponnesus, and scarcely inferior even to Sparta; stately, populous, opulent, and, from its situation, of great importance; commanding most parts of Arcadia, of which it was the chief city. It had been planned by the illustrious Epaminondas, as a strong hold for the Arcadians, at that time scattered mostly in defenceless villages, and to curb the power of Sparta. Cleomenes formed the design of surprising this city, though the Achaeans lay encamped on the one side, and the Macedonians on the other. With this view he deceived the enemy by a feint march, as if he had intended to fall on Argos; but he turned suddenly short, and was in possession of Megalopolis, before either Antigonus or Aratus suspected his purpose. He had a particular view in forming this enterprize. The Megalopolitans were the sanguine friends of Macedon, and he hoped, by the possession of their city, to have it in his power to detach them from Antigonus; an object certainly of the highest moment to his affairs, could it have been effected. He accordingly sent messengers after the inhabitants, most of whom had escaped by flight, and offered to restore the city, with all the spoil, entire and unhurt, on condition of their renouncing the friendship of the Macedonian king: but the Megalopolitans, at the instigation of Philopoemen, afterwards a distinguished character in the Achaean history, having rejected the offer, Cleomenes was so transported with resentment, that he plundered the city, and caused it to be laid in ruins.

Book IV.
Sect. 2.

surprises
Megalopolis.

and lays it in
ruins:

THIS



BOOK IV. THIS was a deep wound to the Achaean interest; and
Sect. 2. we may judge of its magnitude from what Plutarch relates.

the affliction
of Aratus and
the Achaeans
on this occa-
sion.

The general assembly of Achaia had met, and Aratus was preparing to harangue them, when he received the tidings. He mounted the suggestum; but, unable to speak, he burst into tears, covering his face with his robe. After some minutes of extreme agitation and distress, the whole assembly calling out to know what it was that thus moved him, with difficulty at length he uttered, "Megalopolis is destroyed by Cleomenes!" Consternation instantly filled every breast; all public business was suspended; and the convention broke up in silent amazement and horror.

Cleomenes
attempts Ar-
gos, in order
to bring on
an engage-
ment;

EMBOLDENED by this success, Cleomenes, at the opening of the ensuing spring, appeared before Argos, where Antigonus was encamped, and defied him to battle; but his challenge not being accepted, he spread devastation through all the country around. His purpose was, either to force the Macedonian king to the field, whilst most of his troops were still in their winter-cantonments, or to excite against him the indignation of the Argives. But neither his insults nor their murmurs moved Antigonus. He saw clearly, that this predatory war, however successful, must nevertheless prove, in the end, of little service to Cleomenes; whose army, consisting mostly of mercenaries, were not to be kept together without regular pay, for which he had no fund to depend upon, but the precarious remittances from Egypt. Antigonus, on the contrary, rich in treasure, saw the advantage he must derive from thence; and, by opposing Cleomenes at first, faintly, yet cautiously, he artfully adhered to a
plan



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plan of operations, which, it was evident, must soon exhaust his adversary.

Book IV.
Sect. 2.

BAFFLED in this manner by a subtil foe, and pressed by his own difficulties, Cleomenes found himself obliged to retire again within Laconia. Besides, the Macedonian and Peloponnesian forces now assembling, he began to fear that Sparta was their object, and he resolved to cover it, if possible, from insult. Near the town of Selafia, the road leading to Sparta became exceedingly narrow, being confined between two hills, the Efa and the Olympus, both high and difficult of ascent; and in the glen, that divided these hills, ran the Oenus, along one of the banks of which the road extended. This pass Cleomenes undertook to defend. On one hill was stationed his brother Euclidas, with part of the army, whilst he himself took post on the other; the bottom of each hill, and the opening of the defile, being secured by a ditch and a strong rampart.

retreats to
Selafia, in
order to co-
ver Sparta;

entrenches
himself

ANTIGONUS, who soon approached, beheld with admiration the position of the enemy. Whatever could render the appearance of an army formidable, or add to the natural strength of this important pass, had been performed; and no part was to be seen on which an impression could be made with effect. Though considerably superior in point of numbers³⁰, he had too much wisdom to hazard an attack upon men drawn up so advantageously; he encamped therefore at a distance on the plain below, in order to observe the motions

with great
skill;

³⁰ He was thirty thousand strong, and the Spartans were but twenty thousand.

of



Book IV. of his enemy, and take his measures as circumstances might offer. This deliberate caution and coolness of Antigonus, prepared the way for the ruin of Cleomenes, who had expected, that the Macedonians would immediately have advanced; all his hopes resting on the speedy decision of a battle. His supplies from Egypt had failed; yet he carefully concealed from his army the distressed state of his finances, being well assured, that, should it once be suspected, his mercenaries would instantly crumble away, and leave him to the mercy of Antigonus. Any fortune seemed to him preferable; and, rather than be reduced to a dilemma so humiliating, he determined to throw open his entrenchments, and, without farther delay, to risque an engagement.

Forced to hazard an engagement;

THE same admirable skill which he had exhibited in forming his encampment, he now shewed in the disposition of his army; and he charged with such vigour the Macedonians, who, led on by Antigonus, had attacked the wing in which he fought, that for some time he compelled the phalanx to give ground, and had nearly wrested the victory from them. But the injudicious management of Euclidas, according to Polybius³¹, or, according to others³², the treachery of an officer in the Spartan army, corrupted by Antigonus, having caused the total discomfiture of the other wing, the confusion soon involved the whole Spartan line; and Cleomenes, overpowered by numbers, most of his men having fallen, was forced at length to quit the field.

³¹ See Polyb. L. ii. c. 68.

³² See Plutarch in Cleomene.



HE fled to Sparta; informed the citizens of the disastrous event; and advised them to submit to Antigonus. "For my part," continued he, "I am prepared either to live or to die, as the one or the other may be most for the interest of my country." He then retired to his own house, where he refused every kind of refreshment, not even suffering his armour to be taken off; but after having leaned his head for a few minutes against a pillar, he set off for Gythium, the principal station of the Spartan fleets; and, with some chosen friends, going immediately on board, stretched away for Egypt³³.

Book IV.
Sect. 2.

fies to Spar-
ta,

and from
thence to
Egypt:

³³ A farther insight into the character of this prince, may be had from a curious anecdote recorded of him when on his way to Egypt. Therycion, one of the Spartans who attended him, borne down by his reverse of fortune, proposed to Cleomenes to kill himself, setting off the proposal with that specious colouring, which the imbecillity of an oppressed mind is apt to mistake for argument. "Think-est thou, wicked man," replied Cleomenes, "to shew thy fortitude by rushing upon death, a refuge always easily to be had, and which every man has open to him? That were a slight far more shameful than even that to which we have now been compelled. Better men than we are, have, either by the fortune of arms, or overpowered by numbers, left the field of battle to their enemies; but the man, who, to avoid pain and calamity, or from a slavish regard to the praise or censures of men, gives up the contest, is overcome by his own cowardice. If we are to seek for death, that death ought to be in action, not in the deserting of action; for it argues baseness to live or to die to ourselves. By adopting thy expedient, all that we can gain is, to get rid of our present difficulties, without either glory to ourselves, or benefit to our country. In hopes, then, that we shall some time or other be of service to our country, both thou and I, methinks, are bound to preserve life. Whenever these hopes shall have altogether abandoned us, death, if sought for, will readily be found." Plutarch in Cleomene.

Traits such as these place a character in a strong light. With such sentiments, it is difficult to suppose this prince to have been the unfeeling tyrant, which some authors have described.—At last, it is true, he fell by his own hand; but that was in the transport of despair. His cool judgment had condemned the rash deed.

S f

His



BOOK IV. His adventures in Ægypt belong rather to the history
 Sect. 2. of that kingdom; at present it may be sufficient to mention a few of the principal circumstances.

adventures
 in that king-
 dom

PTOLEMY Euergetes, whose ally he had for some time been, received him honourably; and, when better acquainted with his character, held him in the highest esteem; lamenting that he had not assisted him more effectually, and promising to take the first opportunity of replacing him on the throne of his ancestors. This probably he might have effected; but, dying soon afterwards, he was succeeded by his son Ptolemy Philopator; a prince totally the reverse of what his father had been; immersed in dissoluteness; and governed altogether by an insolent and rapacious minister. Cleomenes had too great a spirit to brook the indignities, which he experienced from this vicious court. Ptolemy's ministers marked his resentment; and, enraged that he should dare to be displeased, they added insult to injury, till, fired by his wrongs, this unhappy prince would have revenged them by open violence; but he perished in the wild attempt, after he had lived about three years in Egypt³⁴.

and fatal
 end.

Generous
 treatment
 of the Spar-
 tans by Anti-
 gonus.

SPARTA, which till this period had never suffered the fate of a captive city, could not have fallen into the power of a more merciful conqueror. Antigonus³⁵, rather a protector than an enemy, would not permit the least injury to be offered to any part of the city, or inhabitants, but contented himself with re-establishing the jurisdiction

³⁴ See Plutarch in Cleomene.

³⁵ See Polyb. L. ii. c. 70. et L. v. c. 9.

of



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of the Ephori, as it had been before the time of Cleomenes. He even shewed a tender regard for the interests of that unfortunate prince; for, observing that the Spartans, by whom he was affectionately remembered, could not bear the thought of another king whilst he survived, Antigonus complied with their wishes, and left the throne open as he found it. He staid in Sparta but three days, being recalled home by a sudden emergency, which demanded his immediate presence. So critical was the fate of Cleomenes. Had the latter deferred fighting for three days longer, Antigonus must have withdrawn his troops, and Cleomenes been relieved.

Book IV.
Sect. 2.

He is called home by an incursion of barbarians,

It had been, as we have already observed, a favourite maxim with Antigonus, notwithstanding he had of late been induced to depart from it, "that foreign conquests were not to be obtained but at the expence of the happiness of his own kingdom." And it is remarkable, how fully the last scenes of his life verified his observation. Encouraged by his absence, a multitude of Illyrians, and the barbarous nations adjoining, had made an inroad into Macedon, and committed dreadful devastation. And it was the account of this irruption that had hastened the return of Antigonus into his own dominions. The barbarians, who had as yet found no force able to oppose them, heard of his approach undismayed; and even advanced to meet him, in full confidence of victory. The battle was decisive against them; but it was also fatal to the Macedonians. The king, by the violent exertion of his voice during the engagement, burst a blood-vessel; and the large effusion of blood, that followed, having thrown him into a languishing state, he

defeats the invaders;

bursts a blood-vessel,

S f 2

died



BOOK IV. died³⁶ in a few days, universally lamented for his great military abilities, but much more for his exalted virtues, and the noble generosity of soul by which he had been distinguished³⁷. Among many instances of his humane disposition, the manner, in which he used his victories, is particularly recorded. For he seemed to forget, that the vanquished had ever been his foes; his first care was, to soften their lot, and, as far as consisted with the public safety, to restore to them those privileges and enjoyments, of which other conquerors would have had a pride in depriving them. In what manner he behaved to the Spartans, we have seen. And such, Polybius informs us, was their veneration for him, though the captor of their virgin-city, that, far from considering him as an enemy, by whom they had been humbled, they proclaimed him in the general assembly of Greece their *benefactor* and *preserver*³⁸. He reigned but sixteen years, too short a period for the happiness of his kingdom and of mankind.

Sect. 2.
and dies,
lamented by
all Greece.

Character of
this prince.

ANTIGONUS certainly appears to have been one of the ablest princes that ever sat on the throne of Macedon; to him probably was owing that vigour, which the Macedonians, after all their losses, were enabled to exert in the succeeding reign; and, had his example been imitated by his successors, it may fairly be conjectured, that the fate of Macedon, if not prevented, had been at least not so rapid and

³⁶ OLYMP. CXXXIX. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 220. See Polyb. L. ii. c. 70.

³⁷ Polyb. L. ii. c. 70. It appears from Polybius, that in military reputation he was one of the first among the princes of his time.

³⁸ Ευεργέτης καὶ σωτήρ.—See Polyb. L. ix. c. 30.

humiliating.



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humiliating. In his last hours he took care to confirm the appointment he had already made, of Philip, the son of Demetrius, to succeed him on the throne³⁹.

BOOK IV.
SECT. 2.

He appoints
Philip to suc-
ceed him.

³⁹ Antigonus is known in history by the name of *Dofon, the promifer*. He acquired this name, Plutarch tells us, from his facility in promising and his slowness in performing. But, if by this we are to understand, that he either was avaricious, or that he employed that low expedient, to which shallow politicians have often recourse, of encreasing the number of their dependents by holding out alluring promises, which they never propose to fulfil, we shall conceive of him a very different character from what is ascribed to him by Polybius, who lived near his time. Possibly, at his accession, he had the importunities of self-interested courtiers to contend with; and from his natural facility of temper, and the difficulty of his situation, he was often under a necessity to put off, in the gentlest manner he could, expectations, which were not to be gratified but at the expence of the public weal. And thence, perhaps, was the name given to him by some of the witlings of the age; and, as the points of satire are more faithfully remembered than actions of well-earned praise, Antigonus retains to this day the name of *Dofon*.

HISTORY



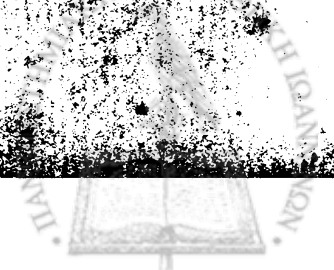
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HISTORY OF GREECE.

B O O K V.

S E C T I O N I.

C O N T E N T S.

Philip, the last of the Macedonian kings of that name, succeeds to the kingdom upon the death of the second Antigonus—prosperous state of Macedon at his accession—he enters into a confederacy with the states of Achaia against the Aetolians—entertains thoughts of reducing the several Greek republics—prevented by Aratus—endeavours to weaken the influence of Aratus—fails—affects to treat him with confidence—his ministers grow jealous of Aratus—and seek his destruction, though to the ruin of their master's affairs—Philip discovers their treasonable practices—proceeds with severity against them.

PHILIP ascended the throne¹ with the general applause of all Macedon². The extraordinary care bestowed on his education, the instructions he was known to have received from the late king, the opportunity he had enjoyed of observ-

Book V.
Sect. I.

The last Philip ascends the throne of Macedon :

¹ OLYMP. CXXXIX. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 216.
P. 1371. de virt. et vitis.

² See Polyb. Casaub. Oct.



Book V. ing the virtues of that excellent prince, together with the
 Sect. 1. high expectations which his own natural endowments had
 taught his subjects to form of him, induced them to hope,
 that in him Antigonus would be revived; and, though only
 in his seventeenth year at the time of his accession, his
 manner of entering on the government strengthened these
 expectations: intelligent, affable, munificent, attentive to
 the several duties of the royal station, he appeared to have
 no other end in view but the happiness of Macedon, and
 to have every qualification necessary to accomplish that great
 object.

his cha-
 racter.

Prosperous
 state of Ma-
 cedon at his
 accession.

MACEDON, at the same time, had never been in a more
 flourishing condition. The wise policy of the last reign had
 restored industry and opulence; her cities were populous; her
 lands cultivated, and covered with inhabitants; and her armies
 high in reputation for discipline and courage. The barbarian
 borderers had been lately humbled; and even that spirit of
 hostility, which for ages had animated the councils of Greece
 against Macedon, had almost died away. Who could have
 thought, that these were the times, and this the prince, destined
 to humble this ancient kingdom, and to prepare the way for
 its final ruin!

The Aetoli-
 ans invade
 Achaia.

THE Aetolians³ were the first people to disturb the peace
 of Greece. The jealousy, which they had long entertained
 of the Achaean states, was much increased by that importance
 which Achaia had assumed from her alliance with Macedon;
 and no sooner were they relieved from the dread of Antigonus,

³ Polyb. L. iv. c. 3. et seq. Plut. in Arato.

than



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BOOK V.
SECT. I.

than the Aetolian bands poured again into Peloponnesus. They landed on the Achacan coast, which after ravaging, they proceeded to a strong hold they possessed on the Messenian frontier; from whence they made severe depredations on all the country around. These, however, were said to have been only private adventurers, who went forth merely for the sake of plunder, without the authority, and, as it was pretended, even without the knowledge of the Aetolian government.

TIMOXENUS, then general of Achaia, whose term of office was nearly expired, declining to march against them, Aratus, general-elect, assumed the command, and, taking the field, required them instantly to leave Peloponnesus. They promised they would: but Aratus, although he had already dismissed a part of his force, suspecting the sincerity of their intentions, and finding, as he thought, a favourable opportunity of chastising these unprovoked plunderers, attacked them on their march near Caphyae, a town of Arcadia; but meeting with an unexpected and vigorous resistance, he was entirely defeated.

Aratus
marches
against them,

and is de-
feated,

THE blame of this discomfiture fell wholly on Aratus. He had presumed to act, though not in office; he had weakened his army, whilst the enemy was yet in the field; and he had exposed his troops to slaughter by his rashness and the ill-digested orders he had given. To answer to these articles of charge, he was summoned before the convention of the Achaean states; and he had probably been condemned, had not an open confession of his error deprecated the resentment of his judges. The fault, nevertheless, was not al-

partly by his
own fault,

T t

together



BOOK V. together to be imputed to him. It appears, that the Achae-
 Sect. 1. an troops had been deficient in discipline and in courage.
 and partly by The pernicious effects of their having called in the aid of
 the fault of foreign arms, both Polybius* and Plutarch⁵ inform us, be-
 the Achae- gan already to be felt. And the Achaeans, who thought no
 ans. enterprize too arduous, whilst left to the exertion of their
 own vigour; those men, who with such glory to themselves
 had established the liberties of Achaia, now reposing themselves
 on the power of Macedon, had sunk insensibly into sloth,
 timidity, and weakness.

THE evil was not at present to be remedied. And no-
 thing remained to the Achaeans but the alternative of making
 friends of the Aetolians, by admitting them to a share in the
 administration of Grecian affairs (an object which the Aeto-
 lians seem long to have had in view) or to implore the assist-
 ance of the Macedonian king. The former must have been
 a measure of wiser policy; as the strength of Greece would
 then have been collected into one formidable confederacy;
 and the different states, by pursuing separate interests, had not
 hastened the ruin of their common liberties. But the pride
 of Aratus led him to a more pernicious choice. He could
 not bear that Achaia should yield up, or even divide a sove-
 reignty, which however was now little more than nomi-
 nal; and still less that she should receive orders from those to
 whom she had been accustomed to prescribe them. Aratus,
 besides, had been the first person to call in the Macedonians to
 the support of the Achaean body; and he would not seem to

* Aratus ap-
 plies to Phi-
 lip for aid.

* See Polyb. L. iv. c. 7.

⁵ Plutarch. in Arato.

condemn



condemn a measure, which had originated from himself. Unfortunately for Greece, the counsels of Aratus prevailed.

BOOK V.
SECT. I.

PHILIP received the application with pleasure. To see himself, at the opening of his reign, the acknowledged arbiter of Greece, and to have the first of the Peloponnesian states taking shelter under his protection, were circumstances too flattering for a young prince, to be considered with indifference; whilst his compliance with the request of the Achaeans gave him an opportunity, at the same time, of shewing his regard to the injunctions of the late king, who had charged him to cultivate the friendship of Aratus, and to pay particular attention to the counsels of that experienced statesman.

Philip's pride gratified by this application :

HE accordingly promised, as soon as he had settled the affairs of his own kingdom, to repair to Corinth, in order to meet the convention of the states in alliance with Achaia; and in conjunction with them to settle their plan of future operations.

he promises to co-operate with Achaia.

DURING these transactions, the Aetolians had committed a fresh act of violence, far more outrageous as their enemies, affected to represent it, than any thing they had yet been guilty of*. Making a new inroad into Peloponnesus, they had sacked Cynaetha, a city of Arcadia, putting to the sword most of the inhabitants, and laying the place in ruins. The inhabitants of Cynaetha had, it seems, been long noted for fierce and barbarous manners. Some time before the pre-

The Aetolians sack Cynaetha.

* See Polyb. L. iv. c. 17.



BOOK V. sent period, one party of them had risen against another,
 Sect. I. whom they drove into banishment; but the exiles, on certain conditions, having obtained their recall, contrived to betray the city to the Actolians, who, without distinction of friend or foe, exterminated the whole inhabitants. How far the wickedness of the Cynaethans might afford an apology for this inhuman proceeding, it is now difficult to say. So exceedingly great, it certainly appears, was their profligacy, that they were held in such abhorrence by the rest of the Arcadians, that into some of their cities it was even deemed a defilement to admit them. What makes this profligacy the more worthy of historical notice, is the extraordinary manner in which antient writers account for it.

The neglect
 of music the
 cause of its
 misfortunes :

THEY ascribe it⁷ to a neglect of the study of music. The Arcadians, say they, being accustomed, from the unkindly soil they had to cultivate, to a rough and hardy life, and breathing an air keen and inclement, required some gentler relaxation to soften and humanize their minds, which might otherwise have contracted an asperity similar to that of the country they inhabited; and this alteration, experience taught them, music had the power of effecting in a greater degree than any other species of amusement. Music was accordingly, with them, the great national object. Their children, from the time they first began to speak, were instructed to sing hymns to the gods, and to chant the praises of their antient chieftains; and this study they were, by the laws of Arcadia, to continue until the age of thirty, no other amusement being allowed among them, nor any other

⁷ See Polyb. L. iv. c. 20, 21. & Athen. Deipnos. L. xiv.

art



art held in equal estimation. At their sacred festivals, the boys and men were obliged to make trial of their skill, and to celebrate the solemnity with melody, song, and dance. And even at their convivial meetings, every person was in his turn to raise some instructive song; which to be incapable of doing, was ignominious in the highest degree. But the Cynaethans, history tells us, having departed from the institutions of their ancestors, had degenerated into savage ferocity, delighting in cruelty, perfidy, and every vicious habit which debases the nature of man.

BOOK V.
SECT. I.

THE fact, however strange it may be esteemed in our present state of cold and artificial manners, is far from being incredible. The music here spoken of, Polybius expressly tells us, consisted of hymns and paeans in honour of their deities and ancient heroes^a, and was altogether of the moral class, conveying to the mind whatever was awful and affecting in their religion, their policy, or national events. So that songs such as these, aided besides by that power of melody^b, in which,

accounted
for.

^a Ὀμνους καὶ παιᾶνας, οἷς ἕκαστοι κατὰ τὰ πατέρα τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἠρώσκει καὶ θεῶν ὑμνοῦσι.

See Polyb. L. iv. c. 20.

^b Dr. Brown (Union of Poetry and Music, sect. 5.) insists that the boasted efficacy of ancient music among the Greek tribes was chiefly owing to the powerful and affecting song, which, according to him, derived but little aid from the musical accompaniment, their melody being exceedingly simple and inartificial. And he criticises Dacier and Montesquieu, for ascribing too much to the manual execution in those early ages. But "their music being simple and inartificial" is one of the very reasons why it was so amazingly powerful; "simplicity in melody" being a necessary requisite, as an ingenious writer confesses, (see Dr. Gregory's *Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World*.) "in all music intended to reach the heart, or even greatly to delight the ear." And thence

in.



BOOK V. which, if there is truth in the records of antient days, the
 Sect. 1. Grecian artists avowedly excelled, could not fail, especially
 when operating on young and uncorrupted minds, to inspire
 exalted sentiments, and to make the heart beat high in the
 cause of virtue¹⁰. No wonder, therefore, that the Cynae-
 theans,

in part it is, that music has always been of more consequence among the less culti-
 vated, than among what are called highly-civilized nations; the latter, by refining
 their music, and rendering it more complex, have lessened, if not destroyed, it's power
 of affecting. We may therefore venture to suppose, and the testimony of the most
 respectable of the antients justifies the conjecture, that, simple as their instrumental
 music may have been, and however unacquainted with that concertual harmony,
 probably the invention of later ages (see Sir John Hawkins's *History of Music*, B. iii.
 c. 2, 3.) it was nevertheless in strength of expression and deep pathetic force far be-
 yond any thing known amongst us. So that, with all the energy that poetry, gene-
 rous affection, and tender sentiment, can give (for to these heart-ennobling subjects
 was the antient Grecian song altogether sacred) (see Plutarch. de Musica) the songs
 of Greece had also every advantage that genuine and inspirited melody can bestow.
 When such a combination took place, among a people of quick and strong percep-
 tion, and who had not yet attained the art of suppressing their feelings, is it strange,
 that every passion, as we are told was often the case, should have confessed it's con-
 trolling power?—See Hawkins's *History of Music*, prel. disc. p. 12. B. ii. c. 2. p. 166,
 167. & B. iii. c. 1. p. 251. See also Harris on *Music, Painting, and Poetry*; and
 De Guy *Voyage en Grèce*, Lettre 36.

¹⁰ It will readily be acknowledged, that several of the effects ascribed by the
 writers of Greece to their antient music (such as, stimulating or controlling the
 passions; the relieving from bodily pain or infirmity, &c. &c.) are to be understood
 allegorically, or to be considered as the enthusiastic flights of a yet rude, and there-
 fore wondering people. Nevertheless, when we see the legislator seriously employing
 himself in regulating the music to be permitted within the state, on account of *the*
influence which, he tells us, *it had on the public manners*, it is impossible not to per-
 ceive, that their music must have had a power, which, whether the cause is in our
 manners or our musical expression, we now seek for in vain. Ecprepes, a Spartan
 Ephore, Plutarch (in Agide) informs us, cut off two of the nine strings from the
 instrument of Phrynis the musician, in order to check the voluptuousness of the
 music which this artist was introducing, and *which might destroy the harmony of*
the state. And some years after, Timotheus was prosecuted and banished from
 Sparta,



theans, by proscribing so important a part of education, should have suffered in the way we are told; as the effacing of every religious impression, and a total depravation of manners, must evidently have followed.

BOOK V.
SECT. I.

BUT how great soever the contempt in which the Cynaethans were held, the destruction of their city by the Aetolians excited much indignation throughout Peloponnesus; and the Achaean confederates being now met at Corinth, it was urged before them, as a new instance of that spirit of violence, of which the Aetolians stood accused. In such an assembly, convened under the influence of Aratus and his friends, in which the king of Macedon himself presided, every charge against the Aetolians was readily admitted. The whole convention, with joint suffrages, agreed, that the

Sparta, for having attempted the like innovation in the strings of the lyre, *to the corruption of the Spartan youth.* The decree Boethius has preserved to us—

“Whereas Timotheus the Milesian, coming to our city, has deformed the antient music, and, laying aside the use of the seven-stringed lyre, and introducing a multiplicity of notes, endeavours to corrupt the ears of our youth, by means of these his novel and complicated conceits, which he calls *chromatic*, by him employed in the room of our *established, orderly, and simple* music— It therefore seemeth good to us, the King and Ephori, after having cut off the superfluous strings of his lyre, and leaving only seven thereon, to banish the said Timotheus out of our dominions, that every one beholding the whole some severity of this city, may be deterred from bringing in amongst us any *unbecoming* customs.”—See Hawkins’s History of Music, B. ii. c. 7. and Principles and Power of Harmony. See also Boethius de Musica; et Decretum Lacedaemon. contra Timotheum miles. E. Codd. MSS. Oxoniensibus, Oxon. 1777.

Compare what this curious monument says, and what likewise Polybius and other antient writers relate concerning the Arcadian music, with the utmost that can be said of our music, considered as an instrument of national virtue; and how striking must our inferiority appear!



Book V. Aetolians were guilty; that reparation should be demanded;
 Sect. I. and that, unless it was obtained, war should forthwith be
 declared against them; and the direction of it committed to
 the Macedonian king.

Social war: SUCH was the beginning of the *social war*"', so called from
 the association entered into by the several states engaged
 against Aetolia. It commenced the first year of the 140th
 Olympiad, the same in which Hannibal laid siege to Saguntum,
 and continued for the space of three years after. Though
 this war was not attended with any overthrow of states,
 nor remarkable revolution of power, it was nevertheless in
 two respects of pernicious consequence to Greece; it gave to
 Philip an ascendant in the Grecian councils, of which a fatal
 use was afterwards made by that ambitious prince; and it
 aggravated that animosity and deep-rankling hatred, which
 had long subsisted between state and state, and which ended
 at last in the utter subversion of them all.

**Philip lays
 siege to Am-
 bracos, and
 takes it:** PHILIP began his operations in a manner that afforded
 little benefit to his Achaean allies. The Aetolians, by
 their frequent inroads into the countries that lay between
 them and the Macedonian frontiers, were become the terror
 of all the nations of those parts. The Epirots in particular,
 no longer the respectable people they once had been, were
 now fallen under a kind of subjection to the Aetolians;
 and, though disposed to follow the Macedonian banners,
 they were with-held by a dread of the Aetolian power.
 Philip formed the plan of restraining these incursions,

" Πόλεμος συμμαχικός.—See Polyb. L. ii. c. 36.

which,



which, whilst Greece appeared as the ostensible object of Book V.
his care, tended at the same time to the security of his Sect. I.
own kingdom. He accordingly laid siege to Ambracos¹², an
important fortress, commanding Ambracia and the country
adjacent, which properly belonged to Epire, but was now
in the hands of the Aetolians. Having reduced this fortress,
he put the Epirots in possession of it, and prepared to carry
the war into the heart of Aetolia.

THE fierceness of the Aetolian spirit was in no shape the Aetolians
invade Ma-
cedon,
humbled by this loss; on the contrary, whilst the enemy
was thus at their gates, they detached a large body of forces
to invade Macedon; who, after committing great devasta-
tion wherever they appeared, pushed on as far as Dium¹³, a
place of note near the Thermaic gulph, famed for its sumptu-
ous temples, which were enriched by valuable offerings, and
adorned with the monuments and statues of the Macedo-
nian kings. This city the Aetolians laid in ruins; they
spared not even the sacred edifices; and they carried off im-
mense spoils. About the same time, another Aetolian band and make
incursions
into Achaia;
had passed over into Achaia¹⁴, and nearly surprised Aegium,
one of the cities of the Achaean league; whilst a third army,
in conjunction with the Eleans, had fallen on that part of
Achaia which bordered on Elis, ravaged the territory of
Dymé, Pharae, and Tritaea, and taken Teichos, a strong
castle in that neighbourhood, by which they kept in awe
all the country around.

¹² See Polyb. L. iv. c. 61. & Palmerii Græc. Ant. L. ii. c. 7.
L. iv. c. 62.

¹⁴ Polyb. L. iv. c. 57.

¹³ Polyb.

U D

MEANWHILE,



BOOK V. MEANWHILE, every resource seemed to fail the Achaeans.
 Sect. 1. They had sent to Philip to hasten to their assistance; but
 the ravages of the Aetolians, joined to the hostile move-
 ments of the Dardanians, had already made his own domi-
 nions the first and most necessary object of his attention.
 Aratus, the general of Achaia, judged it imprudent to risk
 a battle, to which he knew himself unequal, as the merce-
 naries in the Achaean service had mutinied for want of pay;
 and the native Achaeans alone were not to be depended on.
 Their Peloponnesian confederates were all, at the same time,
 either spiritless or disaffected. Even the Messenians¹⁵, in
 whose cause chiefly Achaia had at the beginning taken up arms,
 were unwilling and afraid to act against the Aetolians, who
 kept a formidable garrison at Phialea¹⁶ on their frontiers,
 from whence they could at any time lay Messenia waste.
 Whilst the Spartans, though under no such apprehensions,
 and notwithstanding their having, at the late convention,
 pledged themselves to Achaia, had now massacred or banish-
 ed¹⁷ all their own citizens who were supposed to be in the
 interest of the Achaeans, and had openly declared against
 them.

the Spartans
 renounce
 their alli-
 ance,

It will be necessary to explain the causes of this sudden revo-
 lution in the Spartan councils; and from them we shall be in-
 structed what was the condition of Sparta at this period.

¹⁵ See Polyb. L. iv. c. 31.

¹⁶ Polybius (L. iv. c. 3, 6, & 31.) makes mention of Phigalea, a strong-hold on the Messenian borders; and (L. iv. c. 79.) of the Φιλιαις or people of Phialea, a strong-hold likewise on the borders of Messenia. From several circumstances it is probable, that it is the same strong-hold which is spoken of in all these places.

¹⁷ Polyb. L. iv. c. 34 & seq.

SINCE



FROM THE ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

331

SINCE the battle of Seláfia, where, as already related, Cleomenes was defeated by Antigonus Dofon king of Macedon, the Spartans, amidst their greatest humiliation, had ever been impatient of the domination of Achaia; to which the haughtiness of that republic had in all probability very much contributed. When the Aetolians, after the death of Antigonus, first invaded Peloponnesus, they had been disposed to join them; but the Ephori then in office could not agree about the expediency of the measure; two of them being strenuous in the cause of Achaia, the other three on the side of the Aetolians; upon which an insurrection having ensued, the Ephori in the interest of the Achaeans were slain. The arrival of Philip at Corinth, and the association of the Peloponnesian states against Aetolia, checked for a time this turbulence of spirit; and though most of the Spartans, were secretly friends to the Aetolians, they found it adviseable to disguise their sentiments, and to appear well affected to the Achaean confederacy.

Book V.
Sect. I.

from what
causes.

THE following year encouraged other views. The Achaeans, harrassed by the Aetolians, and unsupported by the king of Macedon, became less considerable; and the Aetolians openly solicited the alliance of the Spartan people. Their party was powerful; and the proposal had, without doubt, been accepted, had not the Ephori, who were then all devoted to the interests of Achaia, vigorously opposed it. This opposition proved fatal to these magistrates. They were shortly after massacred in the temple of Minerva, whilst they were employed in the performance of certain sacred rites; and other Ephori, of whose compliance the friends of Aetolia were well assured, were appointed in their

U u 2

room.



BOOK V. room. In consequence of these transactions, the Spartans
SECT. I. renounced all connection with the Achaean states, and declared
 the Aetolians their allies.

Cleomenes
dies in
Egypt.

Interested
conduct of
the Ephori ;

they sell the
Spartan
throne to Ly-
curgus,

SUCH was the situation of affairs at Sparta, when tidings arrived, that Cleomenes, of whose return they still cherished hopes, had died in Egypt. The Ephori laid hold on this occasion ; and, under the appearance of zeal for the antient Spartan polity, proposed, even at the expence of their own power, that the regal government should be restored. The nomination they made explained fully their purpose. On the throne of the elder branch they placed an infant, named Agesipolis, of the royal line, and grandson to that Cleombrotus, who had been advanced to the regal dignity upon the expulsion of Leonidas. The other throne they filled with Lycurgus, an ambitious partizan of their own party, although he had not the least right by inheritance, and several princes of the younger branch were still alive ; but Polybius ¹¹ tells us, that Lycurgus had bought the suffrages of the Ephori, at the rate of a talent to each.

who confirms
all their acts.

By these arrangements, amongst other favourite objects, the Ephori effectually secured the political union of Sparta with the Aetolians ; Lycurgus ratifying all the stipulations they had made, and commencing immediate hostilities against the Achaean confederates.

Philip
marches into
Peloponne-
sus ;

ABOVE a year had elapsed, since the alliance had been formed against Achaia ; during which time, Philip had per-

¹¹ L. iv. c. 35.

formed



formed but little of what he had promised. The Dardani-
nians, however, who had threatened the Macedonian borders,
having, upon his approach, retired homeward, he now
found himself at leisure to attend to the distressed situation
of his Peloponnesian friends; and, though in the depth of
winter, he set out¹⁹ with the utmost secrecy for Corinth,
where a part of his forces lay.

Book V.
Sect. 1.

THE Aetolians, and the states in their alliance, had not
the least suspicion of his having left Macedon: they had en-
tertained an early contempt of Philip, on account of his
youth; and the success, with which they had carried on their
depredations, had confirmed them in an opinion, that they had
nothing of consequence to fear from him. They soon found
themselves to be mistaken. Philip having advised the Achae-
ans of his arrival, and summoned them to join his standard,
surprised a party of Eleans, who, lulled into security, had
gone forth to ravage the Sicyonian territories, and cut
to pieces or took prisoners almost the whole body; out
of two thousand five hundred men, scarcely one hundred
escaping. From thence, notwithstanding the rugged preci-
pices and deep snows in his march, he advanced to Psophis,
a remarkable strong-hold within the confines of Arcadia,
of which the Eleans had got possession. The situation of
this place, together with the severity of the season, seem-
ed to render any attempt against it impracticable. It was a
square fortification, surrounded with strong walls. On three
sides the approaches to it were defended either by the Ery-
manthus, a deep and impetuous river, or by rapid torrents,

surprises a
party of Ele-
ans;

lays siege to
Psophis,

¹⁹ Polyb. L. iv. c. 67 & seq.

all



BOOK V. all of them swollen high with the winter floods; and on the
 Sect. I. fourth side, it was covered by an hill difficult of ascent and
 well fortified. Philip, nevertheless, surmounted all these
 obstructions; he brought his scaling-ladders to bear against
 it; and he pushed on the assault with so much vigour, and
 in so many different parts at once, that he soon made him-
 self master of it. Lafion and Stratum, two other cities in
 and takes it; that neighbourhood, the Eleans had also surpris'd; but,
 terrified at the fate of Psophis, they immediately abandoned
 them.

ravages Elis, ELIS, one of the finest regions of Greece in point of cul-
 tivation, and rich in every species of rural wealth, was now
 open to Philip. Through this country he spread devasta-
 tion; pursuing the Eleans even to their mountains, and carry-
 ing off cattle and other plunder to an immense amount.
 He next entered Tryphalia, a district of Peloponnesus to
 the southward of Elis, which had some towns capable of
 defence, garrisoned by the Eleans and Aetolians; but in six
 reduces
 Tryphalia, days he reduced them all.

and frees the
 Messenians
 from the
 Aetolian
 yoke: THE reduction of these places brought about also that of
 Phialea, on the Messenian borders. Phialea had for some
 years been under the domination of the Aetolians; who, as we
 have already observed, on all occasions infested from thence
 the Messenian territories, controlling the councils of that
 people, and permitting them to have neither friend nor foe,
 but in common with themselves: but now, deriving courage
 from the success of Philip's arms, and the report of his ad-
 vancing to their assistance, the inhabitants rose upon the
 Aetolians, and forced them to evacuate their city. This
 event



event had important consequences; the Messenian states recovered their independence, and, no longer intimidated by their Aetolian oppressors, declared immediately on the side of Macedon.

BOOK V.
SECT. I.

THE capacity and vigour shewn by Philip in the course of this expedition, which he had completed in the short space of a few weeks, during the severity of the winter-season, received an additional lustre from the temperate use he made of his victories. He granted peace to all who sued for it. Of the places which he had reduced, he retained few in his own possession. In some, content with having expelled the Aetolian garrisons, he re-established the former inhabitants, and restored to them their ancient polity. Other cities he bestowed on his Peloponnesian confederates: the Achaean states, in particular, he had gratified with Psophis, the most important strong-hold in this part of Greece; and which to them was an acquisition of great importance, as it strengthened their frontier towards that quarter. His whole conduct, indeed, seemed to proceed on the same generous plan which Antigonus had formerly adopted. The friend of liberty, and the enemy of oppression, these martial exploits carried with them no appearance of selfish ambition; but seemed only to have in view the advantage of his allies, and the defence of Peloponnesus against the encroachments of Aetolian usurpation.

the temperate use he makes of his victories:

his

BUT amidst all these fair appearances, a strange alteration ²⁰ began to discover itself in the character of Philip, who had

adopts other principles 2

²⁰ Polyb. L. iv. c. 76, 82 & seq. Plutarch in Arato.

now



with strict injunctions, should they presume to complain, to charge them with mutiny, and to punish them accordingly. The Macedonians, Polybius observes²¹, had, by a similar policy, established their dominion over the nations of Thessaly, who had now only the shadow of liberty remaining; and Apelles expected, that he should with as little difficulty effect the same in Peloponnesus. But the Achaeans were not so easily to be subdued. They applied directly to Aratus, who, with a becoming spirit, remonstrated to Philip against the conduct of his ministers. Philip saw that matters were not yet ripe for the execution of the intended project: he therefore temporized; and, affecting to throw the blame on his servants, commanded them to desist from giving offence to his Achaean allies.

Book V.
Sect. 1.

they are opposed by
Aratus,

SOME other method of accomplishing their designs was now to be employed. Aratus, at this time, had the lead in the Achaean councils, and the person who was supported by his recommendation, was always sure to succeed to the appointment of General of Achaia. That it might not, therefore, be in his power again to obstruct the views of Macedon, Apelles laid his plan to withdraw from this statesman the confidence of the Achaeans, by throwing the administration of affairs into other hands; and he accordingly advised Philip to attach himself to the party in opposition to Aratus²². Philip entered readily into the views of his minister, and immediately set out for Achaia, in order, by his presence, to influence, if possible, the approaching election of General. The most eminent and the worthiest of the

whom they
endeavour to
supplant:

²¹ L. iv. c. 76.

²² Polyb. L. iv. c. 83. Plutarch in Arato.

X x

Achaeans



Book V. Achaeans were all the friends of Aratus; but to be the friend of Aratus was now a crime. Philip supported, therefore, the election of Eperatus, whose only merit was his enmity to this great man; yet, without abilities, and without personal weight, Eperatus, by dint of the intrigues, the threatenings, and the bribes, which Philip and his ministers employed, defeated the united opposition of Aratus and every honest Achaean. He was elected. To counterbalance, however, this unpopular measure, and to strengthen himself in the affections of the Achaean people, Philip laid siege to Teichos²³, the fortress of which the Aetolians had possessed themselves the preceding year, took it, and restored it to the Achaeans of Dymé, to whom it belonged; and, having made an inroad into Elis, he presented the Dymeans, and the cities in that neighbourhood, with all the plunder he had carried off.

are disappointed:

PHILIP was now, in his own imagination, master of Achaia; the administration was devoted to him; and the wealth and vigour of that republic, he fancied absolutely at his disposal; but he soon found what an empty phantom he had been pursuing. The season for action approached; provisions were necessary for the subsistence of the army, and funds were wanted for their pay. The new general was applied to upon this occasion; but no magazines had been provided; and the treasury was exhausted; Eperatus had neither credit nor invention for immediate resource; and the king had to suffer the mortification of courting the interest of Aratus, in order to obtain supplies

²³ Polyb. L. iv. c. 84.

of



of money and stores; to apologize for the affront he had cast upon him; and to confess himself indebted to him, even for the means of carrying on the war.

BOOK V.
SECT. I.

APELLES, however, still persisted. Nothing less than the destruction of Aratus was now his object. He accused him of holding a treasonable correspondence with the enemy. Philip had sent overtures of peace, with large offers of protection, to the Eleans, on condition of their renouncing the friendship of Aetolia: and the Eleans had rejected the proposal. Apelles²⁴ pretended to have proof, that the obstinacy of the Elean people was owing to secret instructions they had received from Aratus; and with this he had the insolence, in the presence of the king, to charge both Aratus and his son; in the most solemn manner averring the truth of what he had alledged against them. But this charge failed also of its effect. Aratus found means fully to prove his innocence; and Philip, from this time, either ashamed of the mean practices he had been induced to countenance, or more probably, convinced that he could not act with vigour without Aratus, affected to place much confidence in that Achaean statesman, and to give less attention to the suggestions of his enemies.

invent an
accusation
against him;

but are de-
feated;

BUT, whatever might be the dissimulation of Philip, Apelles was transported with indignation at this appearance of favour to the man he hated. He had formed a plan for the subjection of Greece; and, in return for so important

resolve to
compass the
destruction of
Aratus,
though at the
expence of
their master.

²⁴ Polyb. ubi sup.



BOOK V.
SECT. I.

a service, had promised himself whatever the gratitude of his master had to bestow; but now, amidst these visions of greatness, he saw himself supplanted by the man, whom he had marked out for destruction. Urged then by ambition, disappointment, jealousy, and revenge, he conceived a design far more atrocious than any he had yet imagined. In conjunction with Megaleas and Leontius, a formal conspiracy²⁵ was entered into for defeating the views of the king in whatever he should undertake; of exposing his troops to distress and discomfiture; and of encompassing him with such insuperable difficulties, as might either compel him to abandon a war, which his ministers were not allowed to guide, or to meet his ruin in the prosecution of it. Apelles was still at the head of administration, and had powerful influence over the several departments of government throughout the kingdom of Macedon. The more effectually to execute what he and his accomplices had projected, it was agreed, that under the pretence of public service, the first should remove to Chalcis in Euboea, where he might find opportunities of intercepting all remittances from Philip's hereditary dominions. Meanwhile, it was to be the province of Megaleas and Leontius to throw obstacles in the way of every expedition that promised advantage to their sovereign and his Achaean confederates; to mislead the king into ruinous measures; and even, if found necessary, to spread disaffection and mutiny in the army, in order to render its operations feeble and ineffectual.

²⁵ See Polyb. L. v. c. 2 & seq.

PHILIP



PHILIP soon felt the fatal effects of this treasonable combination. Disappointed of the customary supplies, he was reduced to great distress. To whatever measure Aratus recommended, the king's officers urged numberless objections; and in their turn, rather to distract than to promote the public operations, proposed attempts generally useless and often impracticable. Aratus at length prevailed on the king to attack the Aetolians in their maritime settlements, as the only method of annoying them effectually; and he proposed to begin by a descent on Cephallenia, an island in the Ionian sea, near the coast of Peloponnesus; the great resort of the Aetolian pirates, from whence they continually infested the neighbouring coasts of Achaia, Acarnania, and Epire. This attempt, however, was attended with real difficulties. Ships were to be procured, and mariners to be trained; the Macedonians not being conversant in naval affairs. The enemy at the same time had many vessels in actual service; and there was not a creek or a current in those seas with which they were not well acquainted. Aratus nevertheless persevered, and Philip soon saw himself in a condition to appear before Palaea, one of the chief cities of the island; which he certainly must have taken, had he not been prevented by Leontius. A practicable breach had been made, and the assault ordered; but that traitor, who still kept the command, contrived to have the party, that mounted the breach, repulsed; when Philip, seeing his troops dispirited at this check, and uncertain upon whom to fix the charge of treachery, in vexation raised the siege²⁶.

Philip attempts the island of Cephallenia,

is baffled by his ministers:

²⁶ Polyb. L. v. c. 4.

THE



BOOK V.
Sect. I.

by Aratus's
advice in-
vades Aetolia,

THE Macedonian ministry thought they had now carried their point. But they deceived themselves. Aratus, notwithstanding this disgrace, besought the king not to abandon the expedition, but to endeavour to make an impression upon Aetolia itself, where he might have an opportunity of revenging the wrongs of Greece, and of essentially distressing the common enemy. Philip felt himself strongly inclined to follow this advice. He could not but remember the sacking of Dium by the Aetolians; the barbarity and rapine which had marked their incursions into Epire; and the sacrilegious ruin of the famous and revered oracle of Dodona, which they had spoiled of its treasures, and levelled with the ground²⁷.

with success.

To cover this design, however, from the enemy, the fleet had instructions not to touch at any part of the Aetolian coast²⁸, but to shape their course to Leucas, the famed promontory²⁹ of Acarnania, across which had been cut a canal, which opened into the Ambracian gulph. Through this canal the fleet was to make its way, and, proceeding up the gulph, was to land the forces on the upper part of the Acarnanian coast, within a few hours march of the Aetolian confines. Leontius, who now saw clearly into Aratus's plan, trembled for the issue. The Aetolians could scarcely escape destruction. They had, he knew, but a small part of their forces at home, Dorymachus, the Aetolian general, having marched with a considerable body to invade Thessaly, with the view of forcing Philip to fly to the defence of his own do-

²⁷ See Polyb. L. iv. c. 67.

²⁸ Polyb. L. v. c. 5 et seq.

²⁹ See Mr.

Addison's elegant account of the virtues ascribed to this promontory by the pagan world. Spect. N^o 223, 227, 233.

minions.



minions. The Aetolians, at the same time, had received no intimation of the intended invasion, and on that side especially were unsuspecting of any hostile attempt. He endeavoured, however, to baffle Aratus, if possible. Under various pretences, he endeavoured to gain time. He talked of encamping; of halting but for a few hours; of not exhausting the troops, fatigued already by constant service. But all his representations served only to increase the ardor of Aratus, who entreated Philip not to listen to any proposal of delay, but to push on, day and night, success depending entirely on the rapidity of their march. The second day from their landing they entered Thiermum, one of the most remarkable citadels of Aetolia, if not of Greece, for situation and opulence. It was seated on the brow of a craggy mountain, encompassed on every side by a rocky and hilly country, and though without wall or defence, but what nature had formed around it, seemed to defy every hostile approach; the only road, that led to it, being a narrow rugged path, of steep ascent, skirted either by thick woods, or deep lakes, by yawning precipices, or tremendous rocks. This remarkable strong-hold, the boldest foe had never dared to attempt: and here was deposited the chief wealth of Aetolia; their stores; their arms; their treasure; all that was elegant or curious in workmanship of which Greece could boast, paintings and statues, splendid porticoes and sumptuous temples, adorning a city where the Aetolian estates held their conventions, and their annual fairs; where they celebrated their national feasts and sacrifices; and where was sent every thing in Aetolia of value and magnificence, for the double purpose of ostentation and security.

PHILIP had now the fairest opportunity of satiating his
7 revenge;



BOOK V.
Sect. 1.

He surprises
Thermum,
and lays
it in ruins ;

revenge ; which Polybius himself³⁰, the professed enemy of the Aetolians, acknowledges he indulged to an excess altogether unjustifiable. Not content with having abandoned the place to pillage, he afterwards laid it in ruins. Of more than two thousand statues, such only were spared as appeared to have been dedicated to the gods ; the rest being either broken in pieces or defaced ; the temples were rifled, and the sacred ornaments, which the piety of ages had dedicated, were defaced or torn down ; and when the soldiers had selected from the booty all the precious things, which they thought they should be able to carry off, they collected the rest into a heap, and set them on fire ; whereby fifty thousand suits of armour, besides an immense quantity of rich stuffs, were consumed. The same success which attended Philip in his march to Thermum, he also met with in his return, having had the precaution to secure by strong guards all the important passes on the way. Some flying parties hung indeed upon his rear, and followed him to the place of embarkation ; but they were not able to make any sensible impression : and, by the time Dorymachus, who upon the first advice hastened homeward, had reached Aetolia, the Macedonians had retired.

returns into
Peloponnesus
and ravages
Laconia.

PHILIP resolved to follow his blow, before the enemy had recovered from the consternation which this bold enterprise had spread among them. Having embarked his troops, and committed some slight ravages along that part of the Aetolian coast which lay on the Ionian sea, he entered again the Corinthian gulph, landed at Lechaëum, and marched into Laconia ; Lycurgus the Spartan king having, during

³⁰ I. v. c. 9.



the late siege of Palaea, committed devastation in the Messenian territories, for which Philip now meant to make reprisals. The Spartans had just heard of the sacking of Thermmum, and were preparing to send succours to their Aetolian confederates, when they discovered the Macedonian army within a short distance of Sparta. The sudden appearance of the enemy, the report of their operations, and the amazing expedition they had used, left the Spartans without the power of defence. They kept within the city, whilst the Macedonians, uncontrouled, extended their depredations to the utmost verge of Laconia on the sea of Crete; laying waste with fire and sword the fairest parts of the country, and destroying, wherever they moved, every trace of cultivation. On their return, the Spartans prepared to intercept them, but here again they failed; their troops were put to flight, and the Macedonians carried off a prodigious booty.

WHAT renders these spirited operations more honourable to Philip's military character, is the difficult situation in which he found himself at the time they were executed; beset with obstructions, which his treacherous ministers were incessantly raising to his measures; deeply distressed in mind from the discoveries he had already made; and still more perplexed from the grounds he had to suspect that much more was yet to be discovered. A more minute detail of these dark treasons will not be improper in this place. Though matters of a private nature, they are closely connected with the transactions we record.

WE have mentioned the disloyal machinations of Apelles, and the ministers in combination with him, to embarrass

Y y

and

Treasonable
practices of
the king's
ministers.

BOOK V.
SECT. I.

and defeat their royal master in whatever he should undertake, rather than suffer Aratus to guide his councils. The attempt on Thermum, and the success that attended it, had inflamed their resentment higher than ever. Megaleas and Leontius, who accompanied the king in that expedition, had employed every artifice to disappoint him; but, as we have seen, they had been baffled. The fullen gloom²² that sat on their countenances, in the midst of the general joy upon the safe return of the army to the place of embarkation, plainly demonstrated their treacherous wishes, and struck the observation of the king in so forcible a manner, that, from this appearance, combined with other circumstances, he was strengthened in his suspicions, that villainy and treason had taken root among them; and the conduct of Megaleas soon afforded proofs of what he suspected. Determined at any rate to destroy Aratus, he contrived, under colour of an affray, to instigate ruffians to attempt his life; and he had probably effected his purpose, had not the intervention of Philip himself, whom the uproar had called forth, compelled the assailants to desist. When summoned on this account before the king, Megaleas had even the insolence to avow his intentions, and his unchanged resolution of executing them: and Philip, who in the art of temporizing was exceeded by none, contented himself at present with putting him under arrest, and imposing on him a fine of twenty talents; for which Leontius binding himself as security, the arrest was soon after removed.

The king
suspects
them, but
temporizes.

THE Laconian expedition now engrossing all the king's

²² See Polyb. L. v. c. 14, 15.

thoughts,



thoughts, the matter rested here for the present. But upon the return of the army from Laconia to the Corinthian isthmus, Leontius³², uneasy at the suspected situation of Megaleas, in whose condemnation he was conscious he must be finally involved, formed a scheme to intimidate the king from proceeding farther in this inquiry, under pretence that there were dangerous discontents in the army, on account of what had been already done; and, his interest among the soldiery being powerful, he even excited an insurrection. This, however, availed him little. Philip, with great vigour and address, suppressed the mutiny upon it's first breaking out; but appeared to take no pains to be informed by whom it had been fomented. This unexpected indifference struck Leontius and his associate with new terror: they began to dread that the king knew more of their proceedings than they had suspected; and that his affected calmness was grounded on temporizing dissimulation. Under the impression of this fear, they dispatched messengers to Apelles, to hasten his appearance at court, in order that his influence might restore their drooping cause. He appeared accordingly; but the king, who had been already apprized of his criminal connections, received him with a coolness so striking, that Megaleas, who now saw that he had no protection to expect, fled: leaving Leontius, his security, to be responsible for his fine; which accordingly Philip immediately demanded.

Book V.
Sect. 1.

and counter-acts them:

THE guilt of great ministers is seldom more than suspected during their day of favour; it is their disgrace which completes the discovery. The fullest evidence now poured

³² Polyb. L. v. c. 26. et seq.



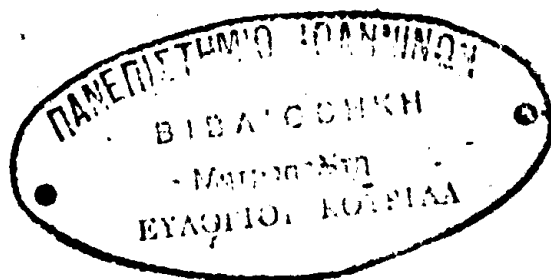
BOOK V.
SECT. I.

makes a
full discovery
of their
treason,

in from every quarter. It appeared, that Apelles had possessed himself of an authority not inferior to that of the king; and that he had used it to the most treasonable of purposes; that he had usurped an absolute dominion over the royal revenues, and, with a design to ruin the king's affairs, had diverted them from the public service; that he had, in his own name, and by his sole authority, issued orders of the first importance, and received and answered all dispatches, without even consulting his master; that every department of government throughout Macedon was filled with his creatures, who looked up to no sovereign but him, and were prepared to execute whatever he should command:—that Leontius, in like manner, had established such an interest among the military, as to be able to command them as he pleased; and that the discomfiture at Palaea, and the repeated disappointments which had of late cramped the king's operations, had all originated in him:—that Megaleas had entertained a treasonable correspondence with the enemy, and, by letter under his own hand, had encouraged the Aetolians to prosecute the war, assuring them of the low state of the king's finances, and throwing out against him many illiberal reflections. Such daring treasons against his honour, his crown, and his life, fully justified the utmost rigour on the part of Philip. Apelles and his son were seized and executed. Leontius had been imprisoned upon Megaleas's flight, and the army had interceded in his behalf; but Philip, not intimidated, ordered him also to be immediately put to death. Whilst Megaleas, who had fled to Thebes, hearing that the king was in pursuit of him, endeavoured to expiate his crimes by putting a voluntary period to his life.

and punishes
them with
the utmost
severity.

BOOK



B O O K V.

S E C T I O N II.

C O N T E N T S.

Philip treats Aratus with dissimulation—forms a connection with Demetrius of Pharos.—The history and character of Demetrius—he prevails on Philip to aim at the subjection of all Greece; and to join Hannibal against the Romans—Philip finds his schemes opposed by Aratus—has him taken off by poison—and behaves to his son in a manner still more cruel and flagitious—prepares a considerable force to act against the Romans—his pusillanimity—defeat—and flight.—The Romans stir up the Aetolians against him—the fatal consequences of this measure to Greece.—Philip makes peace with the Aetolians—and with Rome—with what view—conspires with Antiochus to deprive the infant king of Egypt of his paternal kingdom—besieges Abydos—is reprov'd and threatened by an ambassador from Rome—his haughty answer—dreadful ruin of Abydos.

THE removal of the Macedonian ministers promised considerable advantages to Aratus. They had been avowedly his enemies; his destruction was one principal article of their original plan; and he had taken, therefore, an active

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Sect. 2.

Seeming advantages to Aratus from



Book V. active part against them during the late inquiry. To his
 Sect. 2. sagacity and zeal Philip owed most of the material discoveries he had made ; and the king seemed to acknowledge his services, by the unbounded confidence he now reposed in him ; living with him as his friend, and paying uncommon attention to his counsels.

the removal
 of the Macedonian ministers :

Philip acts
 deceitfully
 towards him ;

THIS fair appearance of trust and royal favour was, nevertheless, all fallacy and artifice. It soon appeared, that Philip still entertained the same insidious designs against the liberties of his Peloponnesian confederates, in which Apelles had led the way ; and, however highly he might affect to prize Aratus, it became evident, that he considered him merely as the instrument of his ambition, to be employed whilst serviceable ; and, when he ceased to answer his views, to be removed as dangerous, or cast aside as useless.

entertains
 views hostile
 to the Grecian liberties.

IN fact, the crime of the late ministry, in the eyes of Philip, was not, that they had endeavoured to lessen the importance of Aratus in the Peloponnesian states, or to reduce those Greek republics under subjection to Macedon. So far they had acted in concurrence with the views of their royal master. Their crime was, that they had not suffered Aratus to take the lead, when it became necessary to the interests of Philip ; and that, instead of acquiescing in that subordination which the complexion of the times rendered expedient, they had rashly adopted pernicious counsels ; and, in their attempt to overthrow this Achaean chief, endeavoured to involve their sovereign with him in one common ruin.

THE



THE war still continued, though its operations were now for the most part languid and uninteresting; the several states being rather employed in adding to the strength of their own frontiers, than in annoying those of the enemy. Twice had a negotiation for peace been set on foot, under the mediation of Rhodes and other maritime powers, but without effect; when on a sudden Philip declared his resolution of putting an immediate end to the war¹. This measure, however precipitate and mysterious it might appear, when the profound dissimulation of that prince is considered, had nevertheless been formed upon motives, which he had long revolved in his mind. It will be necessary to explain what these motives were, as they have an important influence on the subsequent fortunes of the Grecian people.

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Sect. 2.

Philip
changes
his plan;

on what ac-
count.

TOWARDS the latter end of the reign of Antigonus, the Romans had, for the first time, passed over into Illyricum², the north-west boundary of Greece, and bordering upon Macedon, to revenge an insult offered to their embassadors by Teuta, queen of a district of that country. At the same time, a prince named Demetrius reigned in Pharos an island on the Illyrian coast, which, together with a few places on the neighbouring continent, formed the whole of his possessions. Whether from hatred of the Illyrian princess, whose resentment, Polybius³ tells us, he had reason to dread, or in hopes of sharing her spoils, he had joined the Romans, and at the close of the war, which ended in the defeat of Teuta, had been rewarded with a considerable ad-

Demetrius of
Pharos assists
the Romans
against
Teuta;
is rewarded
by them for
his services;

¹ OLYMP. cxl. 4. BEFORE CHRIST. 212.
² Ubi sup.

³ Polyb. L. ii. c. 11.

dition.



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revolts
against them;

is deprived of
all his posses-
sions;

flies to Phi-
lip.

and incites
him to enter
into alliance
with the
Carthagi-
nians, and
attack the
Romans;

dition to his little principality. But, after their departure, emboldened by a report, that the Gauls threatened Italy, and that Hannibal also was preparing to invade it, he renounced the fealty he had promised them, strengthened himself in men and ships, passed beyond the limits they had prescribed for his conduct, infested the islands and coasts around, and even destroyed cities, in which the Romans had an immediate property*. Of these outrages complaint having been brought to Rome, the Roman forces returned, and expelled him from his dominions. In this reverse of fortune, he had taken refuge at the court of Philip. His misfortunes, his military reputation, his impetuous and enterprising spirit, suited to the natural genius of Philip himself, gained favour with the king, which he cultivated with assiduity and art. He penetrated into his character; addressed himself to his fears, to his vanity, to his ambition. "Such abilities as his," he told him, "were meanly employed in the petty wars in which he was engaged, when so noble an object as Italy was in view; that, instead of fighting the battles of one republic of Greece against another, it ought rather to be his policy to extend his dominion over them all, and to mould these now disjointed states into one solid mass of empire; which, beloved as he was by some of them, and dreaded by others, he might effect without much difficulty; that, were the Romans once to establish themselves in the neighbourhood of Macedon, it would not be long ere that kingdom would find herself reduced to the same abject situation to which Illyricum was already humbled; that the Carthaginians were then on their march to rescue the liber-

* Polyb. L. iii. c. 16 & seq.

ties



ties of mankind from Roman usurpation ; that a more favourable opportunity never could offer, as his friendship, whilst the issue of the war was yet doubtful, would be of value at Carthage ; but, should once the Roman power be subdued, he might then find enemies, where now he might have friends and allies ⁵.”

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THE most frivolous arguments, when our own passions plead on the same side, become powerful. Philip, inattentive to the dangers he was plunging into, saw nothing before him but victory, glory, and dominion. He enjoined, however, the strictest secrecy to Demetrius, until it was known what progress Hannibal should make. He had faithful accounts transmitted to him of all his motions. His passage of the Rhône, his march over the Alps, his victory at the Ticinus, and again at the Trebia, had successively added to the hopes and exultations of Philip ; but the tidings of his having overthrown and slain a Roman consul at the lake Trasimenus, and of his being master of Etruria, proved decisive. Philip, without farther delay, resolved to put an end to the war in Greece, to enter into alliance with Hannibal, and to pour all his forces into Italy.

Philip listens
to him :

ARATUS ⁶ would have dissuaded him from this imprudent project ; but his representations were disregarded. The other part of Philip's plan, “ to make himself absolute lord “ of Greece,” he was obliged to manage, however, with greater caution. He had already, by intrigue and artful

Aratus endeavours to dissuade Philip, but in vain.

⁵ Polyb. L. v. c. 101. Just. L. xxix. c. 2. et. vitis, p. 1371.

⁶ Polyb. de virtutibus

Z z

services,



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Philip forms
a strong in-
terest in fe-
veral of the
Grecian
states :

has a design
on Messenia ;

services, contrived to form a strong interest among the Argives ; among the Arcadians ; as well as among some of the Achæan cities ; and these, he expected, would lead the way to the subjection of all the Peloponnesian states. To accomplish this great object, it was necessary to be master at the same time, of the citadel of Corinth, and of the castle of Ithome, two fortresses, emphatically called *the fetters of Peloponnesus*. The first was already in his power ; and the other he hoped soon to possess. Ithome was situated in the Messenian territories ; and the dissensions which then prevailed in that state, seemed greatly to favour his views. The people complained of the tyranny and oppression of the nobles ; and the nobles were jealous of the unbounded spirit of liberty which predominated among the people. To both parties Philip pretended to be a friend, and both parties he deceived. The nobles he encouraged not to give way ; the people not to submit. His mediation served only to pour oil upon the flames ; and the contending factions had recourse to violence. The people prevailed ; and, after much bloodshed, possessed themselves of Ithome : when Philip, under pretence of offering sacrifices for their prosperity to Ithomean Jupiter, had address to get admission into the fortress. Yet, even in this stage, he was disappointed of his object. Demetrius of Pharos, and Aratus, had both accompanied him, though with different views. Demetrius, privy to the fraud meditated by Philip, was incessant in urging him on to the execution of his purpose : whilst Aratus, suspicious of his design, was watchful to defeat it. The instant, therefore, that Philip's intention became apparent, he re-

7 Polyb. Excerpt. L. vii. Plutarch in Arato.

monstrated



monstrated against it in the most spirited manner; reminded him of the honourable part the late Antigonus had acted towards the Grecian states; and entreated him to reflect, in what a disadvantageous light he must stand, should he, who had been considered as their protector, become the invader of their common liberties. Shame, or more probably the fear of a formidable opposition, which he saw Aratus was prepared to raise, induced him to desist.

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but is prevented by Aratus.

FROM that time Philip's real character began to display itself. Aratus and his son, who now perceived but too evidently the treacherous views of their Macedonian ally, withdrew immediately their confidence; and this step precipitated their destruction, which Philip appears already to have meditated. The disappointment of Ithome still dwelt upon his mind; and he had long felt with indignant pride the superior and impracticable virtue of those republican chiefs. Their avowed diffidence of his principles and honour, had convinced him that he could now no longer conciliate their friendship, but at the expence of the great object of his ambition, the subjugation of Greece; and he resolved they should live no longer to disturb his pursuits*. Taurion, who commanded under Philip in Peloponnesus, was the instrument he employed: he lived in intimacy with Aratus, and soon found an opportunity of executing his master's orders. Poison was the means: to prevent detection, the deadly preparation was not to destroy life at once, but to undermine it, and waste it away by slow degrees, that the disease might have the appearance of a natural decay. But Aratus was

Causes Aratus to be taken off by poison;

* Polyb. Excerpt. L. viii. Plutarch in Arato.



BOOK V. not so deceived. His friend Cephalon, Plutarch⁹ tells us, Sect. 2. visiting him one day, and observing with concern, that he spit blood, "such, Cephalon," replied Aratus "are the " fruits of royal friendship."

corrupts the wife of the younger Aratus,

and with a poisonous draught disorders the husband's understanding.

BEFORE this period, in violation of the rights of hospitality, generally held in the highest reverence by the pagan world, Philip had privately seduced Polycratia¹⁰, the wife of the younger Aratus, who, in the confidence of friendship, had received him into his family. The elder Aratus had indeed suspected the intrigue, but in tenderness to his son had concealed his suspicion. Philip now, however, gloried in the action, and not only prevailed on the wife to elope, but contrived to have a poisonous draught administered to the husband, which, from the quality of the ingredients, or the strength of his constitution, deprived him not immediately of life, but disordered his understanding to such a deplorable degree of imbecillity, as led him to the commission of actions so abominable and ignominious, that his death, in the flower of his age, was considered at length as the greatest blessing that could have befallen his family or himself.

The opinion to be entertained of this prince,

WHEN it is remembered, by what strong ties Philip was bound to Aratus; the many important services which he had received from him; the regard which he owed to the dying charge of the excellent Antigonus; the attachment and almost filial reverence which he affected towards him; when it is considered, too, that the crimes above-mentioned were the deeds of a prince, celebrated till then for integrity of soul and gene-

⁹ Plut. ubi sup.

¹⁰ Plutarch. ubi sup. Liv. L. xxvii. c. 31.



rosity of sentiment, one would almost question the historian's testimony. Polybius¹¹ accounts for this extraordinary alteration, upon the supposition of his having been perverted by the Pharian Demetrius, a daring and most unprincipled statesman; whilst Plutarch¹², is of opinion, that the virtues of which Philip had made a show in the early part of his reign were all feigned¹³; and that, as opportunity invited, as his fears diminished, and his power increased, he discovered those vicious principles which dark policy had taught him hitherto to conceal. If so, such deep dissimulation, such finished and unrelenting profligacy of mind, at so early a season of life, is hardly to be paralleled in history; for at this period his twenty-fourth year was not yet completed; and Plutarch's honest indignation, at the review of such a character, led him to pronounce, that the many and severe misfortunes, which befell him in the succeeding part of his reign, were judgments of heaven for his atrocious crimes: "The vengeance," says he, "of Jupiter, the patron of hospitality and of friendship, visiting him for the breach of both, and pursuing him through life."

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and of the
judgments
that befell
him after-
wards.

AMIDST the abhorrence, however, which the guilt of Philip naturally excites, it may be of use to observe, that to Aratus's own mistaken counsels, the calamities that overwhelmed him were in a great measure to be imputed. Jealous first of Cleomenes, and afterwards of the Aetolians, he

Aratus him-
self to blame
for calling
in the Mace-
donian pow-
er.

¹¹ Polyb. L. v. c. 12. Et devistut. et vitis, p. 1371.

¹² In Arato.

¹³ It is evident, from Polybius's own account, that, antecedently to any influence which Demetrius of Pharos could have had on him, he had been privy to all the machinations of Apelles and his fellows, and only then disavowed them, when he found, they were not likely to succeed.

had



BOOK V. had called in that very Macedonian power, which in the
Sect. 2. end destroyed him; and in his last hours he had the mortification to reflect, that his country, his family, and himself, were the victims of an ill-directed ambition, which fought too eagerly the aggrandisement of Achaia at the expence of the rest of Greece. Yet, with some blemishes, Aratus was certainly one of the greatest men of antiquity. An able statesman, and a firm patriot, by his genius, vigour, and perseverance, he gave to his republick that form and splendor which raised it to the first rank among the states of Greece; and, had he been less jealous of Sparta and of Aetolia, history perhaps had not left us a more finished character.

Philip sends
 an embassy
 to Hannibal;

PHILIP, in the mean time, had seriously resolved to pass into Italy, and to co-operate with Hannibal in humbling the Roman power. With this view, he had sent ambassadors to the Carthaginian general; but they had been intercepted soon after their landing on the Italian coast. Pretending, however, that their errand was to Rome, they in a little time obtained their release, and made their way to Hannibal, with whom they concluded a treaty; but on their return, being taken at sea by a Roman squadron, they were sent with all their papers to Rome. This intelligence, however, did not discourage Philip. Another embassy was immediately dispatched, and a second ratification of the treaty was obtained. If we are to believe Livy¹¹, Philip engaged
 “ to furnish a fleet of two hundred ships, to be employed
 “ in spreading devastation along the Italian coasts; and also
 “ to assist Hannibal with a considerable body of land-forces:”

his embassa-
 dors are tak-
 en by the
 Romans;

he sends a
 second em-
 bassy, and
 concludes a
 treaty;

¹¹ See Liv. L. xxiii. c. 33.

in



in return for which, when Rome and Italy should be finally reduced, the sole possession of which the Carthaginians were to retain, Hannibal was to pass into Epire at the head of a Carthaginian army, to carry on the war there in any manner Philip should desire; and, having made a conquest of the whole country, to yield up to him those parts of it, and those islands, that lay convenient for Macedon¹⁵.

IT is not the business of the present work, to enter into a detail of the wars which Philip had to sustain against the Romans. They belong to another history. It will be sufficient to take a summary view of the principal events, as far as they affect the fortunes of Greece.

PHILIP'S first exploits discovered little of that spirit, which his bold stipulations with Hannibal seemed to promise. He had equipped a considerable fleet, and, setting sail from Macedon, coasted along the eastern shore of Peloponnesus, doubled the cape of Malea, entered the Ionian gulph, and advanced as high as the mouth of the Aous, on which stood the city of Apollonia; when, receiving advice that the Roman fleet, which lay off Sicily, had weighed anchor to give him battle, seized with a panic, he immediately hastened back to Cephal-

enters the
Ionian gulph
with a con-
siderable
fleet;

¹⁵ The treaty, which we find in Polybius (Excerpt. L. vii. c. 2.) is of a different tenor, and seems to be conceived in more modest terms. It contains only general stipulations of mutual amity and aid between Carthage and Macedon, and that *the one* should have the same friends and enemies as *the other*, except where otherwise bound by antecedent treaties; with a particular clause, by which the Carthaginians obliged themselves, in case of a peace with the Romans, to insist previously on their evacuating Corcyra, Pharos, and all the islands which they held along the coasts of Illyricum and Epire, and on their restoring to liberty all *those of the family* (ὀικήτους) of the Pharian Demetrius, whom they had prisoners.

Ienia,



Book V. lenia, hauled his vessels on shore, crossed over into Pelopon-
Sect. 2. nefus, as if called away by some urgent business, and made his
escape into Macedon¹⁶.

steers down
to the coast
of Epire,
takes Ori-
cum, and
lays siege
to Apollonia;

is surpris'd
and defeat'd
by the Ro-
mans:

steals away
homeward.

His next attempt ended in a manner equally disgraceful. He had surpris'd Oricum, on the coast of Epire, an unwall'd and defenceless sea-port, considerable only on account of it's situation, as from thence there was a short course to Italy. Marcus Valerius Laevinus, the Roman commander at Brundisium, who knew Philip's connections with Hannibal, and had instructions from Rome to observe him, upon the first information of his having possess'd himself of this port, hasten'd to dislodge him. Philip had in the mean while march'd to Apollonia, situat'd at a short distance from Oricum, and laid siege to it. Into this place, before Philip had the least idea of his approach, Laevinus contriv'd to introduce a chosen body of Romans; who, together with the garri-son, having fall'd out in the night, brok into Philip's camp, and with much slaughter routed the whole Macedonian army, the king himself, half-naked, escap'g with difficulty. He made towards his fleet, which lay off Apollonia, on the Aous, with an intention of pushing to sea; but, Laevinus having block'd up the mouth of the river, Philip, after running his vessels aground, or setting them on fire, was oblig'd to steal homeward across the mountains¹⁷.

THE embarrassed situation, however, of the Romans did not permit them to attend to this Macedonian war. The

¹⁶ Polyb. L. v. c. 110.

¹⁷ Liv. L. xxiv. c. 40.

flower



flower of their nation had lately fallen at Cannae. Posthumus with his whole army had been cut off by the Gauls. Campania had revolted. The faith of Calabria was doubtful. And, exclusive of the variety of armaments, which these complicated dangers rendered necessary, they had wars to sustain in Spain, in Sicily, and in Sardinia.

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It was therefore determined to endeavour, if possible, to raise enemies against Philip in Greece, that he might be employed at home in defending his own dominions. Valerius Laevinus applied accordingly to the Aetolians, of all the Greeks the most likely to listen to such an overture. He found in them the very temper of mind he wished. Naturally warlike, they entertained a violent resentment of what they had suffered from Macedon in the course of the last war, and they looked impatiently for opportunities of revenge. These favourable dispositions Laevinus took care to cultivate by the most lavish promises on the part of Rome: "they were," he told them, "the first nation beyond sea, with whom Rome had deigned to make alliance, and they might therefore be assured of holding a more distinguished place in her friendship than any other people": Philip had been hitherto a troublesome and a faithless neighbour; he

The Romans
stir up the
Aetolians
against Phi-
lip.

"Aetolos eo in majore futuros honore," says Livy (L. xxvi. c. 24) "quod gentium transmarinarum in amicitiam primi venissent." This, however, is not true. It appears from Polybius (L. iii. c. 22, 24, & 25) that so early as the consulship of Junius Brutus and Marcus Horatius, immediately after the expulsion of the kings, the Romans had made a treaty of amity with the Carthaginians; and that this amity was solemnly renewed on two subsequent occasions. And that such a treaty subsisted between Rome and Carthage, and had been thrice ratified, Livy himself (L. ix. c. 43) acknowledges. The language of negotiation had, it seems, its tricks and subterfuges in ancient days as well as in modern.

3 A

"should



Book V. Sect. 2. " should henceforth be disabled from injuring them: and " Acarnania, which they had formerly possessed, should be " restored to them." The Aetolians believed these flattering declarations, and they hastened to conclude a treaty with the Roman ambassador, of which the principal articles were, " that the Aetolians should wage immediate war against " Philip by land, which the Romans were to support by a " fleet of twenty galleys; that, whatever conquests might be " made from the confines of Aetolia to Corcyra, the cities, " buildings, and territory, should belong to the Aetolians; " the other plunder of every kind to the Romans; and that " the Romans should endeavour to put the Aetolians in possession of Acarnania." The Aetolians made it their request, that in this treaty of alliance the Eleans and Spartans, together with Attalus king of Pergamus, with Pleuratus and Scerdiletus princes of Illyricum, should, if agreeable to them, be also included. Nothing could conspire better with Laevinus's views. The more enemies Philip had to contend with, the less he was to be feared. Laevinus, on the conclusion of this treaty, immediately employed his arms in reducing Zacynthus, a small island on the Peloponnesian coast, with Oeniadae and Naxus, two cities situate in that part of Acarnania bordering on Aetolia; which, as an earnest of what they might expect from the generosity of Rome, he instantly gave up to the Aetolians; and, having thus lighted up the torch of war in Greece¹⁹, he retired to Corcyra²⁰.

FROM this period the humiliation and final subjection of the Grecian states advanced; for some time, by slow degrees,

¹⁹ OLYMP. ccli. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 208.

²⁰ Liv. L. xxvi. c. 24.

but



but afterwards with wonderful rapidity. The Romans, having once obtained a footing in Greece, soon found means to establish themselves there with firmness; at first the confederates, and, ere long, the imperious controllers of that very people, who had opened to them the gates of Greece; extending their influence from city to city, by artfully availing themselves of the credulity, the domestic feuds, the ambition, and the avarice, of the different leaders; always ready to support the weaker against the mightier, that, the strength of each individual state being broken by degrees, it should be less difficult in time to accomplish the destruction of the whole; covering all the while their ambitious views with the smooth semblance of moderation, equity, and friendship; until, the vigour of Greece being on every side gradually undermined, the whole tide of the Roman power rushing in, it was totally overwhelmed.

BOOK V.
SECT. 2.

Fatal consequences to Greece of the Romans obtaining a footing in it;

AMONG the many calamities, which the unfortunate introduction of the Romans brought immediately upon Greece, it had the effect to give Philip a stronger interest in most of the Grecian states than he had ever before possessed²¹. It was now no longer remembered, that he was the flagitious tyrant, who had rewarded hospitality with libidinous violation and treacherous murder, and had harboured projects the most hostile to public liberty; the people now even looked up to him as the champion of freedom, and their bulwark against the barbarians (for so they stiled the Romans) whom the perfidious Aetolians had invited into Greece; in conse-

the influence it had on the Achaean councils,

²¹ Polyb. Excerpt. l. x. c. 38. Just. l. xxix. c. 4.



BOOK V.
SECT. 2.

and on those
of the other
Peloponnesian
states.

quence of which, not only the Greeks to the north of the Corinthian isthmus, but even the Achaean league, prepared to arm in his support. The Achaeans, in particular, were at the same time stimulated by apprehensions of immediate danger to themselves. Between them and the Aetolians, as we have seen, an inveterate enmity had long subsisted, and in the present posture of affairs they had nothing to expect from the latter but hostility and devastation. The Spartans too, and the Eleans, the ancient enemies of Achaia, now in avowed confederacy with the Romans and Aetolians, were also on their frontiers. The Spartans especially, proud of their alliance with Rome, seemed to have resumed all their ancient spirit, and to meditate the recovery of that sovereignty they had formerly claimed over the rest of the Peloponnesian nations. The prince at present on the Spartan throne, was at the same time of a warlike and enterprising temper. Lycurgus, who had purchased the kingdom of the Ephori, having died, after a short and turbulent²² reign, Machanidas, another adventurer, had usurped the throne; and having expelled the young king Agesipolis, reigned now the sole tyrant of Sparta; and, whether impelled by his own disposition, or the situation of affairs at home, he gladly availed himself of the opportunity of leading out his Spartans to war.

²² Chilon, a prince of the royal line of Sparta, formed the plan of dethroning Lycurgus; and, with a party of his friends, having fallen on the Ephori, who had sold the kingdom to him, put them all to the sword; but Lycurgus himself made his escape. And the Spartan people, though Chilon promised them a new division of lands, refusing to join him, he was obliged to abandon the design, and to go into banishment.—See Polyb. L. iv. c. 81.

DURING



DURING these commotions in Peloponnesus, the tumult of arms had already spread throughout the northern provinces of Greece. Philip, now sensible of the dangers he had brought upon himself, exerted a vigour far different from what he had lately shewn. He began by securing his frontiers against the bordering nations, whom the present embarrassments of Macedon, and perhaps the expectations of support from Rome, might encourage to renew their incursions; he even carried the war into Illyricum²³; and had taken Lissus and Acrolissus; the former, the most considerable city in that country, and the other, a fortress of remarkable strength, at some short distance, hitherto supposed to be impregnable; so that most of the other cities of those parts, terrified at the vigour and rapidity of his progress, opened their gates without resistance. These successes were followed by his marching to the relief of the Acarnanians, whom the Aetolians were preparing to invade: they had implored aid of Philip; but before he reached their borders, the Aetolians had retired. The like spirited measures he pursued throughout Thessaly and the countries adjacent, counteracting the Aetolian influence, wherever he suspected it to prevail, and putting in a posture of defence every place, which he thought to be in danger of an attack from the enemy.

BOOK V.
SECT. 2.

Philip exerts uncommon vigour;

takes Lissus and Acrolissus;

marches to the relief of the Acarnanians,

and strengthens himself in Thessaly.

HITHERTO, the Aetolians had gained little by their alliance with Rome. Their great object had been the reduction of Acarnania; but the report, that Philip was on his march to relieve it, together with the desperate resolution

The Aetolians receive little benefit from their alliance with Rome;

²³ Polyb. Excerpt. L. viii. c. 10, 11.

of



Book V. of the Acarnanians²⁴, who, determined not to survive their
 Sect. 2. liberties, had armed all their males from fifteen years to
 sixty, and bound them under a heavy curse, never to quit the
 field of battle unless victorious, had obliged them to abandon
 the attempt. And, although Laevinus, at the return of
 spring, had re-entered Greece, the whole of his operations
 amounted only to the taking of Anticyra, a city of the Locri,
 on the north side of the Corinthian gulph; the spoils of
 which, with all the prisoners, he seized on as Roman pro-
 perty, leaving to the Aetolians, according to the strict letter
 of his treaty, the bare soil and a desolated city²⁵. And soon
 after which he set out for Rome, to take possession of the
 consulship, to which he had been elected.

but, from
 their hatred
 of Philip,
 continue the
 war;

defeated by
 Philip in
 two engage-
 ments.

STIMULATED, however, by their hatred of Philip, and
 of the states confederated with him, they disregarded these
 discouragements, and pressed the war with the same ardour
 with which they had at first engaged. Sulpicius, who had
 been appointed to the command of the fleet on the Ionian
 station, in the room of Laevinus, had sent them a supply of near
 a thousand men; and they had likewise received succours
 from Attalus. They immediately passed over into Pelopon-
 nesus, and, in conjunction with the Spartans, fell upon
 Achaia; but as they were returning homeward, laden with
 plunder, they were met by Philip, who, having had notice
 of the distressed condition of the Achaeans, was hastening to
 their assistance; a battle immediately ensued, and the Aeto-
 lians were defeated. Undaunted, however, they a second

²⁴ Liv. L. xxvi. c. 25. Polyb. L. xvi. c. 17, & fragm. p. 1519.
 I. xxvi. c. 26.

²⁵ Ibid.



time engaged; but were not more fortunate; they were again discomfited, with the loss of a great part of their army, the remainder with difficulty saving themselves in one of the neighbouring cities. Philip's success, however, roused the jealousy of some of the adjoining states. They saw the danger with which they were threatened, should the power of Macedon be increased by the reduction of Aetolia; and they interested themselves in mediating a peace²⁶. Philip listened readily to the proposal, his ambitious views leading him to other wars; and a peace was on the point of being concluded, when the Romans, to whom the prolongation of the war in Greece was of the utmost importance, sent their fleet to the support of the Aetolians; who, being emboldened also by assurances they at the same time received from Asia, that Attalus was preparing to join them with a considerable force, set Philip at defiance; and, in the style of victory, talked of conditions, to which they knew he could not give his consent²⁷.

BOOK V.
Sect. 2.

Peace proposed by the neighbouring states;

Philip willing to treat;

rejected by the Aetolians.

THIS, however, was by no means prejudicial to Philip; it gave, on the contrary, his Greek confederates a high opinion of his moderation and pacific purposes; whilst it strengthened their indignation against the Aetolians. These favourable dispositions he soon found a brilliant opportunity of cultivating. He was assisting at the celebration of the Nemean games, when tidings arrived that the Romans had

Philip sets out from the Nemean games, and repulses the Romans;

²⁶ The principal mediators were, the Athenians, the Rhodians, the people of Chios, and the king of Egypt.

²⁷ See Liv. L. xxvii. c. 30.

landed,



Book V. landed, and were ravaging the country from Corinth to Sicyon.
 Sect. 2. He instantly set out, attacked the enemy, obliged them to fly to their ships, recovered the booty they had taken, and was again at Argos before the games were concluded. This rapid and splendid achievement against Roman troops, gave to Philip a high degree of lustre in the eyes of Greece, now assembled at the Nemean solemnity; which he greatly improved by the affability and familiar deportment he affected towards these republicans, who, accustomed to liberty, were wonderfully flattered in beholding a prince in the height of power, and just crowned with victory, mix freely among them, and, divesting himself of the pomp of royalty, wear the garb and manners of a fellow-citizen^a.

distinguishes himself in a second engagement;

overpowered by numbers;

His next enterprize, though not so successful, was not less honourable to his valour. The Aetolians having got possession of Elis, near the borders of Achaia, Philip advanced in order to dislodge them; but, upon giving them battle, he found they were stronger than he had conceived, and that they had Roman soldiers among them; Sulpicius, who lay off the Peloponnesian coast, having, unobserved by Philip, contrived to reinforce the Aetolian garrison with five thousand men. He nevertheless charged the enemy with vigour; when, his horse being killed under him, he continued to fight on foot, until, numbers being slain on every side, and the enemy pressing on, he must undoubtedly have been taken or killed, had not his men, by one bold effort, rushed in and borne him off. Disappointed in his design

^a Liv. L. xxvii. c. 33.

on.



on Elis, he did not, however, return without success. There stood at some distance a strong castle, in which the Elean peasants had taken shelter, with their flocks and herds, the principal wealth of the country; this castle he surprised, and carried off twenty thousand head of cattle, together with four thousand prisoners.

BOOK V.
SECT. 2.

yet surprises
a strong
castle,
and carries
off immense
plunder:

BUT²⁹, amidst all this exertion of vigour, and seeming regard for the independence of Greece, the unprincipled profligacy of Philip's character still betrayed itself. Not long before this period, he had, a second time, attempted the liberties of the Messenians, but had been baffled by the manly stand they had made against him; the Pharian Demetrius, to whom he had committed the conduct of his plan, having lost his life in the attempt³⁰. At Argos he had, at the same time, incurred much disgrace by his excessive dissoluteness; invading, with the most daring licentiousness, the honour of private families, and employing even terror and violence³¹, where the powers of seduction failed. Happily for his Peloponnesian confederates, the necessities of Macedon called him away; a report of his death having encouraged domestic insurrections, and the inroads of hostile borderers.

his dissoluteness renders
him odious;

returns to
Macedon,

NOTWITHSTANDING Philip's departure, the military operations of the Achaean states suffered no interruption: a very important alteration having taken place in relation to that people, who now, instead of placing their whole de-

Philopoemen
begins to
distinguish
himself;

²⁹ Liv. L. xxvii. c. 32.

³⁰ Polyb. L. iii. c. 19.

³¹ Liv. ubi supra.



Book V.
Sect. 2.

his character.

pendence on foreign aid, displayed abilities and resources equal to the most spirited enterprize. It was by Philopoemen³³ this change had been effected. Originally of Megalopolis in Arcadia, this great man had distinguished himself, from his early years, by ardent exertions for the liberties of his country, and a strenuous opposition to the Spartan power, then the most formidable in Peloponnesus; having chosen even to abandon his property, and submit to the miseries of exile, rather than live in subjection to the Spartans, who had made themselves masters of his native city. Aratus, about the same time, was employed in strengthening the commonwealth of Achaia, in order to form it into an effectual barrier against the ambitious attempts of his Spartan neighbours. The disinterested and enlarged views of Aratus, attached Philopoemen³⁴ to his interests; he co-operated in many of his schemes, and was active in bringing over several of the Arcadian citizens to join the Achaean league. Soon after the death of Aratus, the integrity and military capacity of Philopoemen gave him the principal lead in the Achaean councils; in the conduct of which, though inferior to Aratus in political abilities, he equalled him in zeal for the cause of freedom; and, in the martial line, he far surpassed him. War, indeed, was peculiarly his province; so that, although he wished to resemble Epaminondas, whom he had proposed for his model, it was only in his military genius, according to Plutarch³⁵; in his activity, his sagacity, and his contempt of riches, that the parallel was strong; but, to the mildness, the gravity,

³³ Polyb. Excerpt. L. xi. c. 7. Plutarch in Philopoem.

L. ii. c. 40.

³⁴ Ubi supra.

³⁵ Polyb.

and



and the wisdom of that illustrious Greek, the character of Philopoemen could never rise; the department of arms, says this historian, being far more suited to his genius than the administration of civil affairs. The first great battle, in which Philopoemen distinguished himself remarkably, was that of Selasia; the success of that memorable day being in a great measure decided by a judicious movement of the corps which he commanded³⁵. He passed afterwards into Crete, in order to perfect himself in some parts of the military science, for which the Cretans were famed. But it was not in the field of war alone that Philopoemen shewed his genius for military affairs. They were his constant occupation; in his walks, even in his journeys, in his rural sports, his whole attention was employed in observing the difficulties of steep or broken grounds; the advantages which might be derived from passes, woods, inclosed fields, or open plains; the difference made by rivers, ditches, and defiles, with every situation, where the ranks of an army should be extended in front or in file. By this singular and incessant attention to the military line, he acquired an extraordinary knowledge and readiness in martial affairs; no emergency, however sudden, finding him unprepared. When advanced to be general of Achaia, he saw with concern the state to which a foreign yoke had reduced his countrymen, and he conceived the noble resolution of relieving them from their humiliating condition. He altered altogether their discipline; he made them acquainted with hardship and toil; he gave them weightier armour, and weapons of greater execution. Their cavalry, hitherto

³⁵ Polyb. L. ii. c. 67, 68.



Book V.
Sect. 2:

ostentatious and useless, because mostly composed of young men of rank, who entered into it more from vanity than from public-spirited motives, he modelled so as to render it vigorous and respectable. He turned even to advantage the frivolousness of the Achaeans. The young men of wealth and rank affected much splendor in their dress; this taste for magnificence he persuaded them to transfer to their armour and military accoutrements³⁶. This displayed a great knowledge of the human heart. To combine a love of splendor with a love of arms, will ever have a powerful effect on youthful minds. To have attempted to enforce the simplicity of the ancient garb, at the period of refinement to which the Achaeans had then arrived, would only, in all probability, have generated fullness and resistance. Philopoemen judged therefore with wisdom, when he made the foibles of his fellow-citizens subservient to the glory of the state; whilst even the richness of their armour, among men naturally warlike, might powerfully assist the point of honour in the day of battle, and produce wonderful exertions, to prevent the loss, as well as the disgrace, of such armour becoming the property of their foes. The effect indeed of this judicious and insinuating discipline became sensibly felt. The Achaeans recovered much of the prowess of former days; the armies of Aetolia and Elis, who, promising themselves, as usual, an easy victory, had ventured, upon Philip's absence, to attack them, being totally defeated.

The Romans
with Attalus
attack Eu-
boea.

SULPICIOUS had in the mean time engaged in an expedition against Euboea³⁷. Finding that Philip had marched from

³⁶ Plutarch. in Philopoem. Polyb. Excerpt. L. xi. c. 7.
c. 5. et seq.

³⁷ Liv. L. xxviii.

Peloponnesus,



Peloponnesus, he sailed to Aegina, and wintered in that island, after having made a conquest of it, and sold the inhabitants for slaves. Attalus king of Pergamus having afterwards joined him with his fleet, as soon as the season permitted, they shaped their course towards Euboea. Of all the provinces of Greece, this, though an island, was one of the most considerable for fertility of soil, extent of territory, and situation³⁸. To the east, it opened to the trade of Asia, and the numerous islands that cover the Hellespontine and Aegean seas; and, to the west, it reached along the coasts of Locris, Boeotia, and Attica, from the Maliac bay to the promontory of Sunium; being divided from the continent by a channel, so exceedingly narrow in one part, as to admit a bridge over it. Opposite to this pass was Chalcis, the principal city of the island, accounted, from its advantageous seat, the key to this quarter of Greece. The king of Macedon had a very valuable stake in these parts; most of the cities, both of Euboea and the adjacent continent, being held by Macedonian garrisons.

PHILIP was not inattentive to the designs of the enemy. He had settled the affairs of his own kingdom in the best manner he could, and had moved down to Demetrias in Thessaly; he had assembled a numerous force, and given assurances of effectual support to all his allies. Signals by fire³⁹ he ordered to be made from the heights of Euboea, and from Peparethus, a small island at some distance from it, and also from certain mountains of Phocis and Thessaly, that he might thereby have regular and speedy intelligence of the

Philip makes
vigorous
preparations:

³⁸ See Strabo, L. x. p. 306.

³⁹ See Polyb. L. x. c. 42, 43, 44.

enemy's



Book V. Sect. 2. enemy's motions, in order to hasten to the relief of places in most immediate danger⁴⁰. With all these spirited and judicious preparations, Philip did not remain merely on the defensive. He endeavoured to surprize Heraclea, a city on the confines of Thessaly, where the Aetolian states had assembled in order to confer with Attalus; but before Philip got thither, the convention was dissolved, and he could only lay waste the country all around. In the mean time, Oreum, one of the strongest cities of Euboea, was taken by the Romans; having been betrayed to them by the governor, whom they had corrupted. Encouraged by this success, Sulpicius had laid siege to Chalcis. But the strength of the place, and the vigorous defence made by the commanding officer, who was not to be tampered with, added to a report that Philip was approaching, obliged him to abandon the attempt. Whilst Philip, however, was employed in saving Chalcis, Opus, a wealthy city of the Locri, his allies, was stormed and plundered by Attalus; and though the king of Macedon, upon the first advice of the movements of Attalus, marched towards Opus with all possible expedition, and warmly pursued the plunderers, who had hastily retired on his approach, they nevertheless escaped to their fleet on the Euripus, and secured all the booty they had taken.

loses Oreum
by the
treachery of
the governor,

but saves
Chalcis.

Attalus
storms and
plunders
Opus.

The Romans
and Attalus
retire from
Greece.

In this fluctuating manner had the war continued six years, neither the Aetolian confederates, nor those of Macedon, having much cause to boast; when a sudden revolution in the fortunes of Philip left him arbiter of Greece. Attalus was called away to the defence of his own kingdom, which Pru-

⁴⁰ Liv. ubi sup.



fias of Bithynia was preparing to invade: and the Romans also, to whom the defeat of Afrubal had opened other views, and tired at the same time of a war, the events of which were indecisive, and the issue doubtful, withdrew from Eubœa, and soon after failed homeward.

THESE changes were followed by an event very unfavourable to the interests of the Aetolians. Machanidas of Sparta, the most warlike and powerful of their Grecian confederates, fell⁴ in battle by the hands of Philopoemen. Upon the departure of the Romans and Attalus, Philip had returned to Macedon, to oppose the inroads of the bordering nations; and Machanidas, who had long sought occasion to reduce all Peloponnesus, availed himself of his absence, and at the head of a considerable army advanced towards Mantinea, a city of Arcadia under the protection of the Achaean states. Philopoemen was at this time general of Achaia. He observed all the tyrant's motions; and, assembling immediately his forces, gave him battle. The victory at first inclined to the side of Sparta; Machanidas, who had begun the charge with great vigour, having broken and put to flight the left wing, composed of a body of Tarentines and other auxiliaries; but urging the pursuit too far, and separating himself from the rest of his army, Philopoemen marked his opportunity; and falling upon the main body of the Spartans, defeated them totally. Machanidas, who saw the confusion of the Spartan line, hastened back; but, Philopoemen having possessed himself of a ditch, intersecting the field of battle, across which it was necessary for Machanidas to pass, in order to rejoin his troops;

Machanidas,
tyrant of
Sparta, slain
in battle by
Philopoemen;

⁴ OLYMP. cxliiii. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 202.



BOOK V. as he was attempting to spur his horse over it, Philopoemen
 Sect. 2. killed him with his javelin⁴². The death, however, of Ma-
 chanidas did not restore liberty to Sparta; he was succeeded
 by Nabis, another tyrant, much inferior to him in military
 abilities, but infinitely more flagitious and cruel.

Nabis suc-
 ceeds him.

Philip makes
 peace with
 the Aetolians
 and Romans:

EVERY thing now, in appearance, favoured the ambitious
 designs of Philip. The Aetolians could no longer oppose his
 arms; and Italy lay open to him; where, notwithstanding
 the declining state of the Carthaginian affairs, he might still
 have made a powerful diversion in favour of Hannibal. But
 he had at present adopted other views. He not only, there-
 fore, made peace with the Aetolians, but entered also into
 terms with the Romans; who, though they affected to
 be displeas'd with the Aetolian states for having listened
 to an accommodation with Philip, soon after followed their
 example, relieving themselves with secret satisfaction from
 a war, which, whatever they might boast, had certainly
 greatly embarrassed them.

THE cause of this alteration in the Macedonian councils
 deserves notice.

this altera-
 tion occasion-
 ed by his
 views on
 Egypt;

PTOLEMY Philopator was at this time on the throne of
 Egypt, a prince of the most dissolute manners; and, though
 in the prime of life, languishing under an infirm and de-
 cayed constitution, the consequence of vicious excesses.
 He had only one child, an infant son, whose weakly con-
 stitution afforded but a precarious hope of long life. This

⁴² Polyb. Excerpt. L. xi. c. 7. Plutarch in Philopom.

complexion



complexion of Egyptian affairs seemed to open new and magnificent objects for Philip's ambition. He had already entered into a negotiation ⁴³ with Antiochus of Syria, in relation to the partition of the Egyptian monarchy, in case of Philopator's demise: and he now resolved to strengthen himself in those parts of Asia and Europe, through which he might, upon occasion, open himself a way into the adjoining Egyptian provinces. Under pretence, therefore, of assisting Prusias king of Bithynia, his son-in-law, he passed over to Cius ⁴⁴, a free city on the Bithynian frontiers, laid siege to it, and took it; putting to the sword, or selling for slaves, all the inhabitants, and seizing on all the rich plunder ⁴⁵. His views, in this severity, were probably the amassing of treasure, and at the same time, the making his name formidable in that country, near to which the Egyptian king had large possessions. The neighbouring states, however, provoked at the cruelties he had been guilty of at Cius, and perhaps suspecting that he had designs also against them, took up arms; which immediately involved him in a new war with Attalus and the Rhodians. He attempted Pergamus, the capital city of Attalus; but was disappointed in every effort against it. He laid waste, however, the open country, and obtained some trifling advantages by sea; but he was at length defeated, with the loss of most of his ships and seamen.

endeavours to strengthen himself in the neighbourhood of the Egyptian provinces; besieges Cius, and takes it.

His cruelties provoke indignation;

he attempts Pergamus; fails;

lays the country waste.

⁴³ Polyb. Excerpt. L. xv. c. 20.

⁴⁴ Ibid. c. 21.

⁴⁵ It appears from Polybius, (Excerpt. L. xv. c. 21.) that these Cianeans were a people exceedingly corrupted, employed in the oppressing, and the compassing of the destruction of, each other. Continual feuds were the natural consequence of such a spirit. Philip availed himself of the opportunity, which these feuds afforded him, and laid their city in ruins.



BOOK V.
Sect. 2.

Philopator
king of
Egypt dies;

Antiochus
and Philip
hasten to di-
vide his do-
minions.

Philip at-
tacks the
Thracian
Chersonese.

MEANWHILE, Philopator was dead, and Antiochus, in consequence of his compact with Philip, had already begun the reduction of Coelosyria and Palestine. Upon the first tidings of this event, Philip hastened to secure those places to the northward of Macedon, which belonged to Egypt; and, entering the Thracian Chersonese, attacked the strong-holds which the Egyptians held there, and, either by intrigue or force of arms, ejected all their garrisons. Crossing over, he laid siege to Abydos⁴⁶, the most important place of this part of the Asiatic coast; it commanded the pass of the Hellespont on that side, as Sestos did on the side of Europe; and whoever was master of it, had in his hands the key of Asia. Philip found here a resistance he little expected. Spirited up by promises of aid from Attalus and the Rhodians, the inhabitants, who abhorred Philip, had determined to bury themselves under the ruins of their city, rather than to submit to his dominion. He was not, however, discouraged. The more difficulties he had to combat, the more strenuously he pushed the siege; and, notwithstanding the most obstinate defence, he soon reduced the garrison to the last extremity.

The Romans
jealous of
Philip;

BUT, whilst employed in these ruthless works of ambition, he saw not the storm which threatened to retaliate upon himself the miseries with which his lust of empire had overwhelmed other states. The Romans, distressed by the Carthaginian war, had unwillingly consented to a peace with Macedon; but that war was at an end: and they now wished for a pretence to break with a prince, whose power,

⁴⁶ Liv. L. xxxi. c. 14 & 16.

if



if not humbled, might one day become too formidable. A pretence soon offered. Philip stood charged with having, in direct violation of the treaty subsisting between him and Rome, sent supplies both of men and money to Hannibal. Attalus and the Rhodians likewise complained, that, regardless of their being expressly comprised in that treaty, he had waged war against them. The Athenians accused him of infractions of the same treaty in relation to them; they had been acknowledged by the Romans as their allies; and yet Philip had assisted the Acarnanians in their invasion of Attica. The Egyptian ministry also, terrified at the dangers which threatened their young prince from the rapacity of Antiochus and Philip, sued to Rome for protection against the confederate kings, and implored the senate and Roman people to accept of the guardianship of the infant Ptolemy, and to superintend the administration of his kingdom.

BOOK V.
SECT. 2.

receive complaints against him from Attalus and the Rhodians; from the Athenians;

from Egypt.

EVERY thing that tended to criminate Philip was heard favourably in the Roman senate. They had, however, the

The Romans declare themselves the

* These complaints had a plausible appearance, the accusation from Athens excepted. Even the Roman historian *, though the Athenians were now in the interests of Rome, observes with indignation the meanness they shewed on this occasion. In fact, they themselves had been the aggressors. They had cruelly murdered two young men of Acarnania, who had innocently strayed into the temple of Eleusis, at the time of the mystical celebration; and by the questions they asked, had betrayed their ignorance of the rites of initiation. Provoked at this, the Acarnanians, together with some Macedonian troops, had ravaged Attica. And the Athenians, not having the spirit either to support the outrage they had committed, or to make due reparation for it, called in a foreign force, and, in the gratification of their revenge, assisted in subverting the liberties of their country.

* Liv. xxxi. c. 14.



BOOK V. policy to begin by that act, which did most honour to
 Sect. 2. Rome. Embassadors were immediately dispatched into
 guardian of the young king of Egypt. Egypt, to take upon them the guardianship of the young king, in the name of the senate and Roman people, and to command Antiochus to withdraw from the Egyptian territories. The youngest of the ambassadors, Marcus Aemilius, had also instructions, on his way to Egypt, to inform Philip of the intentions of the Roman senate. Aemilius found Philip before Abydos, in a situation which must probably have not a little heightened that impatient ferocity for which he was remarkable; at the head of an army flushed with victory; on the point of carrying the city he was besieging; and in high exultation from the alliance he had lately concluded with Antiochus. Philip seemed to feel the importance of his situation; yet, unabashed at the Macedonian monarch's deportment, the Roman delivered his orders with dignity and firmness. He charged Philip not to attack the possessions of the crown of Egypt; nor to wage war against any of the Grecian states; and to submit to fair arbitration the discussion of the matters in dispute between him, Attalus, and the Rhodians.—Philip's pride could endure no longer. "Attalus and Rhodes," replied he, "provoked the war, of which they complain. They themselves were the aggressors."—"And were the Athenians," said Aemilius, "were the people of Cius, were the unhappy Abydonians, the aggressors also?"—"The boastful inexperience of youth," interrupted the king; "thy gracefulness of person, perhaps; and, still more, the name of Roman, that thou bearest; inspire thee with this haughtiness. It is my wish, that Rome may prove faithful to the treaties which subsist between us. But, should she
 " be

guardian of the young king of Egypt.

The Roman ambassador finds Philip before Abydos;

delivers the orders of the senate:

the firmness of the Roman on this occasion;

Philip's bold reply.



FROM THE ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

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“ be disposed to try again the issue of arms, I trust, with
“ the protection of the gods, to render the Macedonian
“ name as formidable as that of Roman ⁴⁸.”

BOOK V.
SECT. 2.

Soon after the departure of Aemilius, followed the destruction of Abydos ⁴⁹. No hope of escape remaining, the Abydonians determined to man the breaches with the few fighting men they had left; to resist, until they were all either slain or disabled; and then, having put to the sword their women and children, to consume with fire what remained of the city. This desperate resolution was executed in part, when some of the priests, though solemnly sworn to the execution of the dreadful resolution, found it to be more than humanity could bear, and opened the gates of the city to Philip ^{and taken;}. Upon the entrance of the Macedonians was exhibited one of the most tremendous scenes recorded in history; fathers, husbands, in every quarter of the city, plunging the poniard into the breasts, or dashing out the brains, of their dearest connexions; and then, pierced by their own hands, expiring on heaps of mangled carcases. Philip himself felt the horror of the fight. He would have checked the fury of the infatuated multitude; but in vain; and was at last obliged to draw off his troops, and to allow them three days for completing the carnage. So that, the prisoners excepted, hardly one man survived of this unhappy and devoted people ⁵⁰.

Abydos is reduced to great straits.

and taken;

Despair of the Abydonians.

⁴⁸ Polyb. L. xvi. c. 19. Liv. L. xxxi. c. 17, 18.
BEFORE CHRIST 199.

⁴⁹ OLYMP. cxliv. 14.

⁵⁰ Polyb. ubi sup.

HISTORY.



HISTORY OF GREECE.

B O O K VI.

S E C T I O N I.

C O N T E N T S.

Second Macedonian war—Sulpicius the consul enters Greece—Villius succeeds him—Flamininus is appointed to the consulship, and conduct of the war—his abilities—vigour—success—detaches the most considerable of the Grecian states, particularly the Aetolians and Achaeans, from their connection with Macedon—draws Philip into an engagement—defeats him—compels him to accept of peace on terms highly disadvantageous—ingratiates himself with the Grecian states, by making a pompous proclamation of their freedom, at the Isthmian and Nemeæan games—insidiousness of this grant—the Aetolians avow their jealousy; condemn the peace with Macedon; and charge the proconsul

7 with



with entertaining unfriendly designs against Greece—under a pretence of a zeal for liberty, he proposes making war on Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, lately his confederate against Philip—the Aetolians object to this war—the other Grecian states cooperate with Flaminius.—Nabis attacked, and reduced to extremity—Flaminius, against the opinion of his Greek confederates, concludes a treaty with him; and by artifice extorts their consent—his motives—he returns to Rome, having first obtained the freedom of all the Romans who were in slavery throughout Greece.

BOOK VI.
Sect. 1.

Prosperous state of Roman affairs at the beginning of the second Macedonian war;

ROME could hardly have chosen a conjuncture more favourable to her ambitious designs, than that which marks the commencement of the second Macedonian war: Carthage was subdued; all remains of revolt and popular tumult had subsided throughout Italy; Sicily, the prize so long contended for, in fertility and opulence the pride of the western world, was now, together with most of the adjacent islands, annexed to her dominions; even those nations, whom her arms had not reached, heard with terror the fame of a power, to which Hannibal had proved unequal.

situation of those of Macedonia.

PHILIP, on the other hand, instead of availing himself of the barrier pointed out by nature for his defence, seemed to be laying himself open to invasion and discomfiture. He was on hostile terms with most of the circumjacent nations. He had lost the affection and confidence of the most considerable of the Grecian states. From Egypt no succours were to be expected; and from Asia but few. The Rhodians, who, on account of their maritime strength, might have been



been powerful allies, had by his depredations, and ill-timed attempts, been compelled to take part with his enemies. And Antiochus, of whose alliance he made his boast, was too intent on his own schemes of empire, and too remote from Macedon, to be anxious about the fate of a kingdom, on which, he injudiciously imagined, the prosperity of Syria did not at all depend.

BOOK VI.
SECT. I.

THREE years had elapsed, since peace had been concluded with Philip, when the Romans, under the command of the consul Sulpicius, landed on the coast of Epire. The ostensible cause of this expedition was the relief of Athens, then besieged by Philip. Accordingly, part of the Roman fleet was detached to Attica, and was soon after joined by the combined fleets of Attalus and the Rhodians. Philip was fired with indignation against the Athenians, whom he looked upon as the cause of the war, and marked them out as objects of his keenest vengeance. To add to his resentment, the Roman commander had detached from the coast of Attica some armed vessels to Chalcis, which surprised the city, destroyed the arsenals and military stores, and left the place a smouldering ruin. Philip, who lay at Demetrius in Thessaly when tidings were brought him of this event, immediately set out, at the head of a chosen body of men, in hopes of overtaking the enemy; but, disappointed of his aim, he advanced towards Attica, continuing his march all night, with the design of surprising Athens, and of treating it as the Romans had treated Chalcis. He had probably succeeded, had not one of those couriers, whom the Greeks usually employed on

The consul Sulpicius enters Greece;

sends a fleet to the relief of Athens, besieged by Philip's forces;

surprises Chalcis and lays it in ruins.

Resentment of Philip; he attempts to wreak his vengeance on Athens;

205

* Ημερολόγιος—See Polluc. Onomast. L. i. c. 7.



Book VI. occasions of dispatch, descried him on his march, and
 Sect. 1. alarmed the Athenians. Finding that he could not carry this
 point, he took his revenge in another manner. The coun-
 try of Attica was every where adorned with the most exqui-
 site works of art, stately temples, sumptuous villas, statues of
 finished beauty, and noble sepulchral monuments; in which
 the richness of the marble, though of the most perfect kind,
 was of small value, when compared with what had been stamp-
 ed upon it by the hand of the artist. All of them fell victims
 to his fury, the temples excepted; he spared not even those aw-
 ful remembrances of the illustrious dead, which the violence
 of war had hitherto respected. He then attempted Eleufis,
 and afterwards the Piraeus, but failed in both; and having
 made a short excursion into Peloponnesus, he returned again,
 with redoubled rage, and destroyed even the temples, which
 till now he had seemed to venerate; mangling and defacing
 every work of art in such a manner, that scarce a vestige of
 symmetry or beauty remained².

is disappoint-
ed;

lays waste
the country
around it.

Manner in
which the
Athenians
vented their
resentment;

THE Athenians, on their part, had recourse to the only
 weapons, they were now expert in, the invectives of their ora-
 tors, and the acrimony of their popular decrees. It was re-
 solved, “ that Philip should for ever be the object of the exe-
 “ cration of the Athenian people—that whatever statues had
 “ been raised to him, or to any of the Macedonian princes,
 “ should be thrown down; whatever had been enacted in their
 “ favour rescinded; and the several festivals and orders of
 “ priests, which had been instituted in their honour abolished
 “ —that every place, in which had been set up any inscrip-

² Liv. L. xxxi. c. 24, 26.

“ tion



“ tion or memorial in praise of Philip, should henceforth be
 “ accounted profane and defiled — that in all their solemn
 “ feasts, when their priests were to implore a blessing on
 “ Athens and her allies, they should pronounce curses against
 “ him, his kindred, his arms by sea and land, and the
 “ whole Macedonian name and nation — in a word, that
 “ whatever had in antient times been decreed against the
 “ Pisistratidae, should operate in full force against Philip
 “ — and that whosoever proposed any mitigation of the re-
 “ solutions now formed, should be adjudged a traitor to
 “ his country, and be forthwith put to death³.”

NOR was Athens less extravagant in her adulations of those, from whom she had received assistance. The Romans and Attalus were distinguished particularly by the most fulsome honours; solemn processions of all the priests and priestesses attended their entrance into Athens, as if celebrating the reception of tutelary deities. Every Rhodian born was decreed a denizen of Athens. And, in further compliment to Attalus, one of their tribes assumed the name of Attalis⁴. Into such meanness has corruption of manners the power of betraying the mind of man!

their excess
of flattery
to the Ro-
mans and
their allies.

PHILIP soon found, that from the other parts of Greece he had something yet more formidable to dread, than the wordy war of the frivolous Athenians. He had applied to the Achaean states, in their convention at Argos, for succours, offering to repel the attacks of Nabis, who was infesting

The Achae-
ans and Ae-
tolians refuse
to assist Phi-
lip.

³ Liv. L. xxxi. c. 44.

⁴ Polyb. Legat. iii. p. 1092. Liv. L. xxxi. c. 14, 15.



BOOK VI. their frontiers, on condition that some of his cities should
 Sect. I. be garrisoned by a body of their best troops. But the Achaeans, well apprized of his insidious views, rejected the proposal⁵. He applied afterwards, with as little success, to the national convention of the Aetolian states; embassadors from Athens and the Roman consul having appeared in the assembly, and urged their complaints in so forcible a manner, that, had not Damocritus, then praetor of Aetolia, bribed, as it was suspected, by Philip, put off the final determination of the matter till the next assembly, war had unquestionably been immediately declared against him⁶.

Sulpicius endeavours to penetrate to the western frontier of Macedon:

MEANWHILE, Sulpicius, who was encamped on the banks of the Apfus⁷, had sent off a detachment, with directions to penetrate through the countries that covered the western borders of Macedon, and attempt an impression on the Macedonian frontier⁸. This operation had all the effect that could be expected from it. The castles and strong-holds in this part of the country, though advantageously situated in the midst of defiles and broken precipices, were taken by the

⁵ It was probably on this occasion that Philip attempted the life of Philopoemen; Plutarch (in Philopoem.) informing us, that he meant to have had him assassinated at Argos. This honest Greek, who was too much a friend to his country to be in amity with Philip, no doubt opposed his demand; and that prince, to whom crimes are said to have been familiar, meditated an effectual revenge.

⁶ Liv. L. xxxi. c. 32.

⁷ A river of Illyricum, which empties itself into the Ionian gulph between Apollonia and Dyrrachium.

⁸ Liv. L. xxxi. c. 27 & seq.

Romans;



Romans; while the Illyrians, the Dardanians, the Athamans, terrified at the progress of the Roman arms, declared against Philip. Encouraged by these fair appearances, the consul entered the country of the Dassaretii, from which there was said to be an easy passage into Macedon, and got possession of all the towns throughout the canton; dismay and desolation spreading on every side as he advanced. Philip himself began to tremble for the safety of his kingdom; he drew near to those parts which seemed to be most in danger, and employed all his military skill, of which historians allow him a large share, in watching, and, as occasion offered, obstructing the motions of the enemy: when an unlucky event⁹ not only damped his vigour for the present, but left such an impression on his spirits, as well as on the minds of his subjects, as is thought to have had a considerable influence on their subsequent fortunes. A troop of Macedonian horsemen had encountered a party of Roman cavalry, and, a skirmish ensuing, forty of the former were slain, and of the Romans thirty-five. Among the Greeks the rites of sepulture were highly revered; Philip, therefore, to shew the respect he had for his gallant soldiers, removed the bodies of the Macedonians to his camp, in order to the celebration of their funeral obsequies. Hitherto the Macedonians, whose wars had chiefly been with the nations of Greece and Illyricum, had been only accustomed to wounds made by the spear, the javelin, and the arrow, which in their appearance had nothing hideous; but when they saw the bodies of their companions mangled by wide-

Philip's apprehensions.

Unhappy impression made on the minds of the Macedonians;

from what cause.

⁹ Liv. L. xxxi. c. 34.

yawning:



BOOK VI. yawning wounds; when they beheld their headless trunks, entire limbs lopped from the mutilated carcase, with all the shocking marks of slaughter, which the broad Spanish falchion is suited to inflict; they were struck with horror and dismay. Even Philip shuddered at the thoughts of encountering such a foe, and was observed, for a considerable time afterwards, carefully to avoid any decisive action; contenting himself with skirmishes, and with cutting off occasionally some straggling parties of the enemy's foragers.

State of the war during the consulships of Sulpicius and Villius his successor.

IN this languid and indecisive kind of war two years elapsed, during the consulship of Sulpicius, and that of his successor Villius, not much to the honour of the Roman commanders; whose spiritless or interested conduct was said to be the cause that nothing more had been effected. From this protracted war, however, Philip had reaped no advantage. He had met with discomfiture in almost every attempt; his frontiers had suffered severe depredation; and, far from strengthening himself with new allies, the Aetolians, who at first had preserved a kind of neutrality, had now avowedly espoused the cause of Rome, and appeared against him in the field.

Flaminius is appointed to conduct the Macedonian war:

THUS stood affairs at the close of the second year of the war, when the command of the Roman army devolved on the new consul, Titus Quintius Flaminius. The important share this Roman had in effecting the humiliation of Greece, and the subtilty and dark perfidiousness of those councils,

with



with the conduct of which he was intrusted, render his character ¹⁰ the object of particular attention.

Book VI.
Sect. I.

THOUGH not remarkably eminent for military abilities, he was, however, what a Roman in those days generally was, a soldier, and well acquainted with the science of war. But his excellence chiefly consisted in the business of negotiation. Gentle and conciliating in his manner, he knew how to employ every art to gain the confidence of those, to whom he was deputed. Impenetrable in his designs, yet wearing the captivating shew of cordiality and frankness, he coolly marked every opportunity, and improved every advantage that could serve the schemes he had in view. To Greece he professed himself the zealous vindicator of her liberties; though in effect their most refined destroyer: conducting himself, in every step, with such complete dissimulation, that, even to this day, it is, with some, a question, whether he was not guilty of the treacherous policy which Rome practised on this occasion; and, in the honesty of his heart, promised what he believed was to be religiously fulfilled.

his character;

HE had been elected to the consulship when he had not completed his thirtieth year, and without passing through the intermediate offices of aedile and praetor. This extraordinary distinction, as Plutarch ¹¹ informs us, he owed chiefly to the reputation he had obtained among the Tarentines, over whom he had been appointed governor towards the end of Hannibal's war. Encouraged by these colonists with promises of powerful support, he stood for the con-

how raised to
the consul-
ship;

¹⁰ See Polyb. passim. Liv. L. xxxii. & seq. Plut. in Flamin. ¹¹ In Flamin.

fulship,



Book VI. Sect. 1. fulship, and carried it; the people warmly espousing his interest, in opposition even to some of their own tribunes, and the senate underhand favouring his pretensions. Having drawn lots with his colleague, he had for his allotment the Macedonian war. The prospect of so noble a field roused all his ambition; and he was resolved to pursue it with activity and ardour. It had been usual with the consuls to waste a considerable portion of their year at home, in the enjoyment of official parade: hence they seldom joined the army until the season was far advanced. Flaminius adopted a different plan. Regardless of the pomp of Rome, he hastened over into Greece, as soon as the necessary religious ceremonies were over, at which his office obliged him to preside.

his spirited manner of entering on the duties of his office:

dislodges Philip from a strong post,

HE found Villius in that part of Epire called Chaonia, near the mouth of the " Aous, in a situation rather disgraceful to a Roman consul, in sight of the enemy, without daring to attack them. Philip, trusting to the slender abilities of Villius, had ventured to look the Romans in the face, and had intrenched himself in such a manner as gave him a very formidable appearance". He was posted in a narrow vale, through which the Aous rolled a deep and rapid stream. The banks of the river were steep and narrow, and secured by strong entrenchments; on either side rose high and

¹² Plutarch (in Philopoem.) calls it the Apfus. It appears from Livy (L. xxxii. c. 5.) as well as from several circumstances, that it should be the Aous. See Palmer. Græc. Antiq. L. i. c. 26.

¹³ Livy (L. xxxii. c. 10.) gives us an account of an interview between Philip and the consul, of which no mention is made by Plutarch, and which, all circumstances considered, appears exceedingly improbable.



rugged mountains, and he had taken possession of all the hollows and defiles. Flaminius having taken the command, employed some days in reconnoitring the situation of the enemy, and considering the practicability of forcing their lines. At length, by means of some neighbouring shepherds, he discovered a path, which led to the summit by a winding course. Having detached a party to occupy the heights which hung over the Macedonian camp, on seeing the concerted signal, he began the ¹⁴ attack. In the heat of the engagement, the shouts of the Romans on the hills, who now poured down on the Macedonians, threw them into the utmost confusion, and soon completed their overthrow; Philip, with the remains of his army, making his escape through the straits of the mountains into Thessaly, and from thence into Macedon ¹⁵.

and puts him
to flight :

It would have little availed to have pursued Philip through a country, with every strong pass and intricate winding of which he was intimately acquainted. Flaminius adopted a method of operation ¹⁶ far more effectual : he prepared to destroy all remains of power or influence which his enemy possessed among the Grecian states, and, if possible, finally to dissolve every connexion of interests between Greece and Macedon. This plan, artfully laid, was carried into execution with the most consummate skill. He began his progress at Epire, through which he marched, not as an enemy, but as a protector. Philip, in his flight, had marked his

detaches several of the Grecian states from their connexion with Macedon ;

¹⁴ OLYMP. cxlv. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 194.

¹⁵ Liv. L. xxxii. c. 11, 12.

¹⁶ Plut. in Flamin. Liv. L. xxxii. c. 13 & seq.



Book VI. route with plunder and devastation. Flaminius, on the contrary, committed no hostility; and restrained his soldiers from every act of depredation; so that the Epirots, instead of being active in the cause of Macedon, to which, before this consul's arrival, they were well affected, now offered themselves as his guides, or enlisted under his banners. From Epire he marched into Thessaly, and took possession of almost every place of strength in the country; conquering opposition by lenity and persuasion, and employing arms only where gentler means had proved ineffectual. Meanwhile, Lucius, brother to Flaminius, who commanded the Roman fleet, had reached the eastern coast of Greece; and, being joined by the fleets of Attalus and the Rhodians, made a descent on Euboea, where Philip, as we have already seen, had many important settlements. Philocles, who commanded on the island, was defeated; and Eretria and Carystus, two considerable cities, were taken. Flaminius, after a short stay in Thessaly, hastened into Phocis, with the design of extending his conquests towards the southern provinces of Greece. His great object was, to gain over the states of Achaia to the interests of Rome; for which purpose, he gave instructions to his brother, to send a joint embassy to Achaia, in the name of the Romans, Attalus, and the Rhodians, requesting a convention of the Achaean states, in order to propose to them a treaty of alliance with the Romans; while the combined fleets, entering the Corinthian gulph, were to be stationed " off Cenchreae, one

endeavours
to gain over
the states of
Achaia;

and, in this
view, lays
siege to Co-
rinth.

* Liv. L. xxiii. c. 19. & seq.

of



of the Corinthian ports, under colour of laying siege to Corinth, then possessed by Philip; but, in fact, the more powerfully to enforce the object of the embassy. Alarmed at a measure of the highest consequence to him, Philip likewise dispatched ambassadors to plead his cause at the ensuing diet, which was appointed to be held at Sicyon; directing them to place in the strongest and clearest point of view, the validity of the treaties subsisting between Macedon and the Achaeans, and to remind them of the solemn oaths by which they had pledged themselves: oaths rendered, if possible, more strikingly awful by a customary yearly renewal. Upon the opening of the diet, the several ambassadors having first been heard, the members were called upon to deliver their sentiments; but a sullen silence ensued: stunned by the variety of dangers they saw around them, they were either at a loss what opinion to give, or fearful of delivering it. Aristæus, general for the year, and the devoted creature of Rome, having urged the convention in vain, at last took the lead, declaring himself, in the most decided manner, in favour of the Romans: "The success," he said, "of whose arms in Epire, in Thessaly, in Euboea, was the clearest proof of their power to protect those whose friendship they condescended to solicit; whose fleets and armies, whilst Philip was lurking in his own fastnesses, were now in sight of Achaia; whose chief motive, in their Grecian expedition, was to deliver them from the yoke of Macedon, under which they had long groaned; and who mildly deigned to request, what they might easily command." At the same time, he poured forth the bitterest invectives against the Macedonian king, whose crimes, whether real or imputed, he dwelt on with every possible aggravation.

Philip also sends ambassadors to the Achaean diet.

Aristæus, the general of the year, declares for the Romans.



Book VI.
Sect. 1.

aggravation. This servile strain, so unworthy of the first magistrate of a yet free people, raised an outcry of indignation, not only from the friends of Philip, but from all, who had a real concern for the liberties of their country. The Macedonian party in the convention was considerable, and attached to Philip by particular acts of kindness; there were, besides, many of the Achaeans, who, though they disliked the king's personal character, and were cautious of reposing much confidence in him, had, with great reason, no less gloomy apprehensions from this foreign power, which they saw establishing itself in the midst of their country, and considered the supporting of the royal house of Macedon as a measure of the highest moment to the general welfare of Greece. The assembly now became a scene of wild uproar; some, with indecent clamour, supporting the interests of Rome, while others as loudly and indecently opposed them. Both parties seemed callous to every tender or sacred tie, breathing all the virulence of civil discord, and mutually accusing their opponents with harbouring the most traitorous designs. What heightened the embarrassment, the numbers on each side appeared nearly equal; and even of the council of ten, a majority of whom was requisite to the formation of a decree, five were for Macedon, and five for Rome. In this state of turbulence and irresolution had the diet continued two days; and on the third, by the laws of Achaia, it was to be dissolved. Next day, however, seemed likely to end as the preceding, each party making more strenuous exertions, as the hour of decision approached; when Rhisafus of Pellene, a member of the diet, and in the interests of Rome, but whose son Memnon, one of the council of ten, notwithstanding his father's repeated entreaties,

Violent contests in the Achaean diet:



ties, had steadily refused to abandon the side of Macedon, once more attempted to shake the resolution of his son, solemnly swearing, that he would, with his own hand, put him to death, if he did not desist from an opposition, which must involve his country in ruin. A striking instance this, both of the virulence of party spirit, and of the ferocity even of Grecian manners in those times! Awed by his father's menaces, Memnon changed sides, and the question was carried in favour of Rome.

BOOK VI.
Sect. I.

the question
carried in fa-
vour of
Rome.

It is worthy of notice, that the deputies from Megalopolis, Argos, and Dymé withdrew, as soon as it was perceived what would be the determination of the convention, to avoid giving a sanction, by their presence, to resolutions so injurious to Philip. The Dyméans, particularly, alledged their obligations to the Macedonian king, who had ransomed several of their fellow-citizens that had been sold for slaves by the Romans, and restored them to their families. This generous reason, Livy¹¹ says, met the approbation even of Philip's enemies; which leads us to suppose, that he was not altogether so profligate a monarch as the writers of those days, who seem to be the adulators of Rome, rather than historians, have represented him.

Noble spirit
of some of
the Achaean
deputies.

Soon after this affair was brought to a conclusion, the siege of Corinth was raised. It had been promised by the Roman consul to the Achaeans; but it was now pretended, that the obstinate defence made by a number of Roman deserters, together with the reinforcements which the Ma-

Flamininus,
having gain-
ed his pur-
pose, raises
the siege of
Corinth.

¹¹ Ubi sup.

cedonians



Book VI. Sect. 1. cedonians had thrown into the garrison, had forced Flaminius to abandon the siege; which, were it even to end successfully, was likely to be bought at too high a rate. Probably, the determination of the Achaean diet had rendered the siege no longer necessary. About the same time, too, Argos had been betrayed by some of its citizens into the hands of Philip¹⁹. So that, after all that the Achaean states had resolved, this prince still remained master of two of the principal cities of Peloponnesus.

Philip, alarmed, applies for an interview with the consul;

obtains it.

Artful conduct of Flaminius;

PHILIP, however, was alarmed. Though possessed of these two cities, yet their distant situation afforded him but a precarious and expensive tenure. He clearly foresaw the approaching fate of Macedon; abandoned by her most useful confederates, deprived of her wonted resources, and reduced to a narrow and naked frontier. Urged by the embarrassment of his situation, he requested a conference with the Roman consul; who made choice of Nicaea, a sea-port on the Maliac bay, for the place of interview²⁰. Flaminius repaired thither, attended by the chief leaders of the Aetolian and Achaean states; by Amynder king of the Athamanes; by the ambassador of the king of Pergamus; and the commander of the Rhodian fleet. This pompous retinue not only administered to the consul's pride, but answered also certain political ends; it gave him an opportunity of making a plausible display to his allies of his attention to their several interests; and it afforded him the means of humbling Philip, to whom it must have been a severe mortification

¹⁹ Liv. L. xxxii. c. 25. L. xxxii. c. 32 & seq.

²⁰ Polyb. Excerpt. L. xvii. c. 1 & seq. Liv.



to see so considerable a part of the strength of Greece on the side of his adversary. The Macedonian king, as he approached the shore, for he had come by sea, could not suppress his indignation; and, being invited by the consul to land, declined it. "Whom do you fear?" said Flaminius. "I fear none but the immortal gods," answered Philip; "but I suspect the faith of those by whom I see you surrounded, especially your Aetolians." The consul observed, that, in all cases of this kind, there was reciprocal danger: "But in the present case," replied Philip, "the temptation is not equal; for should mischief befall Phaeneas (the Aetolian praetor, who accompanied Flaminius) Aetolia may easily get another praetor; but if I am taken off, who is to succeed me on the throne of Macedonia?" After a short pause, the consul requested the king to make his proposals, which, as the interview had been appointed at his solicitation, were properly to come from him. "It belongs not to the vanquished to propose," answered the Macedonian, "it is theirs only to accept."—"If so," resumed the consul, "I shall at once name the conditions, without which no peace is to be expected:—You are to evacuate those places you hold in Greece, and relinquish all claim to every part of it—you are to give up all prisoners and deserters belonging to Rome and her allies—you are to surrender the cities you have taken in Illyricum, since the conclusion of the last peace, and the places belonging to the crown of Egypt, you seized on the death of Philopator.—These our allies have, besides, demands of their own; it is just they should be heard and attended to."

his haughty and peremptory conditions, on which alone peace was to be had.

THE



BOOK VI.
SECT. I.

Demands
made on Phi-
lip by Atta-
lus and the
other allies
of Rome.

THE ambassador of king Attalus then demanded the restoration of the ships and prisoners taken in the engagement off the island of Chios, and that he should indemnify Attalus for the ravages committed in his dominions. The Rhodians required Peræa, a certain district on the continent of Asia, opposite to Rhodes, which had formerly belonged to them; together with the evacuation of all the cities and sea-ports he possessed on the Asiatic coast: the Achæans claimed Argos and Corinth: and the Aetolians, besides the demand of certain cities in Thessaly, insisted on an ample compensation for all the losses sustained by them and their allies; and his total and final exclusion from the Grecian territories.

How far Phi-
lip appears
to have been
guilty:

FROM the various charges against Philip, which Polybius and Livy have preserved to us, and in which, without doubt, whatever could make against him is accurately recorded, it appears evidently, that he had only done what ambitious

Whatever opinion we may be induced to form of Philip's moral character, it clearly appears, from the demands made on him by the Rhodians, that he must have been a prince of great abilities, and strenuous in promoting the strength and opulence of his kingdom. In the beginning of his reign, when invited by Aratus into Peloponnesus, the Macedonians had no marine, they had scarcely a seaman; and yet, in about twenty-two years after, we find him in possession of many considerable sea-ports; and that he had established a number of mercantile settlements (portus et emporia) along the Asiatic coast; while he, at the same time, possessed such a navy, as to be in a condition to dispute the empire of the Archipelago with the Rhodians, in those days the greatest maritime power in Greece. This accounts for the Rhodian enmity. They suspected, that he meant to rival them in the Levant-trade, the principal source of their wealth. Thus mercantile jealousy drove them into the arms of the Romans. They had soon cause to repent! Instead of a competitor, they brought upon themselves imperious masters, the slightest contradiction to whose will was a crime worthy of extermination.

monarch



monarchs generally do, and that, however guilty he might be in the eye of reason, those very states, which preferred these complaints, the Aetolians especially, and even the Romans, those spirited assertors of the rights of mankind, were at least equally criminal. In reality, his guilt consisted in being at the head of a kingdom of great ancient reputation, and still supposed to be of considerable strength, which obstructed the meditated plan of Roman domination. Philip seems to have been aware of the Roman designs, and by his tameness on this occasion, so different from his former character, to have endeavoured either to lead them to gentler purposes, or to display to other nations what *they* might in future times expect from the insatiable rapacity of Rome. Notwithstanding the extent of the demands made on him, many of them ill-founded, and the asperity of language with which they were urged, he calmly laboured to remove the obstructions which he saw industriously thrown in the way of peace, yielding point after point, far beyond what could have been expected from a prince not yet of desperate fortunes. To the Romans, he said, he was ready to resign whatever they had asked, those possessions in Greece excepted, which had descended to him from his ancestors. Of his Asiatic settlements he desired to retain nothing but Bargylia and Jassus²², two places on the coast of Caria, valuable from

his remarkable temper in the course of this conference,

his concessions.

²² Bargylia, on the coast of Caria; Jassus, a small island opposite to it. Of this Jassus there is a pleasantry related by Strabo (L. xiv. p. 453. Casaub.) A musician landed there, and was performing to a crowded audience; when on a sudden, upon the ringing of a certain bell, the usual signal for the opening of the fish-market, the whole assembly went off, one person excepted. The musician, well pleased to find that his performance had power at least over one; began to



BOOK VI. Sect. 1. from the commercial advantages they enjoyed; Jassus, in particular, from it's fishery. Whatever else he held in Asia, he consented to abandon to Attalus and the Rhodians, together with their ships of war, and all the prisoners then alive. And, as the ambassador of Attalus had charged him with having laid waste his master's gardens and orchards, since such matters were not unworthy royal notice, he would send over gardeners and trees to new-plant them. Of the Achaeans he complained much; they had become unprovoked enemies, in contradiction to their own public acts, in which every possible honour had repeatedly been decreed to him, and in violation of a number of treaties solemnly sworn to: he agreed, however, that both Argos and Corinth should be restored to them. But his resentment ran highest against the Aetolians. There was, previous to this event, as has been already mentioned, an avowed enmity between them; which was now increased by the indecent petulance of the Aetolian delegates, in the course of the present conference. In the very first conference, Alexander the Aetolian had attacked the king with remarkable acrimony, and, upon his attempting a reply, Phaeneas interrupted him in these insolent terms: "You talk like a fool": all that remains for the vanquished is submission to the commands of the conqueror." "True," said Philip, "that is clear even

to compliment him upon the excellence of his taste, "who had not, like the rest of his countrymen, suffered the fish-bell to call him away."—"The fish-bell!" replied he; "why, has the fish-bell rung?" and immediately hurried after his companions. The man was deaf, and had not heard the bell.

ἢ ὅσων αὐτὸν ληΐσι· ὅτι γὰρ ἡ μαχόμενος νικᾷ, ἢ ὅτι τοῖς κρείττοις τὸ ἀρεστὰν ἔβριμον. See Exc. Polyb. L. xvii. c. 4.

" to

7



“to a blind man²⁴ :” a tart, but justly-merited repartee: Book VI. Phaeneas, it seems, had weak eyes. In discussing their demands, he therefore began by expressing the utmost astonishment and indignation, that those should talk of excluding him from Greece, who knew not even the limits of the country, and were themselves Greeks but in part, several of the provinces of Aetolia lying beyond the boundaries of antient Greece. What injuries they had suffered, he said, were no more than the customary and unavoidable consequences of war. And as to allies, they had none; influenced merely by the allurements of pay and depredation, they fought indiscriminately for any state, Aetolians being often to be found in two opposite armies. That, however, he would deliver up to them Larrissa and Pharfalus, two cities lying convenient for their frontiers; but that he could not possibly evacuate the other Theffalian cities which they claimed, consistently with his own safety. Sect. 1.

²⁴ Polybius and Livy blame Philip's pleasantry on this occasion. *Erat dicacior, says the Roman historian, quam regem decet, et ne inter seria quidem risu satis temperans.* Is it not strange, that they have not at the same time passed any censure on the illiberal attack of the Aetolian praetor, nor on the Roman consul's sarcastical reproach. At the close of the first day's conference, Philip requested that he might have a copy of the several demands produced against him, and be allowed time to deliberate concerning them: *for, said he, I am here alone, I have no counsellor with me.—With good reason are you alone, answered Flaminius; you have destroyed every faithful counsellor you had.* He had put to death some of his subjects on various suspicions. Philip replied only, with a smile of indignation, *Μειδιάσας Σαυδόνος.* Mr. Hume (Essay 14) imputes this illiberality of language to the manners of the times. The reflections of Polybius and Livy seem to say otherwise. But why should not their censure fall in part on the Roman and Aetolian? And why is it aimed wholly at the king of Macedon? Are we to suspect, that *his being a king, and the enemy of Rome, were the circumstances that aggravated the charge against him?*



BOOK VI.
Sect. 1.

Philip's
answer not
deemed satis-
factory :

desires time
to send em-
bassadors to
Rome.

Flaminius
grants it,

and with
what views.

Flaminius
continued in
the com-
mand.

In these altercations two days had elapsed, and peace seemed to be as distant as ever; Philip's relinquishing all claim to every part of Greece, and engaging never to pass beyond the boundaries of Macedon, being, exclusively of particular demands, a preliminary from which none of the allied states would depart. Philip's only resource now, was an application to the consul, for permission to send ambassadors to lay his proposals before the senate of Rome; which, if not deemed equitable and satisfactory, he protested that he would submit implicitly to the conditions and award of the conscript fathers. This request, hardly indeed to be refused, was graciously complied with, and a two months truce accordingly granted; with this previous stipulation, that he should immediately withdraw his garrisons from Locris and Phocis. Besides gaining this important point, the consul had other views in complying with what Philip requested. It was winter, and the army could not act; so that no military operation was suspended by it. And the election of new consuls was at hand, when he might possibly be superseded. His plan therefore was, to have the appearance of finishing the war by treaty, if he should find he was to be recalled, or to have it in his power to pursue it, if continued in the command.

THE senate gratified Flaminius to the utmost of his wishes. They continued him in the command; with full powers either to prosecute or to end the war, as he should judge expedient. What they really meant was easy for him to understand. The Macedonian ambassadors, it is true, had been admitted to an audience; but not till the deputies from



from Flaminius, with the ministers of the several Grecian states, had been examined, and the senate fully informed of the situation of Macedonian affairs, with whatever the interests of Rome required. When therefore the person, who was at the head of the embassy from Philip, began to enter upon his master's defence, the senate, instead of suffering him to proceed, stopped him with this short question, "Has your master authorised you to give up Demetrias in Thessaly, Chalcis in Euboea, and Corinth?" termed by the Macedonians, the *fetters of Greece*. The ambassadors, in confusion, making answer, that they had not received any instructions in relation to these points, were ordered instantly to withdraw, and full powers sent to Flaminius; who thenceforth refused to receive any farther proposals from Philip, unless he previously renounced all claim to every part of Greece.

BOOK VI.
Sect. I.

Philip's ambassadors are treated with mockery at Rome.

THAT unfortunate monarch, now hopeless of any equitable conditions from Rome, and probably roused to a more spirited exertion by the mockery with which he saw he had been treated, employed his utmost vigour in providing for his defence. Argos was too distant to be of effectual service, and was not to be retained without a force he could ill spare; he therefore resolved to abandon it²⁵, and in a manner, as he imagined, more pregnant with mischief, than if it had still been held by a Macedonian garrison. Nabis was at this time the scourge of Peloponnesus; history records him for one of the most profligate tyrants that ever disgraced a throne; he maintained himself in the sovereignty of Sparta by means of an army of mercenaries, composed

Philip under the necessity of turning his thoughts to war.

gives up Argos to Nabis.

²⁵ Liv. L. xxxii. c. 38, 39.

of



Book VI. of the most cruel and flagitious of outcasts, whom he
 Sect. I. daily exercised in deeds of villainy, violence, and blood-
 shed. Against the Achacans in particular, on whom Philip
 would gladly have been revenged, Nabis professed a deadly
 enmity. Philip offered to put him in possession of Argos,
 on condition of his restoring it when Macedon was again in
 tranquillity; and, the more strongly to cement the alliance, he
 proposed to give his daughters in marriage to the tyrant's
 sons. Whatever Philip asked, Nabis promised to perform;
 and, such is the fidelity of tyrants, no sooner was he master
 of Argos, than he offered his services to Flamininus; who, not
 very delicate in his choice of means, provided advantage
 could be derived from them, received him without hesi-
 tation among the allies of Rome, and accepted of his ten-
 dered succours.

The perfidiousness
 of Nabis;

PHILIP merited the deceit with which he was repaid.
 The case of the unhappy Argives was infinitely more to be
 his character, lamented. Nabis immediately put in practice his usual sub-
 tilties, to discover the wealth of every man in Argos, and
 plundered them of all. And so low did his rapaciousness de-
 scend, as to employ his wife Apega to extort from the Ar-
 give ladies, by artifice or terror, whatever jewels or orna-
 mental trinkets they possessed. It appears, that avarice was
 and cruelties. the ruling passion of this wretched miscreant. Polybius²⁶
 makes mention of an extraordinary instrument of extortion,
 devised by him, which upon a less grave authority we should
 be apt to account fabulous. He had contrived a figure of
 iron, in form like Apega, to move with springs, whose

²⁶ Exc. L. xiii. c. 5.

arms



arms and breast were furnished with a number of spikes. This machine, dressed out as if it had really been the queen, was seated in his apartment; and when he found his solicitations for money ineffectual, "Apega," he would say, "will perhaps plead more forcibly;" and, raising up the figure, caused the arms to cling round and press the body of the unhappy delinquent, who generally expired under the torturing embrace.

Book VI.
Sect. 1.

SOON as the season permitted, the two armies hastened to take the field, and began to move towards Thessaly. Previous to this measure, Flaminius had finished a transaction of considerable importance. Philip was known to have a powerful interest among the Boeotians; they had hitherto observed a kind of neutrality, but it was uncertain how long they might retain the same pacific appearances, and in the present situation of affairs the proconsul earnestly wished to engage them, if possible, to act decidedly for Rome. The difficulty was, how to effectuate this purpose. The arts of persuasion and intrigue had been so repeatedly employed throughout Greece, that their notoriety hindered their effect; and on the Boeotians, a rough people, they had already probably been tried in vain. So that Flaminius found it necessary to have recourse to a different and unhackneyed scheme; and, as the execution was of a delicate nature, to take the management upon himself. Attalus and the proconsul set out²⁷ attended by a small retinue, as on a friendly visit to Thebes, where the convention of the Boeotian states was usually held. The

The Romans and Macedonians take the field.

Flaminius prevails on the Boeotians to enter into alliance with him,

by what artifice.

²⁷ Liv. L. xxiii. c. 1, 2. Plut. in Flamini.

slendernefs.



Book VI. slenderness of the train raised no alarm, and the Thebans
 Sect. 1. opened their gates with an unsuspecting cordiality; their
 chief magistrate himself, to do the greater honour to the
 Roman general, and perhaps in the secret, going forth to
 meet him. But scarcely was he within the walls, when a
 body of two thousand spearmen, whom the winding of the
 hills had hitherto concealed, appeared in sight, and, mixing
 with the proconsul's attendants, entered the city. Flami-
 ninus, nevertheless, still affected the language of peace;
 and, an assembly having been convened, made it his suit,
 with all the rhetoric of respectful entreaty, that the Boeo-
 tians would be pleased to admit him into their friendship and
 alliance; in support of which, Attalus, the faithful advo-
 cate of Rome, spoke with such vehemence, that in the
 midst of his harangue he fell down speechless; and, be-
 ing immediately conveyed on board his fleet, which sailed
 for Asia, he soon after expired. But there was, indeed,
 little necessity for argument to convince the Boeotians of the
 propriety of a measure, which was supported by two thousand
 men in arms; they readily agreed to all the proconsul's re-
 quisitions. This kind of fraud²⁸, we learn from history,
 began

²⁸ There is, however, good reason to suspect, that Flamininus had soon recourse to other means, far worse than even deceit, to secure the influence he had thus acquired. Livy (L. xxxiii. c. 27, 28, 29) shall furnish the account. The Thebans, a great number of whom, notwithstanding the low state of Philip's fortunes, (it being soon after his defeat) were still attached strongly to him, had, in opposition to the Roman party, chosen for Boeotarch one Barcillas, in the Macedonian interest, and who had lately served in the armies of Macedon. By way of retaliation, proper instruments were employed, and Barcillas was assassinated. But the authors of this assassination having been traced out, it was found, that one of the chief leaders among the partizans of Rome was the principal person concern'd; who, upon the discovery, immediately fled to Athens, then Flamininus's
 place



began now to be practised by the Romans. Time was, when they would have scorned the acquisition of a victory gained at the price of treachery. But, having declined from their ancient simplicity, they had lost much²⁹ of that blunt and inartificial courage for which they were remarkable in their earlier ages. Such, unhappily, has been the progress of manners among all nations, the advancement of refinement produces the decline of virtue.

AFTER some movements of little consequence, the two armies advanced³⁰ from the southern parts of Thessaly to-

Battle of Cynoscephalae.

place of residence. The character and connexions of the man, the place he fled to, the protection he found, together with some other circumstances, not mentioned by this historian, fixed the suspicions of all Thebes on Flaminius. And so exasperated on account of it, Livy himself (*ibid.* c. 29) confesses, was the whole Theban nation against all of Roman race, (*effervit ea caedes Thebanos Boeotosque omnes ad execrabile odium Romanorum*) that they murdered every Roman soldier they could find, and were not to be checked but by the march of a Roman army into Boeotia.—Polybius (*Legat.* viii. p. 1103) is yet more particular. The conspirators, he expressly tells us, applied to Flaminius, and communicated their plan to him: he promised not to give any hindrance to it, though he was unwilling to appear himself in the business; but referred them to Alexamenes, a trusty Aetolian in the Roman interest, in concert with whom they carried the scheme into execution. Polybius calls the Boeotarch Brachyllas.

Flaminius afterwards made peace with the Boeotians, by the mediation of the Achaean states. And, from a circumstance mentioned by Livy (*ibid.* c. 29) we may collect, that there was something exceedingly pitiable in the case of the Boeotians. The Achaeans resolved, should Flaminius not consent to a peace, to march themselves to the assistance of the Boeotians, and join them against Rome: (*ni impetrassent pacem Boeotis, bellum simul gerere decreverunt.*) Nothing but the strongest conviction of the justice of the Boeotian cause could have drawn such a declaration from the Achaeans, at this time much fallen from their independence, and in strict connexion with the Roman people.

²⁹ See the second and third sections of this book; and section the first of book the seventh.

³⁰ See Polyb. Excerpt. L. xvii. c. 14 & seq. Liv. L. xxxiii. c. 3 & seq.



Book VI. Sect. 1. wards Scotussa, a city near the Peneus; the Macedonians, in quest of forage; and the Romans, to deprive them of it, by laying waste the country. As they had taken different routes, they had encamped near to each other without knowing it, being separated only by a range of hills, called *Cynoscephalae*³¹. Philip, uncertain as to the position of the Roman army, had detached a party to the top of the hills, to reconnoitre, if possible, the situation of the enemy; who unexpectedly fell in with a detachment of Romans, that had marched with the like design to discover Philip. By reason of the haziness of the morning, the Macedonians did not discover the Romans till they were within reach of their weapons, when a skirmish immediately ensued; and each party, as they happened to be pressed, sending to their respective camps for reinforcements, in a short time a general engagement became almost unavoidable³².

Philip averse to the engagement;

It appears that Philip, whether under the impression of some discouraging omen, as Plutarch³³ seems to think, or, according to Polybius, disliking the ground, which was ill-suited to the operations of his infantry, would have deferred the decision to some future day. But the advantage being at first on the side of the Macedonians, and his army, encouraged by the success of their fellow-soldiers, eagerly so-

³¹ The *dogs-heads*, from the appearance which their summits exhibited.

³² OLYMP. cxlv. 3. BEFORE CHRIST 193.

³³ Some days before, haranguing his men, he perceived that the place he was speaking from was burial-ground; which circumstance, having been noticed by the soldiers, cast a deep gloom over the whole army. As soon as Philip observed it, he withdrew. Omens of this kind were superstitiously attended to by the ancients.

liciting



liciting to be led against the enemy, he at length yielded to their ardour, and drew up his whole forces, conjuring them³⁴, as they passed, “to shew themselves mindful of their ancestors, and not to permit Macedon, illustrious by so many glorious achievements, to bend to the yoke of Rome.” Flamininus, having formed his troops, employed, with no less anxiety, every argument which he supposed likely to inspire the most vigorous exertions. He reminded them, “of their recent conquests in Italy, in Sicily, in Spain, in Afric, over nations no way inferior to whatever Macedon had to boast, even in the days of her glory; that those, with whom they were now to engage, were Macedonians only in name; not, as the Romans, great by their own exploits; but deriving whatever distinction they enjoyed from the remembrance of the achievements of their forefathers, being themselves a degenerate race, who with difficulty repelled even the predatory incursions of a few neighbouring barbarians³⁵.”

BOOK VI.
Sect. I.

he addresses
his army.

Flamininus
addresses his.

THE right wing of the Macedonians had reached the heights before the enemy, and, having preserved in their march all that compactness and depth, which constituted the strength of the Macedonian phalanx, bore down with their whole weight upon the Romans, now ascending the hill; who, unable to withstand the shock, gave way on every side, and had been totally routed, but for the timely support of the Aetolian horse. On the left, the Macedonians fought not with the same advantage. They had formed later than the other wing; and a precipitate march, over

The victory
doubtful, at
length deci-
sive in favour
of Rome.

³⁴ Just. L. xxx. c. 4.

³⁵ Just. *ibid.*



Book VI. broken ground, had thrown the troops into disorder. Fla-
 Sect. 1. mininus perceiving their situation, and directing his attack
 where their broken lines admitted of an impression, with-
 out much difficulty completed the confusion; their arms,
 which in a great measure derived their power of execu-
 tion from being interwoven together, and wrought as it
 were into one mass, added to their embarrassment, becoming,
 in the hands of the single soldier, unwieldy and almost use-
 less. Meanwhile, discomfiture began also to reach the right
 wing. A legionary tribune, observing that this was the
 only part of the Macedonian army which still maintained
 the dispute, wheeled round with a few chosen men, and
 made an attack on the rear of the phalanx. Here the Mace-
 donians, from their order of battle, were incapable of resist-
 ance; for the phalanx could only advance, and the men
 were precluded from all power of facing about, by the close-
 ness of their ranks, and the length of their interwoven
 spears³⁶. The Romans having opened, therefore, to them-
 selves a passage, slaughtered the Macedonians with impunity;
 who, finding they could make no resistance, threw down
 their arms, dispersed, and fled. Philip, who, according to
 Polybius, had performed the duties both of the general and
 the soldier, seeing the day irretrievably lost, retreated to-
 wards Tempe, on his way to Macedon, endeavouring, as
 he retired, to collect the scattered remains of his army,
 more than one half of which had either been made prisoners,
 or fallen in the field of battle; but he previously dispatched
 messengers to his head-quarters at Larissa, with directions

³⁶ See Polyb. L. xvii. c. 25, 26, 27, 28.



FROM THE ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

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to have all his papers destroyed. Had they fallen into the hands of the Romans, the consequences might have been fatal to his friends, of whom he had still numbers in almost every Grecian state.

BOOK VI.
Sect. I.

THIS victory, important as it was, became yet more considerable by the effect which it had on the councils of the Macedonian king, who immediately sent a deputation to Flamininus, desiring a truce for the burial of the dead, and begging that the proconsul would again admit him to a conference. Both these requests being complied with, the Roman general found little difficulty in adjusting the preliminaries of peace: Philip, now completely humbled, readily accepting even the most mortifying conditions; and the senate, approving of the plan laid down by Flamininus, he was empowered, jointly with ten commissioners sent from Rome, to grant a peace to Philip on the following terms ³⁷.

Philip obtains a truce,

admitted to a conference;

submits to the conditions offered.

Flamininus grants him a peace;

“ ALL the Greek cities, both in Asia and in Europe, to be free, and restored to the enjoyment of their own laws ³⁸.

conditions.

“ PHILIP, before the next Isthmian games, to deliver up to the Romans all the Greeks he had in any part of his dominions, and to evacuate all the places he possessed, either in Greece or in Asia ³⁹.

“ To

³⁷ See Polyb. Legat. ix. Liv. L. xxxiii. c. 30.

³⁸ This article deserves particular notice. From the use to which it was afterwards applied, we shall see with what an insidious policy it was thus worded.

³⁹ The cities in Asia were expressly mentioned, viz. Euromus, Pedasa, Bargylia, Jassus, Abydus, Thafus, Myrina, and Perinthus; all in Asia, or on the Asiatic coast.



Book VI.

Sect. I.

“ To give up all prisoners and deferters.

“ To surrender all his decked ships of every kind; five small vessels, and his galley of sixteen banks of oars, excepted.”

“ To pay the Romans a thousand talents; one half down, the rest at ten equal annual payments.

AND, if we are to believe Livy, “ not to exceed five hundred men in his military establishment; not to have an elephant; and not to make war beyond the confines of Macedon, without permission from the Roman senate.”— These three articles, however, Polybius does not mention.

AND, as a security for the performance of these stipulations, to give hostages; his son Demetrius being one.

Aetolians oppose the peace; but are over-ruled.

THE Aetolians, whose services in the late battle gave them, they imagined, a right to interfere, warmly opposed the peace. But Flamininus, already highly offended at their having appropriated to themselves too large a proportion of the spoils, magisterially over-ruled their objections. We shall see, of what mischiefs this dispute was afterwards productive.

coast. In relation to Cius, Flamininus was to inform the Bithynian king, what the pleasure of the senate was. See Polyb. Legat. ix.

⁴⁰ This last, by Livy's own confession, was merely a vessel of parade, and probably left with him on account of its unwieldy and useless bulk.—Liv. L. xxxiii. c. 30.

PHILIP'S



PHILIP'S conduct, on this occasion, does little honour Book VI.
 either to his abilities or to his spirit. Had he, instead of Sect. 1.
 exposing himself to a decisive action, at once abandoned Philip's con-
 Greece, which, in his present situation, he could not expect duct blam-
 to preserve; had he retired to the strong-holds of Macedon, able.
 and harrassed the Romans by occasional excursions; had he,
 at the same time, sought new resources; either among the
 northern tribes (which he did at last, when it was too late)
 or in the friendship of Antiochus, who now began to per-
 ceive what *he* was to expect, when the fate of Macedon
 should be determined; he might easily have protracted the
 war beyond the term of Flamininus's command; and, if he
 had not tired out the Romans, might at least have made his
 advantage, as formerly, of the imbecillity or inexperience of
 the generals sent against him. Even after the fatal blow at
 Cynoscephalae, had not all judgment and resolution forsaken
 him, this line of conduct might, in some measure, have
 been pursued; but, having lost a battle, which he ought not
 to have fought, subdued by his terrors, he tamely accepted
 of a peace, which he ought rather to have perished than have
 submitted to.

It was the policy of the Romans, on this occasion, The subtlety
 artfully to disguise what farther views they had on Macedon; of the Roman
 and, as if solely actuated by a generous concern for the councils in
 liberties of Greece, to content themselves with having re- granting
 duced the power of Philip, and obliged him to withdraw peace to Phi-
 within the antient boundaries of his hereditary kingdom. lip.
 Had they at once attempted to deprive him of his crown,
 despair might have rendered him formidable; the princes of
 Asia, from interest, if not from affection, might have joined
 7 him;



BOOK VI. him; and even the Greeks themselves would probably have
 Sect. I. had suspicions of a design, which delivered them from one
 danger, only to expose them to a greater.

AT the same time, under the specious character of *aven-
 gers of oppressed nations*, the Romans had an opportunity of
 attacking every prince, whom an extent of dominion made
 considerable, until, none remaining to oppose them, they
 might without controul complete their plan of universal
 empire.

Flamininus proceeds to the settle-
 ment of Greece;

PEACE being thus concluded with Philip, Flamininus,
 with the commissioners, proceeded to arrange the affairs of
 Greece, and the settlement of those cities and countries
 which had been dismembered from Macedon.

proclaims freedom, and
 the enjoy-
 ment of their
 own laws,
 to all the
 states dis-
 membered
 from Ma-
 cedon,

THE Isthmian games were now begun, whither all Greece
 had repaired with anxious solicitude for their future destiny:
 When⁴, at Flamininus's command, an herald with sound of
 trumpet stepped forth, and proclaimed, "The senate of Rome,
 " and the general Titus Quinctius, having vanquished king
 " Philip and the Macedonians, grant freedom, with immunity
 " from all garrisons and taxes, and the enjoyment of their own
 " laws, to the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians, Euboeans,
 " Achaeans of Pthiotis, Magnesians, Thesſalians, and Perrhae-
 " bians." Many among this vast multitude had not heard the
 proclamation distinctly; and even those who did, could scarcely
 believe it, so much did it exceed their expectations; numbers,

⁴ See Polyb. Legat. ix. p. 1108. et seq. Liv. L. xxxiii. c. 32, 33. Plut. in
 Flaminio.

therefore,



numbers, therefore, from every side calling on the herald to repeat what he had said, the proclamation was made again; which was answered with the loudest and most joyful acclamations. The games were no longer attended to; and the whole assembly crowded around Flamininus, hailing him their protector and preserver; some striving to embrace him, others heaping on him flowers and garlands; so that, had he not retired within his pavilion, he had fallen a sacrifice to this burst of joyous gratitude. At the celebration of the Nemaean games, which followed soon after, and at which Flamininus likewise presided, the same proclamation was made.

THE states mentioned in this decree were those which had been in subjection to Macedon. The other Grecian communities, however, had not been forgotten. Flamininus informed them, what had been resolved upon in favour of all the faithful allies of Rome. To some an increase of territory was granted. Others were re-established in those possessions, which had been wrested from them in the course of the late wars. The Achaeans had Corinth, Heraea, and Triphylia, restored to them. Even Pleuratus, an Illyrian prince, and Amynder king of the Athamanes, who had aided Flamininus, were rewarded with a portion of Illyricum, and certain castles, which had lately belonged to Philip. And the Orestae, though within the confines of Macedon, were declared free, as a recompence for their early revolt to the Romans.

with various grants to the several states in confederacy with the Romans.

To these gracious acts were added many others no less pleasing. All the Grecian prisoners of war, in every part
3 H of



Book VI: of Philip's dominions; returned to their families. The ex-

Sect. 1. iles throughout most of the states in confederacy with Rome were recalled; Flamininus himself employing his good offices to suppress faction, and to heal the breaches occasioned by the late civil distractions. Roman garrisons still kept possession of Chalcis, Demetrias, and the citadel of Corinth; but even these he promised should be withdrawn,

Acts of favour to the Greeks in general.

Excessive joy of Greece;

as soon as it was known what Antiochus designed. These conciliating measures, which had also an additional efficacy from Flamininus's affability and courteous deportment, united the greatest part of Greece in the interests of the Romans; even the few individuals, who yet doubted the sincerity of Rome, were cautious, amidst this general exultation and confidence, of uttering their suspicions. So that in their assemblies, and festive meetings, nothing almost was to be heard but effusions of gratitude and praises of the Roman people: "Regardless either of expence or of toil (it was said) they had thus interested themselves, merely to obtain liberty to Greece: that, except the battles of Marathon, of Salamis, of Plataeae, and Thermopylae, with what Cimon had atchieved on the banks of the Eurymedon and near Cyprus, Greece had fought to no other purpose but to bring the yoke upon herself, and to raise monuments to her own dishonour; but these strangers, of whose descent from Grecian ancestors only a faint tradition⁴² remained, and from whom neither friendly in-

⁴² It was an old tradition, of which Virgil has made great use, that the south-east parts of Italy had been peopled with colonies from Greece, long before the foundation of Rome. And no doubt the first inhabitants, if not the founders, of Rome (See Dion. Italian) were adventurers, and perhaps outcasts from these early establishments.



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“terposition nor even compassionate regard were to have been expected, had exposed themselves to the greatest dangers, to deliver her from oppression.”

BOOK VI.
SECT. I.

IN this kind of language, we learn from Polybius, Livy, and Plutarch, did the Greeks of those days speak of this memorable transaction. And, which is more extraordinary, in the same style of panegyric it is mentioned by these historians themselves! It is certainly a mortifying reflection, that these writers have not expressed themselves in another manner; and that they, who lived after the final close of this illusive prospect, and who therefore must have known, beyond a possibility of doubt, for what ends this specious appearance of liberty had been granted⁴³, had not the spirit to tell posterity, at the conclusion of this pompous recital, “Such was the fond dream, that credulous Greece indulged! little did she think, that all this shew of favour was only the prelude to her ruin! and that when Rome appeared the kindest, it was only that she might strike the more effectually!” — But, so justly to be dreaded is the fatal influence of despotism. It checks the pen even of respectable historians⁴⁴.

this joy ill-founded.

Ancient historians blameable for not speaking of this specious grant according to its true value.

⁴³ Polybius especially, personally experienced the treachery of Rome, and beheld the liberties of his country expire.

⁴⁴ Plutarch, however, has thrown in an observation, under which there seems to be couched somewhat more than he chose to say. “Freedom,” he tells us, “was twice proclaimed to Greece, by Flaminius, and afterwards by Nero; and by both at Corinth, and at the celebration of the Isthmian games: with this difference, that Nero paid Greece the higher compliment; he himself announced the DECREE OF LIBERTY; Flaminius employed an herald.” — What account ought to be made of the freedom conferred by Nero is well known. Did the historian mean that we should draw a parallel?



BOOK VI.

SECT. I.

Policy of
Rome in this
grant of free-
dom to the
Grecian
tribes.

THIS transaction, however, shews in the strongest light the consummate artifice of Rome. She meditated the subjection of Greece. But, while Antiochus was warlike and enterprising; while Macedon was not yet enslaved; and humbled Carthage still existed; the attempt had been dangerous. Greece, besides, was weak only from disunion; and, if once united at home, an effect which such an attempt would probably have produced, they might have proved again formidable. As the Romans, therefore, had with so much success employed their policy in keeping Macedon disjoined from Hannibal, Antiochus from Philip, and Greece from Macedon; so was the same policy now to be employed in disuniting the several Grecian states, not only from the great powers of Asia and Europe, but likewise from each other. And in no way could this be done so effectually, as by the renovation of their antient laws and government. Each state having it's own laws, each it's peculiar form of government, each a distinct and independent sovereignty, they would all naturally be engaged in the same proud pretensions, the same jealousies and contests, which had animated them before; and, by affording to the Roman senate opportunities of interfering as arbiters in their differences, or as redressers of their wrongs, gradually and imperceptibly reduce Greece to that vassalage, which that artful people had in view. Besides, *liberty* was the darling object of the Grecian states; they had often been led away even by the name; and the restoration of their *liberties*, though but in appearance, gave the Romans a wonderful influence, especially over the multitude; who, provided they enjoyed their rights of suffrage, the debates of their orators, and the bustle of their public assemblies, imagined themselves blest with all that liberty has most valuable.

IN



IN this general transport of joy the Aetolians, however, took no share⁴⁵. Discontented, that, in contempt of their representations, a peace should have been granted to Philip; and high in their resentment against Flaminius, who had not treated them, they conceived, as a free people, and a faithful and brave confederate deserved, they in revenge accused the Roman of having sold the peace to Macedon; they charged him with ingratitude to a people, to whose valour he owed the victory, and with assuming to himself a reputation he did not deserve. They accused him also with a want of personal courage; "Whilst I was engaged with the enemy," it was the common vaunt of every Aetolian, "Flaminius was at his prayers"⁴⁶;" they even charged the Romans with perfidious designs, and the Greeks with folly in believing their professions: "They boast of having bestowed freedom on Greece, by setting at liberty some distant and inconsiderable places, whilst your principal and most important cities, Demetrias, Chalcis, Corinth, are garrisoned by their troops; they have unfettered the legs, and fixed their yoke upon the neck." This last accusation, particularly, gave Flaminius much pain, because it was but too well founded. The commissioners had in fact proposed, that the Romans should retain these strong holds as pledges of the fidelity of Greece; and it was only in consequence of the apprehensions excited throughout the Grecian states, by the murmurings of the Aetolians, that the proconsul at last evacuated them. It certainly had been easy for Flaminius to have regained the affections of

Book VI.
Sect. I.

Murmurs of
the Aetoli-
ans.

⁴⁵ See Polyb. Legat. vi. Liv. L. xxxiii. c. 31. Plutarch. in Flamini.

⁴⁶ Plutarch. in parallel. Philop. et Flamin.

this



Book VI. Sect. 1. this brave people, whom on the contrary he endeavoured rather to exasperate, by studied slights, and rejecting claims to which they apparently had a just right. But the pride of the Roman would not bend to such conciliating measures. And perhaps it was more agreeable to the views of Rome, that some sparks of disaffection should remain, from which, at a convenient season, the flame of war might be re-kindled.

Flamininus proposes to make war on Nabis, in order to dispossess him of Argos.

THE Aetolians had soon an opportunity of manifesting their discontent. Nabis⁴⁷ still kept possession of Argos; and, as sovereign of Sparta, was also master of a number of sea-ports, and particularly of Gythium, a place of great strength on the Cretan sea, and the most considerable harbour in the southern part of Peloponnesus. Flamininus thought it dangerous, that so considerable a share of power should remain in the hands of a tyrant, on whose faith he could place no dependence; and was besides willing to gratify the Achaeans, who had a natural jealousy of Sparta, by the recovery of Argos, formerly one of their social cities. Having accordingly assembled the confederate states at Corinth, he proposed to attack the tyrant, and dispossess him of Argos; observing, “ that this was a matter which related immediately to themselves, and in which he had no other concern, than as a friend to their liberties and welfare; but that it became them to consider, whether to have so ancient a city in slavery, in the heart of Greece, was not of pernicious example, as well as reproachful to them all; and whether therefore they ought

⁴⁷ Liv. L. xxxiv. c. 22 & seq.

“ not



“ not to restore it to the enjoyment of rights, which other Grecian states enjoyed, rather than suffer it to remain in bondage under a tyrant. He closed his speech by telling them, that whatever the majority should decree, he was ready to execute.” The Aetolians with great eagerness laid hold of this occasion to inveigh against the Romans, “ who manifested,” said they, “ the sincerity of their concern for the rights of Greece by the partial and nominal liberty they had proclaimed: that it was absurd to talk of a new war, in order to obtain Argos for the Achaeans, whilst the Aetolians were deprived of those cities, which they were to have possessed by express stipulation, and which the Romans themselves withheld from them: that, what the Romans really had in view, was to perpetuate war in Greece; Nabis was now the pretence, another would soon arise, until that ambitious people had so effectually established themselves, that their dispossession would baffle the united powers of Greece.”

The Aetolians object to it, and charge Flamininus with insidious views;

THESE representations, however justly founded, were heard impatiently by all the other states: the Aetolians were not beloved; and the attack upon the tyrant was popular. So that, the war being resolved on by the unanimous suffrages of the whole assembly, the Aetolians excepted, the armies immediately took the field, and, after a fruitless attempt on Argos, advanced, by Flamininus's advice, towards Sparta, where Nabis kept his head-quarters, where his most valuable possessions lay, and where, of course, whatever impression they made would have the greater effect.

the other Grecian states approve of the attack upon Nabis, and join Flamininus.

NABIS.



BOOK VI.
SECT. I.

Nabis reproaches
Flaminius
with duplicity.

NABIS was astonished at seeing the Romans turn their arms against him. "You Romans," said he, in a conference with the proconsul, "received me into your alliance; how have I deserved to forfeit it? You talk of Argos; but Argos was already mine, by the voluntary cession of the king of Macedon, when I entered into an alliance with you; and my holding it at that time was not made a ground of objection. Or is it because I am, as you pretend, a tyrant, and guilty of lawless deeds? But was I less a tyrant, or less criminal, at the very time this alliance was made?"

IN cases of this kind, the strongest are always the best reasoners. "The alledged treaty," the Roman unblushingly replied, "was altogether null from the beginning: he was a tyrant, and with tyrants Rome could not constitutionally have connection." Nabis, the most perfidious of men, well deserved this perfidious answer. He had even then, in providing means for his defence, been guilty of new cruelties⁴⁹. He had arrested eighty of the principal citizens of Sparta, that they might not be exposed, he said, to suspicion, during the invasion; promising that, as soon as peace was restored, they should be released; but the ensuing night they were every one murdered. Their estates and wives he bestowed on some of the most favoured profligates, of which his army was composed. And, pretending that the Helotae⁵⁰ favoured the enemy, he put many thousands of them to the sword.

⁴⁹ Liv. L. xxxiv. c. 33.

⁵⁰ Liv. L. xxxiv. c. 27.

⁵⁰ The slaves employed in tillage, who had their settlements throughout the country of Laconia.

MEANWHILE



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MEANWHILE, Flaminius and his confederates made the most vigorous exertion. The Roman fleet, together with the fleets of Pergamus and the Rhodians, had taken or blockaded up all the sea-ports belonging to the tyrant; and even Gythium, though at first obstinately defended, at last surrendered. By land, the army, after reducing all the places around, had laid siege to Sparta. Philopoemen, who commanded the Achaeans, had, in the course of these operations, distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner. Besides the particular interest the Achaeans had in the success of this war, and his personal hatred of Nabis, he was actuated by another powerful consideration, "his desire of shewing the Romans, that the Greeks were not inferior to them in military prowess." It appears, that this brave man could not, without indignation, behold his country dependent on foreign councils; and, equally an enemy to every power that meant to enslave Greece, was, on all occasions, as earnest to vindicate her liberties against Rome, as he had been against Macedon.

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SECT. I.

The war against Nabis is carried on with vigour.

NABIS, who had been obliged to retire into Sparta, now offered not only to cede Argos, but also to make other large concessions; but the confederates declared against peace with him on any terms. They insisted on the deliverance of Sparta; and that he should be expelled from Peloponnesus, which could never otherwise hope for permanent tranquillity. Flaminius, nevertheless, under various pretences, opposed the continuance of the war; and at last, when Sparta appeared on the point of being taken, and even Argos, by an insurrection of its citizens, had been forced out of the

The tyrant, reduced to great straits, offers large concessions;

the Greek confederates reject his advances.

Flaminius concludes a treaty with him:

3 I tyrant's



Book VI. tyrant's hands, concluded a treaty with the man to whom,
 Sect. 1. when it served his purpose, he had made this haughty reply ;
Rome can form no treaty with a tyrant.

the absurdity
 and injustice
 of this mea-
 sure :

WHAT makes this step appear the more extraordinary is, that Agesipolis³¹, confessedly lawful heir to the throne of Sparta, whom the tyrant Lycurgus had expelled, was at this very time in the Roman camp, together with a number of Spartan exiles ; who, under the protection of Rome, now expected to be restored to their country ; and whose interests were all sacrificed on this occasion. The treaty does not even make mention of them, one article excepted, which seems rather a cruel mockery, than a clause in favour of friends and allies. It was stipulated, that the wives of the Spartan exiles (the richest of whom, however, Nabis had already disposed of among his mercenaries) should have permission to join their husbands, if they chose it. The chief of the other articles were, that the tyrant should have no fortified places ; that he should surrender all his ships ; and pay a certain sum to the Romans.

the reasons
 alleged by
 historians for
 Flaminius's
 conduct :

IT appears, from the pains taken by ancient historians to account for this transaction, that it exposed Flaminius to much censure. " Nabis," they tell us, " could not have been destroyed, without involving the Spartans in severe calamities. To spare them, Flaminius was obliged to

³¹ It appears from Polybius (Legat. xlix.) that this unhappy prince was afterwards sent on an embassy to Rome from the Spartan exiles, and, having in his passage thither fallen in with pirates, was slain by them.

“ spare



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“ spare the tyrant.—Lacedemon, besides, was in a condition ”
 “ to stand a long siege ; and Antiochus was preparing to in-
 “ vade Greece : the consequences might have been fatal,
 “ had he found Nabis in arms, and effected a junction with
 “ him.—Winter also was approaching, and the army had
 “ not the necessary provisions for remaining in the field
 “ during that inclement season ”.”

THESE arguments Flamininus is said to have advanced in his justification. The last argument, especially, he employed with great art. The Greek confederates were earnest for continuing the war ; “ which it had been better,” they said, “ not to have commenced, if the tyrant is not to be crushed.” — “ I am content ”⁵²,” replied the Roman ; “ let us then prosecute the war : but, we shall want a large reinforcement of troops, and a number of expensive machines ; sufficient stores must also be provided, and ample provision made for the support and convenience of the army, without which it will be impossible for them to sustain the rigours of a winter siege. Write, therefore, to your respective states, and know what proportion of men, money, and provisions, they are willing to furnish on this occasion.”—He knew what their answer would be. Low in their finances at best, these republicans had also been exhausted by the repeated wars they had been engaged in.

the artifice
used to si-
lence his
Greek con-
federates ;

⁵² Lacedaemon, nevertheless, was walled only in part, and, just before the peace granted to Nabis, had been on the point of being taken by storm, the confederate troops having carried part of the town by assault ; so that the besieged were under the necessity of setting fire to a quarter of the city, in order to dislodge them.

⁵³ Liv. L. xxxiv. c. 33.

⁵⁴ Liv. *ibid.* c. 34.



BOOK VI. It was therefore left entirely to his determination, either to
Sect. I. urge or put an end to the war.

his principal motives, probably, for adopting such a measure.

BESIDES the reasons here alledged, there were other motives, as we are informed, which he did not choose to mention: his fear of being supplanted by a successor; and; what Plutarch³³ thinks made the deepest impression on his mind, a jealousy of Philopoemen. It is certain, that this Grecian commander was generally looked upon as the hero of this war; he was placed on a footing of equality by the most zealous of Flamininus's friends; and it mortified the Roman exceedingly, that the exploits of an Arcadian, who had only commanded in some inconsiderable disputes on the confines of his own country, should, in the estimation of Greece, be raised to an equality with his own achievements. Perhaps he considered also, that the Spartans, if now relieved from the tyrant's yoke, might not only become again formidable, but be apt to ascribe their deliverance to the Achaeans and their general; whilst Achaia, from such a revolution, might probably derive a larger share of power, than it was the interest or the intention of Rome she should possess. In continuing Nabis on the Spartan throne, Flamininus acted, therefore, according to the customary policy of Rome: he prevented Sparta's rising from her present debasement, while he left ample matter of anger and contest among the several Peloponnesian states; and thus prepared a plentiful harvest for Rome's ambitious arms.

Flamininus returns to Rome:

FLAMININUS returned soon after to Rome; and, to the great satisfaction of all Greece, withdrew, as he had promised,

³³ In Flaminio.

ed,



ed, all the Roman garrisons. From this, however, it may be suspected, that his fears of Antiochus, which he pleaded in excuse for the peace with Nabis, were not so strong as he had pretended: had he really thought that Antiochus was on the point of invading Greece, it can hardly be supposed, that he would have left the country ungarrisoned.

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BEFORE his departure, he made it his request to the several Grecian states, as the most acceptable return he could receive from them, to grant him the freedom of all Roman slaves. These prisoners had been taken in the war with Hannibal, and sold by the Carthaginians: "It were a reproach to the Greeks," he added, "should any Roman want liberty in a country that owed its liberty to Rome"⁵⁶. —A request highly to his honour! and which was cheerfully complied with; each state ransoming, at the public expence, whatever Romans were found in slavery within their territories. Among the Achaeans only, Livy informs us, twelve hundred were found, whose ransom, at five minae a man⁵⁷, amounted to one hundred talents⁵⁸.

obtains the freedom of the Romans' slaves in Greece.

How many of these wretched men must there have been in Greece, when in so small a part of it were found so great a number!

⁵⁶ Liv. L. xxxiv. c. 50.

⁵⁷ £. 16. 2s. 11d.

⁵⁸ £. 19,375.

BOOK



B O O K VI.

SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

*Antiochus king of Syria—his prosperity—the Romans, jealous of his power, seek to reduce it—which he resents—resolves to attack the Romans—enters into alliance with the Aetolians—in-
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mopylae—and afterwards at Magnesia.—The Romans turn
their arms against the Aetolians—compel them to submit to
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which the Romans requite their services.—Rome endea-
vours to break the strength of the commonwealth of Achaia,
by seducing it's confederate states—by the intrigues of Roman
emissaries, a party of Messenians take up arms against the
Achæans—Philopoemen hastens to suppress the insurgents—
falls into their hands—is put to death—Flamininus suspect-
ed of having encouraged this flagitious action—grounds for
this suspicion.—Flamininus's conduct to Cato.*

BOOK VI. THE humiliation of Antiochus was the object Rome
Sect. 2. had next in view. The magnificence of his court;
the intimate connection he had formed with Egypt, on
whose young king he had just bestowed his daughter in
marriage;

Antiochus
obnoxious to
the Romans.



marriage; the reports disseminated of his immense treasures, numerous armies, and all the formidable apparatus of war; gave this prince a reputation for power far beyond what he really possessed. He was, besides, high in fame for political wisdom and martial abilities. By his vigorous conduct he had extinguished a dangerous rebellion, fomented by his own ministers, in the heart of his dominions; and he had restored peace to the eastern provinces of his empire, which, during the three last reigns, had been involved in a state of the utmost confusion. He had also at this period visited the coasts of the Hellespont, formerly subject to the kings of Syria; he had even passed over into Thrace, where he had likewise claims; and he was preparing to raise from its ruins Lyfimachia, antiently the royal city of Lyfimachus, in order to make it again the seat of government in those countries.

Book VI.
Sect. 2.

his reputation.

THESE spirited exertions of a prince, who seemed well able to support his pretensions to countries which the Romans had already marked as their own, roused and stimulated their ambitious jealousy. As long, however, as the fate of Greece and Macedon was doubtful, they had concealed their views, and great care had been taken to keep up a friendly intercourse with Antiochus. Of this we have a remarkable instance from Livy¹. At the beginning of the second Macedonian war, Attalus, then with the consul in Greece, complained to the Roman senate that Antiochus had attacked his frontiers; and applied for succours against the invader: it was answered, "that Antiochus, as well

Romans dis-
semble with
him during
the Macedo-
nian war.

¹ L. xxxii. c. 8.

“ as



Book VI. " as Attalus, was the ally of Rome; that the Romans
 Sect. 2. " could not employ their arms in favour of one ally
 " against another; but that they would send embassadors
 " to Antiochus, to represent that Attalus was engaged in
 " their service, and would esteem it a kindness done to
 " them, if the Syrian monarch would withdraw from his
 " territories:" with which request Antiochus accordingly
 complied.

Different be-
 haviour after
 Philip's de-
 feat;

Now, however, they spoke in a very different tone. No
 sooner was peace concluded with Philip, than it was noti-
 fied to the embassadors of Antiochus², who then attended
 Flamininus, " that, by the treaty with Macedon, the Gre-
 " cian cities, in Asia as well as Europe, had been declared
 " free³; that Rome expected their master would conform
 " to that declaration;" and farther, " that henceforth Asia
 " was to be the boundary of his dominions, and any at-
 " tempt to make a settlement in Europe would be con-
 " sidered by Rome as an act of hostility." The same no-
 tification was afterwards repeatedly made to him in person,
 by commissioners deputed for the purpose. In vain was
 it alledged by the king and his ministers⁴, " that he had
 " nothing in common with Philip or his fortunes, and
 " was not therefore interested in the stipulations to which
 " he had agreed; that the possessions he held in Asia
 " and Europe he inherited from his ancestors; and, as it
 " did not concern him, in what manner the Romans
 " dealt with the cities of Italy, to the liberties of which,
 " though of Grecian origin, Rome paid little regard, his

his resent-
 ment.

² Liv. L. xxxiii. c. 34.
 L. xxxiii. c. 39, 40. et L. xxxv. c. 16.

³ See Section the first of this book.

⁴ See Liv-

" treatment



“treatment of the Asiatic cities did not appear to him at all a Roman concern.” The requisition nevertheless was peremptorily insisted upon. And though he sent embassadors to remonstrate with the senate, he found it impossible to obtain any mitigation of the imperious mandate.

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Sect. 2.

WE have in this place a fresh opportunity of admiring the profound policy of the Roman councils. A method of injury, more effectual than the present, could not have been devised against Antiochus. The greater part of the cities of the lower Asia had in some shape or other availed themselves of the weak or turbulent reigns of the late Syrian kings: many of them had assumed an independent sovereignty; some had extended their territories at the expence of the provinces around them; new states had even sprung up amidst the confusion of the times, and risen to a considerable degree of strength and independence. All these states were with good reason apprehensive, that Antiochus would seize the first opportunity of recovering what had been lost by the fault or misfortune of his ancestors. But by the public declaration of the Romans in favour of the Grecian colonists (to which denomination the inhabitants of these cities had a claim) they were not only confirmed in their defection, but became fixed in the interests of Rome. In her cause, of consequence, the cause of all the Asiatic Greeks seemed necessarily to be involved: whilst Antiochus, in the midst of his own dominions, saw himself encompassed with jealous states or declared adversaries.

The deep policy of the Roman councils.

Much art had at the same time been employed to fill Italy with apprehensions of mighty danger from Antiochus;



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Sect. 2.

Alarming
apprehen-
sions of the
designs of
Antiochus
propagated
over Italy.

chus; "his forces were already collected, and he was to appear immediately on their coasts;" while the several commissioners, in their return from Asia, laboured to confirm this belief, by their pompous accounts of his alarming preparations, and by asserting that all was in readiness for the invasion of the Roman territories. This nevertheless was the tale of artifice, and the contrivance of the Roman chiefs, in order to deceive the Plebeians; who, tired of wars, (which, administering only to the ambition and insolence of the Patricians, afforded the people nothing but bloodshed and toil) had strenuously opposed the last expedition into Greece⁶; and it was expected would more strongly resist the launching into the vast and seemingly boundless tracts of Asia. It is, in fact, plain, from the unprovided condition in which the war found Antiochus, that, whatever hostile purposes he may be supposed to have meditated against Rome, they were not yet ripe for execution. He even seems, from the train of negociation he entered into, and the instructions to his ambassadors at Rome, evidently⁷ to have wished for peace, and, in order to obtain it, to have been inclined to make large concessions; could any thing less than the unjust humiliation of the crown of Syria have satisfied Roman ambition.

Walter

Hannibal
and the Ae-
tolians incite
Antiochus
to war;

HE soon after, however, abandoned all thoughts of accommodation. Hannibal, the sworn enemy of Rome, upon the first tidings of his meditating a war against the Romans, made his escape from Carthage to the Syrian court, and urged him to arms. The Aetolians⁸ also earnestly foli-

⁷ See Liv. L. xxxiii. c. 44. et L. xxxv. c. 23.

⁶ See Liv. L. xxxi. c. 6.

⁸ See Liv. L. xxxiv. c. 58, 59.

⁵ Liv. L. xxxv. c. 22.

cited



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BOOK VI.
Sect. 2.

their differ-
ent plans.

cited him to come and vindicate the cause of Greece, "enthralled," said they, "more than ever, notwithstanding the specious grant of liberty Rome had mocked her with." Hannibal⁹ warmly recommended the invasion of Italy, where alone, he affirmed, the Romans were vulnerable; and with a body of only eleven thousand land-forces¹⁰, and a suitable naval equipment, he offered to make a descent, and to carry the war into the heart of the country; provided Antiochus should appear at the same time at the head of a powerful army on the western coast of Greece, and make a shew of preparing for an invasion from that quarter; that the Romans, perplexed by a variety of dangers, might find it the more difficult to obstruct his operations.

Antiochus
adopts the
plan of the
Aetolians.

Promises of
the Aetoli-
ans;

and of An-
tiochus;

NOTWITHSTANDING the plausibility of this idea, a narrow jealousy¹¹ prevented Antiochus from adopting a plan of operations, of which another was to have the direction; and, if successful, would inherit the largest share of the glory. He chose rather to listen to the Aetolians, who told him¹², if Greece was made the seat of war, a general insurrection would immediately take place; that not only Thessaly and Euboea, but Nabis, the Achaeans, and even Philip himself, waited impatiently for an opportunity of declaring against the Romans; and that, the instant he entered the Grecian frontiers, he should have ample supplies of men and money pouring in from every quarter. To these assurances, Antiochus listened with a fond attention; and entertained them, in return, with exaggerated accounts

⁹ Liv. L. xxxiv. c. 60.

¹¹ Liv. L. id. c. 42, 43.

¹⁰ Ten thousand, says Appian (de bello Syr.) p. 147.

¹² Liv. L. xxxv. c. 12, 18.



BOOK VI. of the mighty armaments he had in readiness; his fleets:
Sect. 2. were to cover the Hellespont, and numerous nations from every part of Asia were already on their march, before whom the Romans would not dare to appear.

ill-supported
by them
both :

the Achaeans
and Philip
refuse to join
them.

THE amount of these mutual promises and boasted power was soon discovered. When Antiochus entered Greece, the utmost force he could muster was ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants; for the support also of which, he informed his confederates of Aetolia they were to provide. Of the Grecian states, the Aetolians had influence to bring over to their party none but the Spartan tyrant, the Acarnanians, with the city of Demetrias in Thessaly; of which they had even acquired possession by the treachery of one of its citizens. The Achaeans, at the same time, were, from principle, particularly adverse to any cause espoused by Nabis and the Aetolians. And Philip, besides his dread of the Roman arms, and the consideration that his son Demetrius, with many of his nobles, were then hostages at Rome, had strong reasons to complain of the conduct of Antiochus. Indifferent to Philip's fate, that prince, during the late disastrous war, had not only left him unassisted, but, taking advantage of his situation, had afterwards attempted an establishment on the Thracian Chersonese, where Philip's pretensions were at least equally strong, and where he now saw with indignation, a rival kingdom rising on the confines of Macedon.

¹¹ Liv. L. xxv. c. 43, 44.



A SUDDEN revolution had entirely changed the face of affairs in Sparta²⁴. The Spartan tyrant, upon the prospect of being joined by the Aetolians and Antiochus, had taken up arms, and laid siege to Gythium, then held by an Achaean garrison for the Romans: and he had even defeated, in a naval combat, Philopoemen, then at the head of the commonwealth of Achaia; who, though highly jealous of the influence the Romans had obtained in Greece, gladly laid hold of an opportunity of making war on the infamous Nabis, and immediately hastened to the assistance of the Gythian garrison. Philopoemen was not expert in naval affairs, and, in his precipitate zeal, he had put to sea with such ships as were ready; most of them old and unfit for service. Nabis, sensible of the advantage, attacked him without delay, destroyed his fleet, he himself narrowly escaping; and, in consequence of this victory, Gythium soon surrendered to the Spartans. This discomfiture did not, however, disconcert Philopoemen. He was soon in a condition to prosecute the war by land; and having, by his judicious conduct, obtained two victories over the tyrant, obliged him to retire towards Sparta, and to provide for the defence of his capital. Nabis, held in detestation at home, could ill maintain himself against enemies abroad; and the Aetolians, beginning to fear that Sparta must, in the end, fall into the hands of the Achaeans, dispatched Alexamenus with a thousand men, under colour of succouring Nabis, but with secret instructions to destroy the tyrant, as soon as an opportunity offered, and to make himself master of Sparta. The

BOOK VI.
SECT. 2.

Revolution
in Sparta;

²⁴ See Liv. L. xxxv. c. 25, 30, 35, 36. & Plut. in Philoem.

misconduct.



BOOK VI. misconduct of the Aetolian commander rendered the scheme abortive. Soon after his arrival, under the pretence of getting Nabis to review the auxiliary troops, he drew him aside from his guards, and put him to death; but, instead of proclaiming himself the vindicator of the Spartan people, and engaging their confidence, he employed himself and his Aetolians in plundering the city. The citizens, roused to indignation and resistance, attacked these treacherous invaders, and Alexamenus, with most of his men, fell in the tumultuary combat. During the confusion, Philopoemen appeared before their gates, and invited them to accede to the Achaean confederacy; they accepted his invitation, and were incorporated into the commonwealth of Achaia.

Sect. 2.
Nabis slain.

The Spartans accede to the Achaean league.

Vigour of the Romans;

their fleets and armies dispatched to Greece.

Embassy of Flamininus;

MEANWHILE, the Romans hastened to improve the favourable opportunity, which the unhappy policy of the Syrian king and his Grecian confederates presented to them. Their object was the subjection of Antiochus; and he was delivering himself into their hands. A firm union in Greece might have baffled the Roman designs; but the Aetolians were again distracting that country by their infatuated councils. To take advantage of this situation of affairs, the praetor Baebius was dispatched into Thessaly; two fleets were ordered to be fitted out, the one for Sicily, the other for Greece; and Quintius Flamininus, from whose influence among the Grecian states much was expected, had orders, together with three other commissioners, to visit the principal cities, and prevent their defection from the interests of Rome. It was in the course of this service, that he made the memorable reply to the ambassadors of Antiochus,



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Sect. 2.

Antiochus, as recorded by historians of those times". He met them in the Achaean diet, whither they had come to solicit an alliance with their master, "who," said they, "zealous for the liberties of Greece, waited not until his forces were all assembled, but would be followed by numerous armies from every province of his empire, the Dahae, the Medes, the Caddusians, the Elymaeans, from the stroke of whose weapons there was no escaping."—"This pompous detail," answered Flamininus, "reminds me of an entertainment, to which I was once invited by a certain Grecian host; though in summer, the table was covered with wild fowl and venison of every species, and all excellent in their kinds; amazed, I enquired how, at that season of the year, he could be supplied with such a variety of delicacies. Be not surprized, my friend," replied the honest Greek; "what you see is all swine's flesh; the art of the cook has given it these various forms and flavours you admire. In like manner are you to judge of the various nations which have now been mentioned. Whatever different appellations they skill of the orator has bestowed on them, they are in fact one people; all abject Syrians, strangers themselves to liberty, and therefore little capable of vindicating the liberties of others."

his answer to
the embassa-
dors of Anti-
ochus.

THE Romans, indeed, had little to fear from Antiochus. Unable, from the slender force he had brought into the field, to exert himself vigorously, and depending for the maintenance of his troops on the money

Imprudent
conduct of
Antiochus.

" Liv. L. xxxv. c. 48, 49.

and



BOOK VI. and provisions which the Aetolians could supply, his progress must have been inconsiderable, had he even found no enemy to oppose him. The acquisition of the principal cities of Euboea, and a few towns in Thessaly, and the gaining over of Amynder, the petty king of the Athamanes, to his interest, were all the exploits he had to boast of. But, besides the difficulties which arose from his situation, his own conduct was, in many respects, feeble and ill-judged. His wisest plan had been, a reconciliation with the king of Macedon; and Hannibal earnestly recommended this measure; but, on the contrary, he provoked Philip by new indignities. He set up against him a pretender to his crown¹⁶, one of the same name, said to be descended from the antient kings of Macedon, whose sister was wife to the king of the Athamanes; and, that he might establish this adventurer in the affections of the Macedonian people, as well as to insult Philip, he sent him to Cynoscephalae, to inter the bones of those Macedonians¹⁷ who had fallen in the battle; which pious act Philip, in the midst of his embarrassments and distress, had hitherto neglected to perform. But, what was most prejudicial to the affairs of Antiochus, was his dissipation at Chalcis. At his first arrival in Greece, he endeavoured to make himself master of that city, and failed; but, by means of an understanding between him and a party of the citizens, he had carried it upon a second attempt. Instead, however, of making a proper use of this important acquisition, he abandoned himself¹⁸ to the pursuit of a silly amour. Though upwards of fifty, he married a

his dissipation at Chalcis;

¹⁶ Liv. L. xxxv. c. 47.

¹⁷ Liv. L. xxxvi. c. 8.

¹⁸ Liv. *ibid.* c. 11.

maiden



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maiden under twenty, the daughter of his host: and, in the festivities of this unseasonable and ill-fuited match, he wasted that time which his public affairs demanded; his whole army following his example in unwarrantable and ill-timed indulgences.

BOOK VI.
Sect. 2.

UPON the election of new consuls, the care of the war in Greece had been allotted to Manius Acilius Glabrio¹⁹, one of the consuls elect; who, as soon as the necessary levies were completed, passed over from Brundisium, and advanced into Thessaly. Alarmed at the approach of the enemy, Antiochus was roused from his lethargy, and took the field; but the numerous forces, which he had boasted were to follow from Asia, had not yet arrived, and four thousand men was the total amount of the Aetolian succours. His only resource was to stop the progress of the Romans by possessing himself of the streights of Thermopylae, and securing the heights of mount Oeta, over which the Persians had made their way in the days of Leonidas. These precautions availed little. Cato²⁰, whose name was afterwards rendered illustrious by his spirited discharge of the Censorial office, having been sent over the mountains at the head of a considerable detachment, soon dislodged the Aetolians to whom the defence of that post had been committed; and, while his victorious troops were pouring down from above, the consul having forced the pass below, a general discomfiture involved the whole Syrian army: Antiochus, who was wounded in the mouth by a stone, escaping only with five hundred men into Chalcis; from whence he re-

the consul
Acilius ad-
vances against
him.

Battle of
Thermopy-
lae.

Antiochus
defeated.

¹⁹ Liv. L. xxxvi. c. 14 & seq.

²⁰ Plut. in Catone.

3 L

tired,



BOOK VI. tired, with precipitation, to his Asiatic dominions²¹.—What
SECT. 2. consequences his inconsiderate conduct produced afterwards
 to his affairs, and the ruin it entailed on his unhappy kingdom,
 are matters that belong not to the present history.

The Romans
 affect kind-
 ness to the
 Achaeans
 and to Philip.

ANTIOCHUS was defeated and had fled. He was now to be followed into Asia, where his great strength lay, and where, if joined by Greece, he might have proved more formidable than ever. But the first use which the Romans made of their victory was, to annihilate whatever influence the Syrian monarch was thought still to possess among the Grecian states, and to confirm those in the interests of Rome, who had declared against him. They accordingly were lavish of their favours to Philip and the Achaeans. The latter had, in the course of the war, extended their dominions over all Peloponnesus; and the Romans, without expressing the least jealousy of this increase of power, left them in the undisturbed possession of all they had acquired. Philip, in assisting the Romans, had recovered several towns on the side of Thessaly and Athamania which he had formerly held, and which he had been obliged to cede upon the conclusion of the late peace; he was suffered to retain whatever he had taken; his ambassadors, who bore his congratulations to Rome, were treated with distinguished regard; his son Demetrius, and the rest of the Macedonian hostages, were set at liberty; and, soon after, that part of the tribute, which remained unpaid, was remitted. Rome shewed lenity even to those, whose fidelity had been most doubtful; the people of Chalcis had their lives and estates secured to

Lenity to
 those states
 whose friend-
 ship had been
 doubtful;

²¹ OLYMP. cxlvii. 1. BEFORE CHRIST 187.



them; and the Epirots and Boeotians, though strongly suspected of a connexion with Antiochus, and of having sent him supplies, were pardoned upon their submission. The Aetolians²² themselves might have had favourable terms, the consul offering them peace, provided they renounced all alliance with Syria, and delivered up their chief city, Heraclea, into his hands: but, whether apprehensive that the Romans, when possessed of Heraclea, would impose harder conditions, or prevailed upon by the intrigues of Damocritus, one of their popular leaders, the avowed enemy of Rome, who encouraged them with hopes of immediate succours from Antiochus, they rejected the offer. To the counsels, principally, of this demagogue, was owing their first treaty of alliance with the Syrian king. Damocritus was then chief magistrate of Aetolia; and so violent against the Romans²³, that when Flaminius, at that time embassador from Rome to the Aetolian states, demanded of him a copy of the decree in favour of Antiochus, "I have other matters," replied he, "to attend to at present; I shall deliver it to you on the banks of the Tiber."

Book VI.
Sect. 2.

offer terms to
the Aetoli-
ans,

who reject
them.

MORE vigorous measures having thus become necessary, the consul urged the siege of Heraclea²⁴; which, notwithstanding its strength of situation, and the obstinate defence of the Aetolians, did not long resist the Roman arms; the garrison, with Damocritus their turbulent commander, surrendering at discretion. Soon after the reduc-

The consul
urges the
siege of He-
raclea;

takes it;

²² Liv. L. xxxvi. c. 22.

²³ Liv. L. xxxv. c. 33.

²⁴ A city at the foot of the mount Oeta, on the river Asopus, defended by a castle, from its situation supposed to be of great strength.



BOOK VI.
Sect. 2.

prepares to
lay siege to
Naupactus:

the Aetoli-
ans make
overtures,
the consul
refuses to
treat with
them;

at last admits
their depu-
ties;

takes advan-
tage of their
expressions;

tion of Heraclea, Lamia, at a small distance, surrendered also to the Romans; who, following these successes, prepared to attack Naupactus, a sea-port on the Corinthian gulph, of the first consequence to the Aetolian nation. Alarmed at this rapid progress, and disappointed of the aids they expected from Asia, the Aetolians would now gladly have accepted of the peace which they had formerly spurned at; but the consul at first refused to treat with them; and with much difficulty was at length prevailed on to admit the Aetolian deputies into his presence. At the head of this deputation²⁵ was Phaeneas, of whom mention has been already made; he began his discourse, by bewailing the ill-advised conduct of the Aetolians, who now, repenting of their imprudence, had decreed *to submit themselves to the faith of the Roman people*. It would appear, that Phaeneas did not apprehend the full import of the expressions he had employed; which, as the consul chose to understand them, implied a total surrender of all Aetolia to the Romans. Acilius laying hold on what he had said, "Is it then true, that the Aetolians submit themselves to the faith of Rome?" Phaeneas confirming it; "if it is so," resumed the consul, "let no Aetolian, from henceforth, on any account, public or private, presume to pass over into Asia; and let Dicaearchus²⁶, Menestratus the Epirot²⁷, and Amynander, with all the Athamanes who have had any share in his revolt, be delivered into my hands."—

²⁵ Polyb. Legat. xiii. Liv. L. xxxvi. c. 28, 29.

²⁶ One of the Aetolian leaders, who had been active in promoting the treaty with Syria.

²⁷ Who had entered Naupactus with a body of auxiliaries,



“ The Aetolians,” interrupted Phaeneas, “ in submitting themselves to the faith of the Romans, meant to rely upon their generosity, but not to yield themselves up to servitude. The requisitions which you make, neither the honour of Aetolia, nor the customs and laws of Greece, will allow us to comply with.”—“ It is insolent pretension,” answered the consul, “ to mention the honour of Aetolia! and the customs and laws of Greece! It even deserves that I should command you to be put in chains.” He instantly ordered chains to be brought forward; but the representations of his chief officers prevented him from violating the sacred character of ambassador; and a truce of ten days was granted, in order that the Aetolian deputies might lay the consul’s demands before the general assembly of their nation.

BOOK VI.
Sect. 2.

treats them
contumeli-
ously.

THE report made by the deputies, highly exasperated the Aetolians, who seemed resolved to submit to every extremity rather than surrender their liberties to imperious Rome. What made them more determined, Polybius²⁸ informs us, was the favourable accounts brought by Nicanor, one of their chiefs. He had been dispatched to Antiochus, and returned in twelve days, with a considerable supply of money, and the strongest assurances, that early in the spring all the forces of Syria should be sent to the assistance of the Aetolians. He added, that he had also had an interview with Philip, having, on his return, as he avoided the Roman camp, fallen in with a party of the Ma-

The Aetoli-
ans highly
exasperated;

are encour-
aged in vi-
gorous mea-
sures by ex-
pectations of
succours
from Asia,

and from
Macedon;

²⁸ Ubi supra.

cedonian



BOOK VI. cedonian army. They carried him to their king; who not
 Sect. 2. only set him at liberty, but employed him to inform
 the Aetolians of his friendly dispositions; that, although
 their imprudence in calling in foreign aid, first from Rome,
 and now from Asia, had occasioned the calamitous con-
 dition to which Greece was reduced, he nevertheless
 should forget the injuries he had sustained from them, and
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are deceived. THERE is reason to suspect the truth of this account of
 Philip. In his present situation, he had an opportunity of
 recovering much of what he had lost, and was apparently
 in high favour with the Romans; accordingly, he could
 hardly have entertained the thoughts here ascribed to him;
 or, if he had, would scarcely have disclosed them to a
 people with whom he had generally been on terms of hos-
 tility. Whatever may be in this, Nicander's purpose
 was answered. Ready to believe whatever flattered their
 hopes, the Aetolians determined to bid defiance to Rome, and
 drew all their forces to the city of Naupactus, which Aci-
 lius, with the whole consular army soon after invested.

Naupactus
 pressed by the
 Romans;

BUT, with whatever vigour the Aetolians exerted them-
 selves, their bad fortune continued: the promised succours
 did not appear; and Naupactus, after a siege of two months,
 was reduced to the last extremity. Philip, meanwhile, was
 availing himself of the war, and, under pretence of fighting
 the battles of Rome, had possessed himself of Demetrias, and
 several considerable districts both in Epire and Thessaly.
 Flaminius,



Flamininus, who, since the flight of Antiochus, had taken up his residence at Chalcis, and was perfectly acquainted with the views of the senate in relation to Philip, saw with concern the re-establishment of his power, and hastened to the Roman camp²⁹, in order to induce the consul to pursue different measures. "Do you know," said he to Acilius, "how prejudicial to the interests of the republic your conduct is? wasting your time in humbling the contemptible Aetolians, whose subjection we can effect when we please, you are suffering the Macedonian king, Rome's most dangerous foe, to render himself more powerful than ever." Acilius was soon convinced by the reasoning of Flamininus; the only difficulty that remained, was to raise the siege without impeachment of the consul's honour; and this difficulty Flamininus undertook to remove. The Aetolians had applied to him for his mediation; under colour of which, he advised them to sue to the consul for a truce, that they might send ambassadors to Rome to implore the clemency of the senate. This request he promised to support; and, a suspension of arms having accordingly taken place, Philip was obliged to discontinue his military operations.

Book VI.
Sect. 2.

Flamininus
intercedes
in its behalf.

his views :

prevails on
the consul to
grant a truce.

THE sequel of the fortunes of the Aetolians, till their final subjection to the Roman power, may, from it's connexion with the preceding narrative, not improperly be recorded here. At Rome their ambassadors found little favour. The only conditions³⁰ they could obtain were, either to pay the republic a thousand talents, a sum which,

The Aetolians send ambassadors to Rome ;

treated with severity ;

²⁹ Liv. L. xxxvi. c. 34, 35.

³⁰ Polyb. Legat. xvi. Liv. L. xxxvii. c. 1.

they.



Book VI. Sect. 2. cedonian army. They carried him to their king; who not only set him at liberty, but employed him to inform the Aetolians of his friendly dispositions; that, although their imprudence in calling in foreign aid, first from Rome, and now from Asia, had occasioned the calamitous condition to which Greece was reduced, he nevertheless should forget the injuries he had sustained from them, and expected that they, in return, would bury in oblivion the enmity they bore to him.

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they



BOOK VI. Sect. 2. they declared, far exceeded their abilities; and to have neither friend nor foe, but with the approbation of Rome; or, to submit to the pleasure of the senate. They desired to know, what they were to understand by "*submitting to the pleasure of the senate*;" but a particular explanation was refused, and an implicit obedience to whatever orders the senate should be pleased to issue was peremptorily insisted upon. With this answer they returned home; and in this state of terror the Aetolians remained, uncertain of their future destiny, until the arrival of Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the newly-elected consul, to whom the command in Greece and Asia had been assigned. To him they made their application", but without success, though the Athenians, and even Scipio Africanus, the consul's brother, interceded in their behalf. The severe terms, which the senate had decreed, he also pronounced; but, as a mighty favour, he granted a six months truce, that they might again prosecute their cause at Rome. In fact, this truce, whatever the Aetolians were made to believe, was not less agreeable to Scipio than to them. He was impatient to have the glory of passing into Asia, ground hitherto untrodden by any Roman general; and, if obstructed by an Aetolian war, he feared that he might lose; perhaps, the grand object of his pursuit.

return uncertain of their fate.

The Aetolian war renewed, upon various pretences.

THE day of Magnesia decided the fate of Antiochus; and the Romans were now at leisure to attend to the reduction of the Aetolians. These people had rendered themselves more obnoxious than ever. Whilst the Romans were employed in Asia, they had driven Philip not only out of some of

Polyb. Legat. xvii.

their



their territories, in which he had established himself; but also from others, to which he had a good claim; and had besides recovered Athamania, and restored it to Amynder, to whom it legally belonged. The Romans, not ill-pleas'd that the power of Philip should be circumscribed; confirm'd the kingdom of Athamania to Amynder; but at the same time declar'd their resentment at the Aetolians, whom they required to evacuate their conquests. What at the same time greatly hurt their cause, was the strange conduct of the embassadors they had sent to Rome³². They had circulated a report, that the Roman armies in Asia were defeated, and the two Scipios taken prisoners; and this piece of intelligence they urg'd as an argument to induce the Romans to grant the peace they apply'd for. The Roman indignation was provok'd at this insult; the embassadors were order'd immediately to leave the city, with instructions to the Aetolians never to presume again to send plenipotentiaries to Rome, without the express permission of the Roman commander in Greece.

AFTER the election of new consuls, the Aetolian war was allotted to Marcus Fulvius Nobilior³³: who immediately prepar'd for the expedition; and began his operations with the siege of Ambracia³⁴. Every thing that ingenuity could devise, or valour atchieve, was employ'd for the defence of this important place. But, deterred by no difficul-

The consul
Fulvius lays
siege to Am-
bracia,

³² Liv. L. xxxvii. c. 48, 49.

³³ Liv. L. xxxviii. c. 4 & seq.

³⁴ A strong city near the mouth of the Aracthus, on the borders of Epirus and Acarnania, formerly belonging to Epirus, but now held by the Aetolians, and the key to the Aetolian dominions.



Book VI. ties, the Romans persevered; when, far inferior to them, both
 Sect. 2. in resources and numbers, the Ambraciots found themselves
 at last obliged to capitulate. The payment of five hundred
 Euboic talents was stipulated; two hundred down, the re-
 maining three in six equal payments; and they were to
 deliver up to the consul, all the prisoners and deserters
 then in Ambracia³⁵; on which terms the Aetolian garrison
 was permitted to march out unmolested. Amynder
 was of great service to the Romans on this occasion; he
 was again their faithful ally; and, to make amends for
 his late defection, had employed all his influence to bring
 about the capitulation.

which capi-
 tulates.

The Aeto-
 lians apply
 for mercy;
 and submit.

ALARMED at the progress of the Roman arms, the whole
 Aetolian nation³⁶ applied to the consul for mercy. The re-
 quisitions he made were nevertheless so humiliating, that
 the commissioners sent to treat with him, not thinking
 themselves authorized to agree to such hard conditions,
 returned for more full and explicit instructions. But a
 general despondency had now seized the Aetolians, and the

³⁵ It appears, nevertheless, (Liv. L. xxxviii. c. 43, 44) that Fulvius's pro-
 ceedings against the Ambraciots, were afterwards disapproved of at Rome; whether
 upon a principle of justice, or, as Livy thinks, by the contrivance of the consul
 Aemilius and his party, to whom Fulvius was obnoxious, it is now difficult to deter-
 mine. However, it was decreed by the senate, "that the Ambraciots should not
 " be considered as a conquered people—that they should have their laws and liber-
 " ties restored to them, and enjoy again all tolls and customs formerly enjoyed
 " by them; the Romans only, with their Latin allies, not to be subject to the
 " payment of any such tolls, &c."—and "that as to the paintings and other
 " ornaments, of which their temples had been plundered, and which Fulvius had
 " sent away to Italy, it should be referred to the college of the priests to decide
 " about them."—What *their* decision was, may easily be conjectured.

³⁶ Liv. L. xxxviii. c. 8, 9.



commissioners were hurried back with orders to sign whatever terms were dictated by the imperious conqueror. The most remarkable of these³⁷ were, “That *observance* shall be paid to the *empire* and *majesty* of the Roman people” (such is the insolence of victory) “throughout all Aetolia”—“that the friends and enemies of Rome shall be the friends and enemies of Aetolia”—“that the Aetolians shall immediately pay down to the consul two hundred Euboic talents of silver, of the same fineness as the Attic standard, with permission to pay the third part in gold, a minae of gold to be accounted equal to ten minae of silver; to pay, besides, a tribute of fifty talents yearly for six years, which was to be sent to Rome at their own risque and charges—that all cities and countries, with their respective inhabitants, which have formerly been subject to the Aetolians, and have, since the time of Flamininus’s consulship, either by conquest or voluntary surrender become subject to Rome, shall from henceforth be deemed the property of the Roman people; and the Aetolians shall relinquish all claim to them” — “that they shall deliver into the hands of the consul, forty hostages, to be chosen by him, none under twelve or above forty years of age; the chief magistrate of Aetolia, the general of the horse, and the secretary of state, to be excepted out of the number; and, in case of the death of any hostage, another to be given in his room.”

EVEN these conditions, when laid before them for approbation, the Roman senate refused at first to confirm; a ratifi-

The Roman senate, with difficulty, prevailed on to ratify the peace;

³⁷ Polyb. Legat. xxviii. Liv. L. xxviii. c. 10, 11.



Book VI. cation being at length with difficulty obtained, by the in-
 Sect. 2. tercession of several Roman patricians, and of the Rhodian
 and Athenian embassadors. Damis²⁰, the Athenian, more
 particularly distinguished himself on this occasion: "What-
 " ever the Aetolians have been guilty of, is not," said he,
 " to be laid to the charge of the body of the Aetolian peo-
 " ple. In all states, the multitude are like the sea: the sea,
 " in its natural situation, is smooth and composed, and not
 " dangerous to the navigator; but, when ruffled and agi-
 " tated by storms, it becomes raging and tremendous.
 " Thus the Aetolians, when left to themselves, were of all
 " the Greeks the best affected to the interests of Rome,
 " and ready to assist in all her enterprizes; but when a
 " Thoas and a Dicaearchus from Asia, and a Menestus and
 " a Damocritus from Europe, began to excite a ferment,
 " and to throw the multitude into commotion, then boi-
 " sterous councils and mad resolves naturally followed.
 " Against the authors of these mischiefs pronounce, there-
 " fore, as you shall please, but let the multitude expe-
 " rience your clemency."

perform it at
 last, without
 any mitiga-
 tion of terms.

NEVERTHELESS, all the *clemency* obtained, was a con-
 firmation of the consul's terms, without the least miti-
 gation.

THIS treatment of a people who were the first that opened
 Greece to the Romans, harsh as it may appear, was exceed-
 ingly merciful when compared with what followed, when
 the final overthrow of the royal house of Macedon left

²⁰ Livy calls him Leon.

Rome



Rome at liberty to avow the genius of her empire. That transaction shall have its place hereafter.

BOOK VI.
SECT. 2.

THE most important business the Romans had now in contemplation in Greece, was to reduce, within narrower limits, the power of the Macedonian king, and the republic of Achaia which had acquired a formidable increase of territory during the late Syrian and Aetolian wars. The Achaeans, as we have already observed, were masters at present of all Peloponnesus; and Philip had not only recovered most of those provinces of which his wars with Rome had deprived him, but had also made other considerable acquisitions³⁹. The designs upon these allies was a matter to be managed with the greatest delicacy. Both states had been firm in the interests of Rome, and several of the Roman commanders had spoken highly of the support they had received from them. To repay their services with distrust and acts of hostility, because they were no longer necessary, had been to avow the very purposes which Rome was industrious to conceal. The political form of government which prevailed throughout Greece, afforded to the Romans the wished-for opportunity. Though confederated with Achaia, the Peloponnesian cities retained each of them peculiar privileges, and a kind of independent sovereignty, which naturally gave rise to many jealousies and contests. In like manner, Philip had but a limited authority in most of the Grecian states over which he had established his dominion; his title to some of them was controverted, and much was to be done

The Romans jealous of Achaia and Macedonia.

³⁹ See Liv. L. xxxvi. c. 33, 34.



Book VI. before the rights of the numerous claimants could be ad-
 Sect. 2. justed. The Romans saw what advantages were to be de-
 rived from these particular circumstances, and took their
 measures accordingly.

Artifice used
 in reducing
 the power of
 Achaia.

THEY began with Achaia. Fulvius, when peace was concluded with Aetolia, had adjudged the island Cephalea to Rome, and fixed his residence there, to be at hand to decide whatever disputes should arise between the Grecian cities; that island being divided from the coast of Peloponnesus by an arm of the sea only twenty-four miles over, from whence an easy passage lay open into that country. Upon the first dispute, therefore, in Achaia, he passed over⁴⁰ into Peloponnesus. The general convention of the Achaean states had, from antient time, been held at Aegium; but Philopoemen, now chief magistrate of Achaia, having thought fit to divide among all the cities of the Achaean league, the advantages which those assemblies brought to the place where they were held, had named Argos for the next succeeding diet. This innovation the inhabitants of Aegium opposed, and applied to the Roman consul for his determination. The consul, it appears, behaved on this occasion in the most cautious manner. He favoured, as Livy tells us, the cause of the Aegienfes: but finding a great majority to be against them, he concealed his private sentiments, and made no opposition to the appointment of Philopoemen. He had gained, however, the main point he had in view; an appeal had been made to him, and the judicial authority of

⁴⁰ Liv. L. xxxviii. c. 30 & seq.

Rome



Rome over the Peloponnesian states was thus virtually acknowledged.

BOOK VI.
SECT. 2.

A CAUSE of much greater moment soon presented itself. The Lacedemonian exiles, who had been expelled in the days of the tyrants, and who on account of the domestic feuds still prevailing in Lacedemon, had never been restored, resided in certain towns along the coast of Laconia, under the protection of Achaean garrisons. The inhabitants of Lacedemon, thus cut off from all intercourse with the sea-coast, bore the restraint impatiently; and to free themselves from it, attacked, in the night-time, one of the maritime towns called Las, but were repulsed by the exiles with the assistance of the Achaean soldiery. Philopoemen, who was still at the head of the Achaean commonwealth, having convened an assembly, represented this attempt upon Las as an insult to the whole Achaean body, and obtained a decree, commanding the Lacedemonians to deliver up the authors of that outrage, on pain of being treated as enemies. Proper officers were sent to Lacedemon, to notify the decree. But this step served only to exasperate the Lacedemonians. They immediately put thirty citizens to death, who were known to be in the Achaean interest, dissolved their alliance with Achaia, and sent ambassadors to Fulvius, entreating him to come and take possession of their city. To revenge this insult, Philopoemen declared war against Lacedemon, and though the season was far advanced, entered the Lacedemonian territory, spreading devastation wherever he came.

Case of the
Lacedemo-
nian exiles;

insulted by
the Lacede-
monians.

Philopoemen
espouses their
cause,

and obtains a
decree in
their favour.

Lacedemo-
nians refuse
to obey the
decree;

offer their
city to the
Romans.

Philopoemen
enters Lacc-
onia, and lays
it waste.

ON



BOOK VI.
 Sect. 2.

ON the return of spring, both sides still remaining exceedingly exasperated, Fulvius crossed over into Peloponnesus, and demanded that an assembly should be convened at Elis, in order to discuss the pretensions of Achaia over Lacedemon. After hearing both parties, unable, or perhaps unwilling, to bring the perplexed claims to a final decision, he advised them to send embassadors to Rome, and while the cause was depending, to suspend hostilities. They complied; the Achaeans sending as their deputies, Lycortas the father of Polybius, who, as a spirited asserter of the liberties of Achaia, was strenuous in the support of Philopoemen's measures, and Diophanes, a man in appearance of moderate counsels, but in fact devoted to the interests of Rome. Diophanes, accordingly, in his application to the senate, referred the decision of the cause wholly to their arbitration; whilst Lycortas, on the contrary, maintained the decree of Philopoemen, which, he asserted, could not be reversed without making void the regulations of Flamininus, who had committed to Achaia the protection of the sea-coast. The subtle Romans, however, secretly pleased to see the confederates of Achaia in arms against her, framed their answer in such ambiguous terms as left the matter just as they found it; the Lacedemonians insisting, that the determination was in their favour; while the contrary was as strenuously asserted by the Achaeans. The consequence was, that Philopoemen, who had been re-elected chief magistrate, marched to Lacedemon, and demanded by name the authors of the attempt upon Las; promising at the same time that they should not be condemned unheard. Trusting to this promise, these men set out

Both parties
 send embas-
 sadors to
 Rome;

the insidious
 answer re-
 ceived.

Philopoemen
 marches to
 Lacedemon;



out for the Achaean camp, attended by the chief citizens of Lacedemon, who considered their cause as a national concern. But as they entered the camp, they were insulted with reproaches by the exiles, who having engaged the Achaean soldiers in their quarrel, suddenly attacked them with such fury, that seventeen were killed upon the spot: the remainder, sixty-three in number, were rescued with difficulty by Philopoemen, not in order to save them, but that it might not be said, they had been put to death without trial. Next morning being accordingly produced before the multitude, they were condemned, and executed, being hardly allowed the semblance of a defence. This severe proceeding struck the Lacedemonians with such a panic, that they surrendered at discretion; and Philopoemen, resolving to humble them effectually, treated them as if their city had been taken by storm. He commanded them, "to demolish their walls, to disband their mercenaries, to expel the slaves whom the tyrants had enfranchised, to restore the exiles, and to renounce the laws of Lycurgus; the laws of Achaia being to be considered from that time as the laws by which Lacedemon was to be governed."

his cruel
treatment of
the Lacede-
monians.

PHILOPOEMEN'S conduct on this occasion (such are the fatal violences into which the spirit of dominion, success, and revenge, are apt to betray us!) was certainly cruel; and, in regard to those whom he had abandoned to the fury of the exiles, highly perfidious. The Romans, however, shewed nothing of that vigour in behalf of this oppressed people, which they had often displayed in more

The conduct
of the Ro-
mans on this
occasion;

⁴¹ See Plut. in Philopoemen.



Book VI. trifling matters. Though a solemn appeal had been made
 Sect. 2. by the Lacedemonians to Rome, the Roman consul, Lepidus, contented himself with coolly informing the Achaeans, that the senate did not approve of these severe proceedings. And Nicodemus of Elis, having been deputed from the Achaean diet to justify what had been done, received for answer, "that Rome was not pleased with the
 "subversion of the Spartan government, but did not annul what the Achaeans had decreed".

and why. THE infant state of the Roman empire in Asia, and the attention required in marking the designs and controlling the power of those states that bordered on the dominions lately belonging to Antiochus, produced this temporising policy. Macedon, besides, was again growing formidable; and the Romans were cautious of provoking Achaia, who, had she at this period boldly declared against Rome, had probably united in her cause not only the greater part of Greece, but many of the neighbouring potentates. Such, at this time was the reputation of the Achaean republic, that her friendship was courted⁴³ by the kings of Pergamus and Egypt. And soon after, Seleucus, having succeeded to the throne of Syria upon the death of his father Antiochus, sent ambassadors to the Achaean states, to solicit their alliance. Eumenes even proposed a subsidy of an hundred and twenty talents, towards the establishment of a fund for the support of the members of the general assembly. Ptolemy presented them with six thousand shields and two hundred talents; and Seleucus of-

The republic of Achaia high in reputation at this period; her friendship courted by the kings of Pergamus, Egypt, and Syria.

⁴³ Polyb. Legat. xxxvii. 41.

⁴⁴ Polyb. Legat. 41.

ferred.



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ferred them ten ships of war completely equipped. The present from Ptolemy was the only one accepted; to Eumenes particularly they returned an answer worthy of a free republic, "that they were rather to deem him an enemy, since he sought to corrupt the members of that venerable assembly; which he would not have attempted, had he not entertained views unfriendly to the liberties of Achaia."

BOOK VI.
SECT. 2.

THOUGH Rome in the present situation of her affairs found it necessary to dissemble, she was not inattentive to the councils of a state, whose rising importance she beheld with a jealous eye. Caecilius, who, with two other commissioners, had been sent to visit Macedon, had orders in his return to pass through Achaia, and to employ himself in supporting the cause of Sparta, as the most effectual means of diminishing the consequence of the Achaean confederacy. At the same time Rome had taken care to gain over a party among the Achaeans themselves, to oppose Philopoemen, and supplant him if an opportunity offered. Among these was Diophanes already mentioned, and Aristaenus, now first magistrate of the Achaean states, who displayed a striking specimen of his intriguing genius, in rendering abortive the purposed alliance with Ptolemy. We have an account of this transaction from Polybius⁴⁴. It had been carried in the general assembly, "that the treaty of alliance with the Egyptian king should be renewed." To elude therefore the force of a resolution which interfered with the purposes of Rome, Aristaenus produced a

The Romans deal craftily with the Achaeans.

⁴⁴ Ubi sup.



BOOK VI. number of treaties made at different periods between the
 Sect. 2. Achaeans and Egypt, and desired to be informed to which
 of these the resolution referred; and thus, by perplexing the
 question, contrived that nothing should be done.

Caecilius
 pleads the
 cause of La-
 cedemon;

CAECILIUS shewed considerable ability in the execution of his commission. Having obtained an audience of the council, he complained of the treatment the Lacedemonians had received, but rather in the language of expostulation; tempering his censures with high encomiums on the wisdom of their government, and their zeal for the prosperity of their country. Aristaenus, general of the year, with whom probably the whole matter had been previously concerted, made no reply, as if he acknowledged by his silence, that the conduct of Achaia towards the Lacedemonians did not admit of a justification. Diophanes, however, went farther. He made a formal charge against Philopoemen; imputing to him not only the ruin of Lacedemon, but the violent measures also which Achaia had lately adopted, particularly the unjust and severe treatment of the Messenian exiles, who had not been restored, as Flaminius had ordained; and this oppression of the Messenians, he represented as the crime of Philopoemen alone.

is disap-
 pointed;

demand the
 national diet
 to be con-
 vened;

PHILOPOEMEN did not want spirit to defend himself; and he was so effectually supported by Lycortas and other Achaean chiefs, that notwithstanding the opposition of the Roman party, it was resolved, "that nothing should be altered in the decrees, which the Achaean states had enacted;" and "that this answer should be given to Caecilius." Highly exasperated, he then desired, that the national



national diet should be convened. But to this it was replied, that by the laws of Achaia he must produce a letter from the senate of Rome authorising his request: and as he had no such document, he was obliged to return home, with the mortification that always attends defeated projects; and with the additional regret of being baffled by men he held in contempt.

BOOK VI.
Sect. 2.

is refused.

THE Achaeans nevertheless thought it necessary, that their ambassadors⁴⁵ should immediately follow him to Rome, and lay before the senate, their reasons for not complying with his requisition. They had hardly arrived, when ambassadors from Sparta also appeared. What was yet more surprising, the persons employed in this embassy were Areus and Alcibiades, two of those very exiles lately restored to their country by means of Philopoemen, an action now imputed to him as a crime. These ungrateful men, either to ingratiate themselves with their fellow-citizens, or stimulated by Rome, had undertaken to plead the cause of Sparta. They made accordingly a most affecting representation of the condition to which Lacedemon, once the pride of Greece, was now reduced; her walls laid in ruins, her citizens led into slavery, and the sacred laws of Lycurgus abolished; and concluded by praying the Romans to extend their protection to this afflicted people, and to relieve them from despotism and oppression.

Embassadors
sent to
Rome from
Achaia and
from Lacedemon.

A SUIT so congenial with the designs of Rome, easily found attention and favour. It was decreed, that three com-

Commissioners appointed by the Roman senate.

⁴⁵ Polyb. Legat. xlii.

miffioners.



Book VI. Sect. 2. **missioners should be sent to the Achaean diet, in order to determine upon the spot, all matters in dispute between Achaia and the Spartans: and that the Achaeans should be required to convene their general assembly whenever the demand was made by a Roman ambassador; as the senate, on their part, admitted the Achaeans to an audience as often as they desired it**⁴⁶.

nate, to decide between Achaia and Sparta.

Indignation, and angry resolutions of the general assembly of Achaia.

WHEN the Achaeans received an account of these proceedings, they could not suppress their indignation. The general assembly was instantly called together; in which it was resolved, "that the Spartans, by their appeal to Rome, had departed from their plighted allegiance to the Achaean states; that Areus and Alcibiades were therefore in rebellion against their rightful lords, and should be adjudged to death."

THESE resolutions, the passionate ebullitions of an impetuous multitude, were as vain as they were intemperate. Areus and Alcibiades, protected by Rome, were beyond their reach, bidding defiance to a power from which, in other circumstances, they had every thing to fear.

The commissioners arrive;

SCARCELY was the decree enacted, when the Roman commissioners⁴⁷, at the head of whom was Appius Claudius, arrived at Cleitor in Arcadia, where the Achaean states had been convened; and, what was most mortifying to those people, Areus and Alcibiades accompanied them. The gloomy apprehensions to which this circumstance gave

⁴⁶ Polyb. Legat. xlii.

⁴⁷ Polyb. Legat. xliii. Liv. L. xxxix. c. 35, 36, 37.

rife,



rise, were fully justified by the sequel. The commissioners entered the diet, not as ministers deputed to deliberate with a free state, but rather as judges, invested with full authority to pass sentence, and to punish. "You have incurred," said Appius, "the displeasure of the Roman senate, by your measures: you have perfidiously murdered those Spartans who, on the faith of Philopoemen, had delivered themselves into your hands: and, as if this were unimportant, you afterwards demolished the walls of that antient city Lacedemon; you deprived her of her laws, and you deprived her of that discipline established by Lycortus, which for many ages had been her strength and her glory."

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open their
charge with
great haugh-
tiness.

BUT neither the haughty port these Roman commissioners assumed, nor the imperious language which they held, could subdue the spirit of Lycortas. He was the friend of Philopoemen, coadjutor in all his councils, and at this time first magistrate of Achaia. From his reply, (which Livy⁴⁸, surely a competent witness, has preserved to us) the pretensions of Rome, as well as their foundation, may be easily perceived. "The support which the Achaeans had afforded to the Spartan exiles," he told Appius, "was in consequence of the alliance Achaia had entered into with Rome; Rome had consigned them to her protection, and, the more effectually to protect them, the Achaeans had taken up arms against the inhabitants of Lacedemon: that, with regard to the slaughter of the Lacedemonians who had surrendered, the Achaeans were guiltless; it was the

Spirited and
fwer of Ly-
cortas.

⁴⁸ Ubi sup.



Book VI. act of those very exiles, whose cause the Romans were now
 Sect. 2. patronizing, Areus and Alcibiades being bound to answer
 for that violence, if such it was to be called. In regard to the
 demolition of the walls of Lacedemon, which the Achaeans
 acknowledged to be their act, the Spartans, far from com-
 plaining on that account, rather owed them thanks; those
 walls were indeed the disgrace of Sparta, monuments of
 her servitude, raised in express violation of the institu-
 tions of Lycurgus, by the tyrants who had ruled over her,
 and which that lawgiver, were he to revisit the earth, would
 rejoice to see in ruins. That the laws of Lycurgus, of which
 Achaia was said to have deprived her, had, by the manage-
 ment of those tyrants, long since ceased to exist in force,
 or even to be known in Sparta: the Achaeans finding
 therefore the bands of government dissolved, and her polity
 in ruin, had admitted her to a participation of the laws
 and privileges enjoyed by the whole Achaean body."—" It
 " is, however," continued he, " just matter of surprize to
 " the Achaeans, that they, a free and independent state,
 " and in alliance with Rome, should thus be called upon
 " to account for their actions, as if they were not the
 " confederates but the slaves of Rome. If the voice of
 " the herald that proclaimed liberty to Greece, meant
 " any thing; if the league that subsists between us, is
 " not an illusion; and if the rights of friendship and alli-
 " ance are to be held mutually sacred; why may not we as
 " well scrutinize your proceedings in Italy, as you decide
 " upon our transactions in Greece? Admit, then, that
 " we have sacrificed some Lacedemonians to our resentment,
 " has your treatment of Capua's senators been less severe?
 " or say, that we have levelled the walls of Lacedemon,
 " has



" has not Capua not only beheld her walls in ruins, but her
 " territories, her sole means of subsistence, swallowed up by Book VI.
 " Roman rapacity? We shall, perhaps, be told, that what Sect. 2.
 " freedom remains to us is only in name, and that, in rea-
 " lity, we are the slaves of Rome: I know it well, Appius;
 " and if I must suppress my indignation at the thought, I
 " will. Let me, nevertheless, conjure you, however great
 " the distance is between the Romans and the Achaeans, not
 " to shew a more jealous solicitude for the privileges of our
 " common enemies than for those of your own allies. To
 " bring the Lacedaemonians to a level with ourselves, we
 " wished them to be governed by the same laws: they
 " want more; though vanquished, they refuse to submit
 " to regulations with which the victors themselves are
 " satisfied; and they require us to infringe compacts, which
 " we have sworn not to violate. No, Romans; we ho-
 " nour you, and, if you will so have it, we fear you;
 " but we honour more, we fear more, the immortal
 " Gods!"

APPIUS avoided entering into the discussion of arguments,
 which probably he could not answer; he contented himself
 with this haughty reply: "A voluntary compliance is Reply of the
 " more eligible than that which is extorted by force." At commissioner
 these words, a deep groan, the voice of an injured and an Appius.
 oppressed people, was heard to issue from every part of the
 assembly. But they felt the inequality of the contest, and The expedi-
 that all resistance would be vain. The following humiliating ent which
 request to the commissioners was therefore the sole result of the Achaeans
 their deliberations: "that the Romans themselves would wisely em-
ployed;
 " rescind



Book VI. Sect. 2. its effect. "rescind whatever part of the decrees of the Achæan diet they wished to have rescinded, and not require a free people to annul what they had sworn to observe." This apparent submission seems to have softened Appius; he only reversed the decree pronounced against Areus and Alcibiades; and referred them, respecting all other matters, to the pleasure of the senate. It appears as if the senate themselves thought it dangerous, in the present situation of their affairs, to exasperate the Achæans farther. They seem to have done little more than copy the decision of their commissioners, by decreeing, that those who had been condemned by the Achæans should be restored, and all sentences repealed that had been pronounced in the assembly of Achæa, against Lacedæmon. They only added, by way of softening these stern injunctions, "that for the future, the Lacedæmonians should be deemed members of the Achæan league, and be subject to its regulations."

The Messenians revolt:

SOME other device was now to be employed; of which Rome, however, might seem innocent, and which at the same time might still more effectually humble the importance of these high-spirited republicans. The Messenians formed a considerable part of the Achæan body: a plan was formed to detach them from the league; and the execution was committed to Dinocrates, a Messenian leader, bustling and bold, in the confidence of Flamininus, a foe of course to Philopoemen, and ready to engage in any hostile enterprize against the Achæan generals. Philopoemen³⁰.

²⁸ Liv. L. xxxix. c. 48.

³⁰ Ibid. c. 49, 50. Plutarch in Philopoem.

NOW:



now for the eighth time chief magistrate of Achaia, no sooner had advice of the movements of the Messenians, than, though ill of a fever, he mounted his horse, and being joined by Lycortas, with some Megalopolitan cavalry, advanced to Carone, a fortress belonging to the Messenians; but finding the enemy already in possession of it, he marched towards Messene, their capital, with the view of taking it by surprize. On his march he was met by Dinocrates, at the head of a small detachment, whom he charged, and defeated; when, unexpectedly, a body of five hundred horse came up to the assistance of the Messenians, who attacking the Achaeans in their turn, forced them to give way. Philopoemen excelled in this branch of the military art; he commanded his men to retreat through defiles and hollow grounds, where the enemy must pursue with disadvantage, he himself covering the rear, and repeatedly facing about to repel the attacks of the pursuers. At length his horse, entangled in rocky ground, stumbled and fell; and the venerable Philopoemen, now in his seventieth year, weak, at the same time, from his late illness, and exhausted by the fatigue of the day, unable by exertion to overcome the shock, remained stunned and senseless on the ground. He was immediately surrounded by Dinocrates and his Messenians, who, proud of their captive, the champion of Achaia, entered the city in triumph. The sight, nevertheless, excited the compassion of the multitude; they remembered Philopoemen's great exploits, and what Messenia in particular, when oppressed by the Spartan tyrant, owed to his gallantry. Thus, instead of an *enemy*, they beheld in him the *deliverer* of their country. Dinocrates and his faction, whose purpose

BOOK VI.
Sect. 2.

Philopoemen
marches
against them;

falls into
their hands.



BOOK VI. it was to break the strength of the Achaeans by depriving
 Sect. 2. them of their gallant general, beginning to dread the result

His magna-
 nimity,

and death.

of these workings of compassion, next morning commanded the executioner to descend into the subterraneous vault where Philopoemen was imprisoned, and put him to death. When the brave Achaean saw him enter with the fatal bowl in his hand, raising himself up, though with difficulty, "Canst thou," said he, "inform me of the fate of Lycortas, and the young men with him?" the executioner answering, they were safe; "then," replied Philopoemen, taking the bowl with a cheerful countenance, "we are not altogether wretched;" and having drank the deadly draught, soon after expired.

The Achae-
 ans complain
 to Rome,

and are an-
 swered with
 perfidious-
 ness.

WHEN the Achaeans were informed of this base transac-
 tion, they were fired with indignation. Lycortas, now ap-
 pointed chief magistrate in the place of Philopoemen, im-
 mediately sent a formal complaint to Rome against the
 Messenians, and at the same time demanded that assistance
 which the Romans, by treaty, were bound to furnish. The
 answer was worthy of the policy of Rome. The
 Achaeans were told, "that should even the Lacedemo-
 nians, or the Corinthians, or the Argives, separate them-
 selves from the Achaean confederacy, the Achaeans were
 not to wonder if Rome looked upon it as a matter that
 noway concerned her." Had Rome expressly invited all
 Peloponnesus to disclaim farther dependence on Achaia, she
 could not have spoken plainer³¹.

³¹ See Polyb. Legat. II.

THE



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THE Achaeans were still more exasperated by this perfidious declaration. They instantly flew to arms; and, led on by Lycortas, marched to Messene⁵², threatening destruction to that city, unless all who had shared in the guilt of Philopoemen's murder were delivered into their hands. The Messenians, who in general highly disapproved of Philopoemen's inhuman execution, gladly accepted of the conditions. Dinocrates, unable to support the idea of falling into the power of this enraged people, laid violent hands on himself: several of his associates followed his example; and the rest being abandoned to the vengeance of the Achaeans, were stoned at the tomb of Philopoemen. The obsequies of their favourite general they celebrated with the greatest splendour, and the most passionate lamentations; Polybius the historian, son to Lycortas, surrounded by the principal nobility of Achaia, bearing his urn; and not only the army, but the inhabitants of all the neighbouring towns, attending the funeral procession from Messene to his native city, Megalopolis, where his ashes were deposited. He was accounted by the Romans themselves, according to Plutarch⁵³, the last of the Greeks. He certainly was the most able as well as the most zealous defender of Grecian liberties, from the time Rome began to extend her influence over this ill-fated people. It appears, that his countrymen carried even their veneration for his memory so far, as to pay him divine honours.

BOOK VI.
Sect. 2.

Repentment
of the Achae-
ans;

they revenge
Philopoe-
men's death.

WHEN the Romans found the bad success which had attended the revolt of Messenia, they changed their tone;

Duplicity of
the Romans.

⁵² Polyb. Legat. lii. Plutarch in Philopoemen.

⁵³ In Arato.

applauding.



Book VI. Sect. 2. applauding the Achaeans for having revenged the death of Philopoemen, and assuring their ambassadors of the particular care the senate had taken, that neither arms nor provisions should be sent from Italy to their enemies⁵⁴. But this applause and friendly professions the Achaeans estimated at their real value.

Flamininus suspected of having a share in the guilt of Philopoemen's murder;

WE have not sufficient authority from history to say how far Flamininus was concerned in this criminal transaction, in which he seems to have acted a part. Dinocrates was confessedly his creature; and in exciting⁵⁵ the Messenians to revolt, acted, it appears evidently, with his privity, if not by his instigation. Flamininus, besides, hated Philopoemen, both as a man whose unseasonable loyalty to his country obstructed the views of Rome, and as his rival in military glory. Whether his instructions to Dinocrates pointed to the execution of Philopoemen, is a circumstance impossible now to be determined; but had not the Messenian expected that Rome would not disavow the action, he probably had not embrued his hands in the blood of that great man. It is recorded by Polybius⁵⁶, that Flamininus had, before this period, in conjunction with Dinocrates, formed a plan to throw the Achaean councils into confusion, by supporting the Messenian interest in opposition to that of Achaia; and in order to try his influence among the Peloponnesian

⁵⁴ Polyb. Legat. li.

⁵⁵ It is remarkable, that Livy (L. xxxix. c. 48.) makes slight mention of this revolt; into the causes and progress of which, he says he will not inquire, as being a matter altogether foreign to his object, the history of the Roman people,

⁵⁶ See Polyb. Legat. xlvii. See also De vict. et vitiis, p. 1435.



states, had required a general assembly to be convened. But Philopoemen, at that time chief magistrate, suspecting some sinister design, demanded that he should first signify in writing, what was to be the business of this convention. As the Roman would not comply with this requisition, Philopoemen refused his request.

BOOK VI.
Sect. 2.

BUT the behaviour of Flaminius bears a more unfavourable aspect; from the recollection that he himself had adjudged⁵⁷ Messenia to the Achaeans; and in consequence of this decision, had afterwards prevailed on them to cede Zacynthus to the Romans⁵⁸. The argument he employed on this occasion, deserves notice. "Achaia," said he to them, "is a kind of tortoise, around which nature has placed a shell by way of armour; and if it thrusts out its head or feet beyond this armour, it is in danger of receiving injury. Your frontier cities, O Achaeans! are your shell, your natural defence: but whatever acquisitions you make beyond the continent, those are the parts which lying without your shell, are exposed to insult, and which are not to be secured without an expence far greater than their real worth." The shrewdness of the observation, aided by those arts of intrigue in which he excelled, secured the wished-for success.

⁵⁷ Liv. L. xxxvi. c. 31; 32.

⁵⁸ An island lying between Sicily and Peloponnesus, which the Achaeans had lately purchased, and from its situation, of considerable importance to Rome.

BUT



BOOK VI.
 Sect. 2.

his base
 treatment of
 Hannibal.

BUT the part, which Flaminius acted in relation to Hannibal⁵⁹, who died the same year with Philopoemen, evinces, that this commander, the boasted favourite of Roman historians, possessed little of that noble generosity of spirit, by which the brave are generally distinguished. After the total overthrow of Antiochus, the Carthaginian, fearing he should be given up to his enemies, had retired to the court of Prusias king of Bithynia, who promised him protection. Flaminius being on an embassy to the Bithynian monarch, in order to negotiate a peace between him and the king of Pergamus, took this opportunity, either in consequence of secret instructions from the senate, or from a mean passion for fame, as Plutarch thinks, to demand, that Hannibal should be delivered into his hands. Prusias at first, according to the last-mentioned historian, earnestly pleaded the rights of hospitality and his plighted faith, of which so dishonourable an action would be an avowed violation. But the Roman, regardless of such considerations, persisted in his demand; and the dastardly Prusias at length agreed to comply. Hannibal, who had but slight dependence on the Bithynian's honour, and, from the time of Flaminius's arrival, suspected the object and result of his machinations, had contrived in the castle of Libyssa, where he resided, subterraneous passages, to favour his escape in case of danger; when having information that his castle was surrounded by soldiers, he had recourse to these secret outlets: but finding them all guarded, and no hope of escaping, he at once formed his

⁵⁹ Liv. L. xxxix. c. 51. Plut. in Flamini.

resolution.



resolution. Taking then in his hand the cup which contained the ingredients, long before prepared for such an occasion, "Let us," said he, "deliver Rome from her perpetual disquietude, since she thinks it tedious to wait for the death of a poor yet dreaded old man. . . What a change in Roman manners! their fathers warned Pyrrhus, even when in arms against them, of the poison that was treacherously prepared for him; while their degenerate sons are not ashamed of employing their ambassador, a man of consular dignity, to prevail on the perfidious Prusias to give up a guest to whom he had promised protection." Then invoking the gods to take vengeance on Prusias and his kingdom for his violation of hospitality, he swallowed the fatal draught, and expired. When an account of this transaction reached the senate, several members of that august body, Plutarch tells us, expressed the highest displeasure at a conduct which disgraced not only Flamininus but the Roman name.

AFTER an instance so notorious, the decision is obvious with regard to the character of this conqueror of Greece.

His conduct to the virtuous Cato was not less dishonourably mean; and though foreign to the present history, it may, further to illustrate the character of this celebrated general, not improperly find a place here. Lucius, brother to Titus Quintius Flamininus, had been guilty of a crime of the blackest die⁶⁶. A favourite boy whom he had carried with him into his province of Gaul, was reproaching him, in the hours of dalliance, for taking him from Rome

His flagitious
treatment of
Cato.

⁶⁶ Liv. L. xxxix. c. 42. Plut. in Flaminio.



BOOK VI. just before a shew of gladiators was to have been exhibited,
 Sect. 2. and thereby depriving him of the pleasure of seeing a man killed; a fight which he most ardently desired. At that instant the proconsul was informed, a Boian Gaul, a man of distinction in his own country, was come to take the oaths of allegiance to Rome, and with his wife and children waited without. He immediately ordered him to be admitted. And turning to his pathic, "to satisfy thy longing, wilt thou then," said he, "that I shew thee this Gaul in the agonies of death? so saying, with his own hands he stabbed the unsuspecting Boian. This flagitious action came to the knowledge of Cato, who, when censor, charged Lucius with it, and the fact being fully proved, degraded him from the senatorial dignity, notwithstanding the most earnest solicitations of his brother and his powerful relations. In revenge, Titus pursued Cato with unrelenting animosity. He leagued against him with his inveterate enemies. By means of a corrupt majority, which he had acquired in the senate, he annulled all contracts, leases, and bargains, which Cato had entered into relative to the public revenue; not on account of any defect, but merely because Cato had made them: and he took every opportunity, upon the slightest grounds, of harrassing him with frivolous and vexatious prosecutions.

WRETCHED Greece! what had she to expect from an administration directed by men of the character we have described! And yet of all the Romans to whom the care of Grecian affairs were committed, one of the most humane, says history^a, was TITUS QUINTIUS FLAMINIUS!

^a See Plutarch. Parallel. Philopem. & Flaminin.



B O O K VI.

SECTION III.

CONTENTS.

Injurious conduct of the Romans to Philip of Macedon—he is required to evacuate Aenos and Maronea—his violent resentment—causes the Maronites to be massacred—is threatened by the Romans—sends his son Demetrius to Rome—his success.—Philip's suspicions of the connections Demetrius had formed in Rome—encouraged in his suspicions by Perseus—is imposed upon by a forgery—believes Demetrius guilty of designs against his crown and life—causes him to be put to death—discovers his innocence—dies of a broken heart.—His character.

WE are now to view the affairs of Macedon during Book VI. the period of which we have been speaking. Sect. 3.

RÔME jealous, as we have seen, of the increase of dominion which Philip had acquired in the course of the late wars, seized every opportunity of confining him within narrower limits. Athamania had already been wrested from



Book VI. Sect. 3. from him, a few inconsiderable fortresses excepted, under pretence of restoring it to its lawful prince. Those cantons of Thessaly, in which he had re-established his authority, were now encouraged to assert their independence; and whatever violence, either here or in the countries adjacent, the Macedonian king had committed whilst employing his arms on the side of Rome, though perhaps nothing more than the natural consequences of war, were brought into account against him, as wanton outrages for which reparation was to be exacted. Even those parts of Thrace which, chiefly through his means, had been recovered from Antiochus, and to which the Macedonian kings had ancient pretensions, were demanded by Eumenes of Pergamum. A large portion of it had been already decreed to Eumenes, by the ten commissioners employed after the battle of Magnesia, in the partition of the provinces of Antiochus in Europe and the Lower Asia: but not content with this acquisition he now demanded more.

appoint
commission-
ers to settle
differences.

To all claimants against the Macedonian monarch the Romans gave a favourable hearing. And, as if they had nothing more in view than to make an equitable settlement among all parties, they appointed three commissioners, Quintus Caecilius, Marcus Baebius, and Tiberius Sempronius, to pass into Greece, where they were to erect themselves into a court of judicature, and to decide upon all differences between Macedon and her adversaries. With this procedure, doubtless exceedingly humiliating to a prince not yet deprived of sovereign power, and still ostensibly num-

^a Polyb. Legat. xl. Liv. L. xxxix. c. 24 & seq.

bered.



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Book VI.
Sect. 3.

bered among the faithful allies of Rome, Philip found it expedient to comply. He attended the commissioners in their progress through Thessaly; and, however unable at times to suppress his indignation, disdained not to put in answers to the various demands which interest or resentment urged against him. "The Thessalians, he stated, far from having any thing to lay justly to his charge, had been guilty of many acts of violence against Macedon; and, without the least title, had deprived him of several cities, which he either possessed by inheritance; or, by express stipulation with the Roman consul, had won with his sword, from the Aetolians and Athamanes then in arms against Rome."—"They complain," he continued, "that I have diverted the course of commerce from Thebes of Pthiotis, whilst in my possession, to Demetrias. But when was it accounted criminal in a prince, to open a new channel of trade? or to allow mariners the choice of their port? They accuse me of preparing an ambuscade for certain deputies sent with their complaints to the Roman commander. In consequence of this pretended ambuscade, let me know what injury these deputies have sustained? In truth, the liberty you have bestowed on these Thessalians has taught them insolence: like slaves newly manumitted, they pride themselves in the exercise of their petulance against those who lately ruled over them. *But,*" added he, with an energy the result of various feelings, "*the sun of all my days has not yet set.*"—Notwithstanding, however, this spirited defence, the commissioners decreed, that the Macedonian garrisons should immediately evacuate the several towns and castles in question, and that

Philip's spirited defence;



Book VI. that Philip should withdraw northward within the ancient
Sect. 3. boundaries of Macedon.

Aenos and
Maronea
claimed by
Eumenes.

FROM Thessaly the Roman commissioners proceeded to Thessalonica, to adjust the settlement of Thrace, where the more important object of contention lay. Philip had extended himself on this side with great success; and, besides a large portion of territory, had got possession of Aenos and Maronea, two cities on the Hellespont, which from their maritime situation afforded their sovereign many valuable advantages. In Maronea particularly, the most considerable of the two, he kept a strong garrison, and had so far established himself, as to procure the banishment of a numerous body of the citizens, who stood in opposition to his interests. These exiles were now loud against him; supported, privately by the Romans, and openly by Eumenes, who maintained that these cities were appendages of that part of Thrace already adjudged to him; and charged Philip with the most flagrant oppressions. It was easy to perceive from what had passed, the complexion of the commissioners; and Philip, judging it now in vain to keep measures with men determined at any rate to side with his adversaries, no longer sought to disguise his sentiments. "It is neither with the Maronites nor with Eumenes," said he, addressing himself to the commissioners, "that the contest now lies; but with you Romans, from whom I have long observed, that I have no justice to expect. The cities of Macedon, which revolted from me to you at the very time a truce subsisted between us, I claimed, and met with a refusal. Instead of matters of right, had I claimed

" I claimed

Philip ex-
postulates



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I claimed them as matter of favour, the favour had
been small for you to grant, as these cities were to
you of little importance, and in the extreme borders
of my kingdom; but it was of moment to me to
have them restored; that their defection might not en-
courage others to imitate their treachery. During the
Aetolian war, by desire of the consul Manius Acilius, I
sat down before Lamia, and was on the point of taking
it, when the consul appeared, demanded it for himself,
and wrested the conquest out of my hands. To soften
the injury, I was permitted to turn my arms against
some towns, or rather castles, of Thessaly, Perrhaebia,
and Athamania; these you have *now* taken from me.—
Even the claims of Eumenes are thought preferable to
mine, by his share of the dominions which Antiochus
was possessed of; he, who fought under your banners,
not for your sakes, but for his own, against an enemy,
from whom he had every thing to fear, and who, if
not crushed, had been his destruction. Antiochus, on
the other hand, courted my friendship, and would have
purchased it at no less a price than the cession of all
Greece, a fleet of fifty decked ships, and three thousand
talents. Regardless of these splendid offers, I took the
field against him, even before your forces had passed
over from Italy; declining neither toil nor danger to
procure you victory. When Scipio was on his way to
Asia, I shewed myself equally zealous in your service;
I conducted him through Macedon and Thrace, and by
my presence prevented the opposition which otherwise
he had met with from the barbarous inhabitants. In
return for all this, I might reasonably have expected an
increase

BOOK VI.
SECT. 3.



Book VI. " encrease of dominion ; on the contrary, I see myself de-
 Sect. 3. " prived not only of what your own grants have bestowed,
 " but also of my hereditary possessions. And as if I were
 " Antiochus, I am now to be plundered even by Eumenes ;
 " who, not content with having Lyfimachia and the Cher-
 " soneſe assigned to him, pretends, that Aenos and Ma-
 " ronea are included ; in expreſs contradiction to the very
 " decree on which he grounds his title. Determine
 " therefore ; am I the foe, or am I ſtill the ally of Rome ?
 " If the former, proceed as you have begun, in perfecut-
 " ing me ; if the latter, abſtain from injuring a man, who
 " ſurely has deſerved a very oppoſite treatment."

How liable ſoever Philip's private character might be to objections, or whatever were the conſiderations that moved him to join the Romans, certainly their treatment of him was exceedingly perfidious. Livy, from whom we have taken his defence, tells us, that the commiſſioners themſelves were affected : they were more probably embarrassed and aſhamed. Unwilling to venture a definitive ſentence, againſt which ſo much might be ſaid, they only pronounced, that, *if* theſe two cities had been adjudged to Eumenes by the former commiſſioners, it was not in their power to reverſe the decree ; if, on the other hand, it ſhould appear, that Philip held them by right of conqueſt, he ought to hold them ſtill ; if neither the one nor the other was the caſe, it muſt be left to the ſenate in what way they were to be diſpoſed of ; meanwhile, the gariſons ſhould be withdrawn."

* See Liv. L. xxxix. c. 28.

THIS



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THIS temporizing sentence, however, did not long impose on Philip. His embassadors whom he had sent to Rome, had orders from the senate to inform their master, that his garrisons must forthwith evacuate the contested cities. The Macedonian king was fired with rage. The scorn of Eumenes, the dupe of Rome, he eagerly wished to have wreaked his vengeance on both; but his power agreed not with his inclination. In this situation he resolved to discharge his fury at least on the Maronites³, whose sollicitations, he supposed, had been employed against him. Onomastus was his lieutenant in Thrace. He intrusted him with orders to Cassander, governor of Maronea, to introduce into the city, in the night before the Macedonian garrison was to march out, a body of his fiercest Thracian mercenaries, who, under pretence of a sudden tumult, should put to the sword all the inhabitants suspected of favouring the opposite interest, without distinction of condition, age, or sex, and leave the place drenched in the blood of its citizens. These cruel orders were but too faithfully executed.

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Sect. 3.

The senate
decide
against
Philip;

he revenges
himself on
the Maro-
nites;

UPON the first tidings of the massacre, the senate instructed Appius to make inquiry concerning it. Philip pretended ignorance: "He had heard of a popular insurrection at Maronea, occasioned by certain petty contests between the friends of Eumenes and those of Macedon, in which blood had been shed; but as to the aggravating circumstances which the Romans mentioned, he was altogether a stranger to them." He was then required to deliver up Onomastus and Cassander, that they might be sent to

the indigna-
tion of the
Romans on
this occasion.

³ Polyb. Legat. xliv. Liv. L. xxxix. c. 34 & seq.



BOOK VI. Rome for examination. The proposal made him tremble.

Sect. 3. They knew too much, and might betray him. "Ono-

Philip's evasive and flagitious conduct.

"mastus," he replied, "was a necessary person, and not to be parted with; besides, having been at a considerable distance from Maronea at the time of the insurrection, he could not possibly have known any thing of it. But Cassander, he promised, should be sent to Rome." Nothing, however, was farther from the intention of Philip than this compliance. It was attended both with indignity and danger. Accordingly, Cassander was taken off by poison, at Epire, in his way to the Roman capital.

He is alarmed;

THE outcry against Philip became now more clamorous than ever. The different states around were roused, by these recent instances of violence, to a more lively remembrance of the wrongs they had already sustained, or the still more painful apprehensions of what they had yet to dread; whilst Rome, intent on reducing the power of Macedon, strengthened these impressions, by encouraging all to whom the Macedonian king was obnoxious, to bring forward their complaints, and to expect her protection. Philip saw the storm gathering, and likely to burst upon him unprepared. In this situation, he employed with the senate, the mediation of his son Demetrius*, who, from his gentle and conciliating deportment whilst an hostage, was thought to be high in favour at Rome. The senate received him with apparent cordiality; and having appointed a day of audience for the ambassadors and deputies who attended with complaints against Philip, they permitted Demetrius to be pre-

sends his son Demetrius to Rome;

* See Polyb. Legat. xlv. & xlvi. Liv. L. xxxix. c. 46, 47.

sent,



sent, and to speak in justification of his father's conduct; but, instead of availing himself of this permission, the young prince, naturally timid, and thrown into the utmost confusion by the heavy, the unexpected, and the numerous charges brought against his father, became incapable of attempting a reply. With seeming tenderness, the senate asked him, whether the king had not furnished him with some notes, or secret instructions, from which he was to speak? Demetrius was weak enough to own he had, and to permit them to be read. Their views were, to discover by this confidential paper, Philip's opinion of Rome, and the secret purposes he had in contemplation. It fully answered the senate's expectations. Interspersed were observations on the iniquitous treatment he had met with—"This was unfair in Caecilius and his fellow-commissioners"—"I had not, surely, deserved this!"—"thus were my enemies encouraged to insult me."

the Romans
deal artfully
with him;

THE result was, the senate told Demetrius, that, on his account, whatever had been improper in his father's conduct, should be passed over; and that, from the confidence they had in him, they were well assured Philip would, for the future, perform every thing that justice required: that ambassadors should be sent, to see all matters properly adjusted; and with special directions to inform the king, "that from the regard they bore to the son, they were willing to excuse the father."—To complete the whole, according to Polybius and Livy⁵, they took care to inflame the mind of this vain and unexperienced prince with expectations of the throne

affect kind-
ness towards
him;

⁵ See Polyb. Legat. xlvi. Liv. L. xxxix, c. 53.



BOOK VI. of Macedon; on which, though he had an elder brother, they
 Sect. 3. gave him hopes he should shortly be placed.

with what
 views.

THE Roman annals scarcely afford a stronger instance of the duplicity of this rapacious people. To have despoiled at once Philip of his kingdom, immediately after so many important services received from him, for no other ostensible reason, but because he would not tamely resign whatever they required, would have been a measure highly odious as well as dangerous, whilst the spirit of Achaia was not altogether subdued, nor the extirpation of Carthage yet accomplished. A more secure method was adopted. They practised on the easy nature of this credulous and unsuspecting youth; they debauched his affections; they gained him over to the interests of Rome; and had they succeeded in obtaining for him the crown, Macedon had probably, under this passive and Rome-devoted king, sunk gradually, without even one struggle, into the insignificance of a Roman province. Whilst by pointing out Demetrius to the Macedonians as their future sovereign, the senate had another and an important object in view. They set up a formidable party against the reigning prince in the very heart of his dominions; which, besides weakening the authority of Philip, tended to divide the royal family. Distracted thus by jealousies and domestic feuds, the royal house of Macedon must have lost much of its importance, and its strength; and Philip have ended his reign, if he had even been suffered to end it by a natural death, heart-broken and deserted.

PART



PART of this scheme actually succeeded ; and it was not owing to the Romans that the whole had not equal success.

BOOK VI.
Sect. 3.

PHILIP had only two sons, Perseus and Demetrius. Demetrius, a prince weak and vain, as we have already seen ; but at the same time, open and undisguised, adorned with all the fashionable accomplishments that could be acquired either in Greece or Rome, and of manners remarkably placid and engaging. Perseus, on the contrary, of a bustling and turbulent disposition, was at the same time, if the Roman writers are to be credited, ungenerous, sordid, dark, and subtle ; under the fairest semblance covering the most flagitious of views. Both princes were in the bloom of life ; Perseus, the eldest, was aged about thirty years when Demetrius returned from Rome ; but born, if we are to believe Plutarch *, of a mother of mean birth, a sempstress of Argos, and of so questionable a character, as to make it doubtful whether he were really Philip's son. Demetrius was five years younger, and the son of his queen, a lady of royal lineage. From the difference of their dispositions, as well as from the disproportion of their maternal origin, Perseus had conceived an early jealousy of his brother, whom he looked upon as his rival in a kingdom, to which priority of birth gave him, he conceived, a juster title. The avowed preference shewn by the Romans to Demetrius, together with the vanity of this young prince, who was at no pains to disguise his hopes, riveted the antipathy of Perseus : and he took care to poison his father's mind with suspicions.

Characters of
Perseus and
Demetrius :

Perseus jealous
of Demetrius ;

* In Paul, Aemil. & Arato.



Book VI. of the designs of this aspiring youth, the minion of Rome,
Sect. 3. and devoted to her interests.

Philip also is
prepossessed
against him,

and confirm-
ed in his ha-
tred of the
Romans :

PHILIP was but too well disposed to listen to these insinuations. From the return of Demetrius, a visible alteration had taken place in this unhappy king. Notwithstanding the various artifices he had hitherto employed in order to elude the senate's requisitions, he had at length been obliged, by the arrival of new commissioners, to submit to their imperious commands, and to evacuate all his maritime possessions in Thrace⁷. And the only fruit he derived from his son's intercession, was the humiliating reflection, that to him he owed his being left in possession of his mutilated kingdom. The imprudent conduct of Demetrius, added to the gloomy thoughts which haunted the unfortunate Philip. He was on all occasions the advocate of the Romans; the power of their arms, their probity, their unblemished faith, were his favourite topics; even their manners and their buildings, at that time confessedly inelegant and ill-contrived, he affected to speak of, as equal if not superior to whatever Macedon had to boast⁸.

meditates the
renewing of
war.

THUS agitated by doubts and resentment, Philip resolved to exert his utmost vigour for the recovery of his former independence; and the moment he was again in a condition for war, determined to bid defiance to the Romans. The fortifying of the cities that lay on the sea-coast, or adjacent to the great roads, might have given them umbrage: he

⁷ Polyb. Legat. xlii. & xlvi.

⁸ See Liv. L. xl. c. 5.



therefore began his operations in places more remote⁹, where, being less exposed to their observation, he found means to fill his inland towns and castles with soldiers, arms, and treasure. At the same time, he transplanted¹⁰ a large body of Barbarians from Thrace and the countries adjacent, into his maritime and southern provinces, obliging those Macedonians on whom he had less reliance, to remove northward, and give up their dwellings to those fiercer tribes. So that, throughout Macedon, there was now exhibited a most affecting scene of wailing and desolation; a number of innocent families torn from their native homes, the possessions of their forefathers, and dragged away to distant and inhospitable wilds.

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Sect. 3.

YET this was mercy, in comparison of what followed.

PHILIP had, in the course of his reign, sacrificed a number of his subjects, of the noblest blood of Macedon, to his gloomy suspicions; and in his present situation dreaded the vengeance of their children. To relieve the apprehensions of his guilty mind, he ordered that search should be made for the descendants of all those whom he had destroyed, and that they also should be put to death. The most dreadful instances of what the spirit of despotism can perpetrate, followed these inhuman orders: but the melancholy catastrophe of the family of¹¹ Herodicus, a man of high consideration in Thessaly, as it excited universal compassion, merits a more particular detail. He had fallen by the sword.

Disastrous
fate of the
family of
Herodicus.

⁹ Plutarch in Paub. Aemilio.

¹⁰ Liv. L. xl. c. 3.

¹¹ Livy ibid. c. 4.

of.



Book VI. of regal violence; and not satisfied with this, the jealous
Sect. 3. tyrant had also murdered the husbands of his two daughters, Archo and Theoxena, by whom they left each of them an infant son. Theoxena, though tempted with many rich offers, remained a widow. Archo married Poris, a person of the first distinction among the Aeneatae, a people inhabiting that part of Macedon which lies on the gulph of Thessalonica, antiently known by the name of Thermae. Archo dying a few years after, and leaving a numerous issue, Theoxena, from the tender affection she bore to the dear pledges of her departed sister, consented to become the wife of Poris. Being informed of the tyrant's orders, they were struck with the most alarming fears; and Theoxena, abandoning herself to despair, would have plunged the poniard herself into the bosom both of her own son and of every one of Archo's children, rather than suffer them to fall into the power of the brutal Philip. Poris strove to allay her fears, by promising, that it should be his care to have them conveyed to Athens; and shortly after, set out with his whole family from Thessalonica, his usual residence, in order to attend a solemn sacrifice at Aenea, the chief town of the Aeneatae, in honour of Aeneas their supposed founder; proposing from thence to escape to some of the Euboean ports. Accordingly, the sacrifice ended, they embarked during the night, as if on their return to Thessalonica; but changing their course, stood for Euboea, and would probably have made it, had not the wind proved contrary. At dawn, the king's officers, who had charge to watch the coast, descried their manœuvre, and having manned one of the royal pinnaces, immediately gave chase. Theoxena too evidently saw her danger; the vessel was gaining on them,



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and a few minutes more had delivered them into the hands of their enemies. Firm in her purpose, she put a dagger into the hand of each of the elder children, charging them to provide instantly for their own safety; to the younger she administered a draught of strong poison; and having, as they expired, committed their bodies to the ocean, Paris and herself, last of all, entwined in mutual embraces, sought a refuge from intolerable tyranny in the bosom of the deep. The vessel was all that remained to Philip's ministers of death.

AN administration blackened by such enormous crimes, Livy justly observes, called for some signal vengeance from heaven: and the day of vengeance and retribution was fast approaching.

THAT spirit of dissension, which, for a time, had been the reproach of the royal family of Macedon, had apparently subsided. Demetrius had learned caution, and avoided mentioning the Romans; and Perseus, to whom his brother's gentleness scarcely left a pretence for altercation, was less intemperate in his complaints. But though not at open variance, all fraternal cordiality was at an end: Demetrius dreaded Perseus; and Perseus had still a deep jealousy of Demetrius. Things were in this situation when, through the artful management of Perseus, an incident, in itself of little moment, gave vent to the smothered flame, which blazed instantly with a redoubled fierceness.

New dissensions in the royal family of Macedon.

MARTIAL exercises were, at this time, the principal occupation of the Macedonian court. After a general re-

3 R

review



Book VI. review of the army", the troops had, according to custom,
 Sect. 3. divided into two bodies, each headed by one of the king's
 sons, and had engaged in a mock-combat. On this occasion,
 the division of which Demetrius was the leader, in their
 eagerness for victory, had charged the other party with ra-
 ther too much impetuosity, and driven them off their
 ground; at which Perseus expressed some resentment. The
 solemnity was followed by entertainments, which the princes
 gave to their companions and friends.

PERSEUS retained in his service a number of spies, whom
 he chiefly employed in watching his brother; one of these
 had contrived to get admittance into the banqueting-room of
 Demetrius; and being discovered by some of the guests, he was
 roughly treated, and expelled. Ignorant of this circumstance,
 Demetrius, towards the conclusion of the banquet, when ele-
 vated with mirth and wine, proposed, that they should visit his
 brother, and form one convivial society; "and if," said he,
 "any lurking resentment remains for what has happened
 to-day, it will be dissipated by our jollity and good-hu-
 mour." Those who had treated the spy belonging to
 Perseus in so rough a manner, fearful of the event, privately
 provided themselves with arms, in case of an insult. Per-
 seus, who had his creatures abroad, had immediate
 notice of all; and when Demetrius and his companions
 arrived, ordered the doors to be shut against them, and spoke
 from a window, charging them with having come with
 criminal intentions; and next morning he accused Deme-
 trius to the king, of an attempt to assassinate him.

Perseus acts
 insidiously.

See Liv. L. xl. c. 6 & seq.

10

PHILIP,



PHILIP, familiar as he was with deeds of blood, was struck with horror at the relation of Perseus — his two sons, the last hopes of his house, in arms against each other! Whatever might be the issue of the accusation, to him the consequence must be misery; he felt himself the most wretched of fathers: if the accusation was true, Demetrius deserved to die; if not truth, Perseus ought not to live.

Book VI.
Sect. 3.

Philip's
anxiety:

AFTER some days of anxious sollicitude and agitation, he resolved to investigate the horrid truth. Retiring therefore into the inner apartment of his palace with two of his nobles, of whose judgment and unbiaſſed probity he had the highest opinion, he commanded both his sons to appear before him. At sight of them he broke out into passionate lamentations: "Here," said he, "I sit this day
" in judgment on my own sons, of all parents the most
" miserable; certain, whether the charge is proved or dis-
" proved, of finding a criminal in one of you. Your dis-
" sensions I have long observed, I have long bewailed;
" but I had hopes, that as your reason advanced to ma-
" turity, a sense of what you owe to your country, of what
" you owe to yourselves, and to me, would have inspired
" you with better thoughts. Often have I endeavoured
" to instruct you by the examples of other nations and
" other times. I have told you how many royal houses
" and flourishing empires domestic discord has overthrown;
" and how, on the contrary, a firm union at home had,
" from the most inconsiderable beginnings, raised others
" to the height of prosperity and power. Remember the
" fate of Sparta; whilst its two kings acted in concert,
" it flourished; but, blasted by their discord, it withered

He sits in
judgment
on his sons:

his speech.



Book VI. " and decayed. View even the Pergamenian kings, that new
 Sect. 3. " race, whose regal title is an insult to other kings; by
 " what means have they risen to the large share of do-
 " minion they are now possessed of? By unanimity and
 " strict concord, the distinctive characteristics of that family.
 " Among the Romans, in like manner, think what lustre
 " their greatest men have derived from the cultivation of
 " this brotherly union—with what glory the two elder
 " Scipios, in the war in Spain, fought and fell by each
 " other's side—and how again the two sons of one of those
 " Scipios, one the conqueror of Hannibal, the other of
 " Antiochus, laboured to adorn the brows of each other
 " with the wreaths of victory. But, I know it well, my
 " throne is your object: if I yet live, it is only because
 " each of you sees a dreaded rival in his brother; that rival
 " removed, I too shall fall.—Proceed therefore; since the
 " ears of a father must be polluted with the narrative of
 " his sons crimes; proceed; employ every argument that
 " truth or artifice can furnish; to-day I shall listen to all,
 " determined from henceforth never to suffer accusations
 " of this kind either in public or private to approach
 " me."

SUCH is the substance of what the Roman historian has put in the mouth of Philip on this occasion; certainly, not what he did say, but what he might naturally have said, and from which a tolerable judgment may be formed of the character and situation of this unhappy prince.

Perseus produces his charge.

THE charge brought by Perseus was destitute of proof; the want of this, however, he supplied by peremptory asseverations,



affirmations; insisting on the most minute circumstances that had occurred either in the course of the late solemnity, or during the succeeding night, and giving the most malignant interpretation to the whole; adding, what he knew would have the greatest weight with Philip, that Demetrius was, beyond a doubt, acting by the instigation of the Romans, and in full assurance of their support.

BOOK VI.
Sect. 3.

THE deep atrocity of the crimes of which Demetrius heard himself accused, so foreign to his gentle nature; the boldness with which Perseus had maintained the charge; and the fell rancour discernible through every part of it, overpowered the feeble spirits of the young prince; he melted into tears; and with difficulty was at length encouraged to attempt, in tremulous and faltering accents, his own justification. His defence, though void of art, and delivered under great perturbation of mind, was nevertheless a full refutation of his brother's charge. And whether it was malice or error on the side of Perseus, it was plain, that guilt was not to be imputed to Demetrius.

Demetrius
justifies him-
self.

ALL determination on the present case was precluded by paternal tenderness. Philip therefore declined pronouncing sentence; and only said, that their future conduct should be the criterion by which he should judge of the truth or the falshood of the allegations which had been produced before him.

DEMETRIUS probably stood acquitted by his father, of any attempt on his brother's life; but what Perseus had thrown out, of his connection with Rome, and of the frequent

Philip
suspects De-
metrius of
carrying on.



Book VI.
Sect. 3.

a private correspondence with the Romans ;

sends ambassadors to Rome, to make discoveries ;

they impose on Philip.

sequent dangers to be apprehended, made the deepest impression on his gloomy mind. He held the Romans in detestation, and looked for every kind of insidious treatment and perfidy from that quarter: and though Demetrius was hitherto innocent, yet, open to their insinuations, and allured by the temptation of a crown, he might soon be guilty. Distracted by his doubts, Philip resolved to be satisfied; and fixed upon two noblemen, Philocles and Apelles¹³, who, as he thought, had no kind of attachment to either of his sons, to proceed as his ambassadors to Rome; with instructions to find out, if possible, with what persons Demetrius corresponded, and what were his designs.

PHILIP could not have made a worse choice. Perseus, deep in contrivance, indefatigable in the pursuit of his object, and, from his being the eldest born, as well as confessedly the first in his father's favour, considered by the kingdom in general as the presumptive heir, had privately gained over most of the chief men of Macedon. Of all his creatures, none were more devoted to him, than these two trusty counsellors of Philip. Having therefore previously concerted matters with Perseus, they returned to the king with an account that Demetrius was held in the highest esteem at Rome, and that he certainly appeared to have entertained most unjustifiable views; delivering to him at the same time a letter, which they pretended to have received from Quintius Flaminius. The handwriting of the Roman, and the impression of his signet, the

¹³ Liv. L. xl. c. 20, 23, 24.

king



king was well acquainted with, and from the exactness of the imitation, was induced to give entire credit to the contents, more especially as Flaminius had formerly written in commendation of Demetrius, when he last returned from Rome, advising Philip to send him back soon with a more honourable retinue, as nothing could be more agreeable to the senate, or more for the interests of Macedon. The present letter was of a different tenor. The writer owned Demetrius to be blame-worthy, and deprecated the king's anger in his behalf, entreating him "to believe, that, whatever unwarrantable enterprizes the young prince, through ambition of a throne, might have designed, yet certainly he had projected nothing against the life of any of his own blood;" adding, "that as to himself, he was not a man that could be thought the adviser of an unjust action."

Book VI.
Sect. 3.

THE suspicions of Philip now gave place to the most dreadful certainty. Demetrius appeared to him evidently guilty of the most atrocious designs; he saw him not only desirous of ascending the throne by supplanting his brother, but scrupling not to wrest the sceptre from the hands even of a father!

Philip convinced that Demetrius is guilty.

THE situation of Demetrius had for some time been exceedingly deplorable. Without any share in his father's affection; the object of his brother's hatred; shunned by the tribe of courtiers, who, as usual, paid their homage where the royal favour was bestowed; and beset with spies, by whom he found himself observed on all occasions, Macedon appeared to him a prison where every thing was disgusting and

Demetrius forms the plan of escaping to Rome;



BOOK VI. and dreadful. No wonder, therefore, that he wished to provide for his comfort and safety, by escaping to Rome. He communicated his design to Didas, governor of Paonia, who with much art had insinuated himself into his confidence, and who immediately betrayed him to Perseus, and through Perseus to the king. The discovery set Philip on meditating some violent stroke; and Flamininus's letter confirmed him in his purpose. A dread of the Romans made it inexpedient to proceed against Demetrius by public prosecution for punishment; Philip had recourse therefore to Didas, whom the unsuspecting Demetrius still continued to make the chosen partner of his convivial hours. This villain proved himself the worthy instrument of an inhuman tyrant, and soon seized an opportunity, at a banquet, after a solemn sacrifice, of conveying poison into the cup of the unhappy prince. This did not operate, however, in the speedy and silent manner he had expected, but caused such excruciating torture, as made the villainy conspicuous, and drew from Demetrius agonizing complaints against the unnatural authors and vile perpetrators of the deed: till, tired with the slow operation of the baneful potion, Didas completed his enormity by sending two ruffians into his chamber, who, smothering this unfortunate prince, put an end to his life.

is betrayed
by Didas,

and treach-
erously put
to death.

Insolence of
Perseus after
the death of
Demetrius.

PHILIP did not long continue ignorant of the extent of his guilt, and of his misfortune¹⁴. The conduct of Perseus himself, first awakened his suspicions. Having now no rival in his future prospects, instead of that pliant and

¹⁴ See Liv. L. xl. c. 54 & seq.



obsequious conduct, which, whilst Demetrius lived, he had observed towards his father, he now treated him with the most insolent neglect, affecting, on all occasions, the haughty port of independence, and looking towards the throne with an undissembled impatience. A change so visible and so surprising, made Philip call to mind the various circumstances of the late melancholy transaction, to which, in the storm of passion, he had but slightly attended. Suspicions naturally arose, that Demetrius had fallen a sacrifice to treachery. Among all his courtiers, such is often the fate of kings, he had but one friend, Antigonus, his uncle's son; Antigonus had also been the friend of Demetrius, and, from a conviction of his innocence, sincerely lamented his fate. To him the king often made passionate mention of that unhappy prince; bewailing, that his condemnation had been so precipitate, and wishing to be assured whether he had not fallen a victim to villainy and artifice.

Philip suspects that Demetrius was innocent;

is confirmed in this by Antigonus;

PHILOCLEES and Apelles, in their late embassy to Rome, had employed one Xychus as their secretary. This man Antigonus contrived to have secured, and brought before the king. At first he hesitated; but, at sight of the rack, confessed every thing: "That the ambassadors had acted, throughout the whole affair, in consequence of instructions they had received from Perseus;" "that the charge against Demetrius was altogether void of foundation;" and "that Xychus himself, by order of his employers, had been the forger of the letter from Flamininus."

discovers the whole truth:

ALL, that fierce resentment, the transports of grief, the anguish of remorse, can impress on the human mind, was

his rage and remorse.



Book VI. now felt by the unfortunate Philip. Incensed to madness, he ordered the two ambassadors to be instantly seized. Sect. 3. Apelles had, upon the first intimation of his danger, fled to Italy¹⁵; the other, Philocles, after having been confronted with Xychus, was put to death. Some historians say, that he confirmed what Xychus had deposed; others, that he persisted to the last in an obstinate denial¹⁶.

He executes vengeance on one of the ambassadors; the other escapes;

¹⁵ Upon the authority of this circumstance, of "Apelles making his escape to Italy," where, had he been guilty of the death of Demetrius, he could not have expected to find protection, joined with some other circumstances of this remarkable story; such as Philocles's persisting, according to some historians, though confronted with Xychus and in the agonies of the rack, in the denial of all; and the Romans refusing, when required by Philip (see Liv. L. xlii. c. 5.) to deliver Apelles into his hands; to which we may add Perseus's treatment of this very Apelles, whom, when he came to the throne, instead of rewarding, he found means to get into his power and put to death; (see Liv. *ibid.*) Mr. Hooke in his Roman History (see B. v. c. 14.) grounds a conjecture, that this *charge of forgery* against Perseus and the Macedonian ambassadors, was the contrivance of Antigonus, who hoped, by means of it, to get the kingdom; and that Flamininus really wrote the letter ascribed to him. And he supposes that, sensible of Demetrius's vanity and imprudence, and of the many just causes of complaint he had given the king, the Roman wrote it out of kindness to the young prince, and in the view of deprecating his father's anger. How far this conjecture deserves to be admitted, the reader may judge. Livy is clear that the letter was a forgery, and Perseus the contriver of it. But it must also be owned, that even Livy's testimony, in cases of this kind, when guilt is to be thrown off Rome upon her enemies, is sometimes questionable. However, allowing the letter to have been really written by Flamininus, it certainly does not follow, that the intention of it was as friendly as Mr. Hooke supposes. In fact, what could have been the design of such a letter, but to excite new terrors in the mind of the unhappy Philip, already a prey to gloomy suspicions? Indeed, this *weapon of destruction* did more than he meant it should. It was also fatal to Demetrius. But at the same time it accomplished the main purpose for which it had been sent; it brought Philip to his grave, and added to the distraction, the weakness, and the reproach of Macedon's royal house.

¹⁶ See Liv. L. xl. c. 55.

PERSEUS



PERSEUS nevertheless was evidently the most guilty. But he had little to fear. He kept out of his father's reach; and had Philip attempted to seize him, he might easily, with the formidable party he had at his devotion, have set the feeble and almost deserted monarch at defiance. The king did what he could. He never afterwards suffered him to come into his presence; and declared it to be his determined resolution, that he never should ascend a throne, to which he had attempted to wade through a brother's blood. He likewise talked of settling the crown on Antigonus; a scheme dictated by the momentary impulse of passion, and which, in the utmost plenitude of his power, and with a much larger portion of life before him, he had probably found it difficult to effect.

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Sect. 3.

he finds it
impossible to
seize Per-
seus,

but resolves
to leave the
throne to
Antigonus;

BUT Philip had only a few days longer to live. The detection of Perseus's guilt had been to him the stroke of death; for from that moment he dragged out a life of melancholy and languor. Though in this declining state, he still, however, pleased himself with the thought of taking vengeance on the Romans, to whose perfidious councils he chiefly ascribed the ruin that had fallen on his house. Besides the mighty preparations for war, which he had made at home, he had taken into his service the whole tribe of the Bastarnæ¹⁷, a fierce and hardy nation from the other side of the Danube, whom he meant to introduce into Dardania, with the view of exterminating the people of that country, who had sold themselves to Rome, and of pouring afterwards these barbarians through Illyricum into

languishes,

¹⁷ Liv. L. xl. c. 57.



BOOK VI. Italy. Antigonus was dispatched to hasten their march.

Sect. 3. Whilst he was absent on this errand, the king breathed his last at Amphipolis, whither he had removed, in order to welcome his new allies, and see them conducted to their place of destination. Perseus, who was in expectation of his father's death, and had immediate information of it, ascended the throne without opposition.

Perseus
ascends the
throne,

and puts
Antigonus
to death.

As to Antigonus, the favourable intentions which the king had expressed towards him, only served to make him more particularly the object of Perseus's resentment. It was one of the first acts of his reign, to order him to execution.

PHILIP reigned forty-two years, from the third year of the 139th Olympiad to the first year of the 150th^o; a period of time as busy and eventful as any in the Grecian annals.

Character of
Philip:

IT was undoubtedly a misfortune to the Grecian people, that such a prince was on the throne of Macedon when the Romans first invaded them. Under any Macedonian king it had been difficult to have united into one compact body these several states, independent, and therefore naturally jealous, of each other, and from whose jarring interests, contests were perpetually arising; but under a prince like Philip, whose ambitious attempts and repeated treacheries provoked every suspicion, it was impossible. The Romans saw this, and with their usual policy turned

^o From about the 218th to the 175th year before Christ.

it



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it to their own advantage. Philip had besides, if Polybius and Livy may be credited, most of those private vices which mark the tyrant; he was intemperate, libidinous, vindictive, cruel; as a king, unworthy of trust; as a man, an object of detestation.

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Sect. 3.

YET amidst these deep shades with which we find his character darkened, he appears to have had qualities of a very different cast. His generous and noble acts, as we have already seen, had so endeared him to many of the Achaean confederates, that when the question was put, whether Achaia should have alliance with Rome or Macedonia, the deputies of several of the Achaean cities pleaded his cause with uncommon warmth, in opposition to the ruling party supported by the Roman power; and at last, when their opposition could not avail, left the diet rather than seem, by their presence, to give sanction to a measure injurious to the Macedonian king. The estimation in which he was held by many others of the Grecian states, is not less to his honour. He was also possessed of many amiable accomplishments; and such were the elegance of his court, and the ease and dignity of his manners, that Scipio Africanus himself, who spent some days with Philip in his way to Asia, spoke of him with esteem and high commendation¹⁹.—Was he so able a dissembler?—Or shall we rather say, that, had the accounts of other writers, less under the influence of Rome, reached us, his faults had not been handed down to us with so many heavy aggravations?

¹⁹ See Liv. L. xxxvii. c. 7.

As



BOOK VI.
Sect. 3. As to those excesses of violence and bloodshed which, the case of Aratus excepted, are more particularly the reproach of his later years, even Polybius²⁰ acknowledges, that after the overthrow of Antiochus, when he found his numerous and signal services to Rome repaid with perfidiousness and hostility, a total change in his disposition became conspicuous. The mortification of seeing himself fallen from the dignity of a sovereign prince, into a state of humiliating dependence on a haughty, powerful, and enterprising republic; and of finding all his secret enemies called forth against him, from every quarter of Greece, by the open encouragement or insidious arts of Rome; were circumstances sufficiently painful; which, added to the distractions of his own family, might, it may easily be supposed, have soured his mind, and rendered his temper, as age advanced, more gloomy and suspicious.

As a king, he had unquestionably great abilities. In war, he often gave proofs both of his courage and his conduct. The marine of Macedon was altogether of his formation; before his time, it had scarcely an existence; under him, it soon became considerable; and by the commercial connexions and settlements which he made in different parts, he so successfully extended the Macedonian trade, as to excite the jealousy of the greatest commercial states of Asia. His conduct in regard to Syria, it must be confessed, was impolitic to a high degree. The ruin of Antiochus, it was obvious, must pave the way to his own. Sound policy pointed out, therefore, an alliance with that prince, and with

²⁰ De virt. et vitiis, p. 1436.



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other powers of Europe and Asia. But in those days²¹, the balance of power was a matter little understood. And from the narrow and confined views which each state had of its own interests; from the want of proper intelligence of the transactions and probable designs of other kingdoms; and from the jealousies which Rome industriously kept alive between nation and nation; every potentate, if not immediately attacked, looked on with unconcern whilst his neighbour was destroyed; not considering, that the fate of one necessarily involved in it the fate of all.

BOOK VI.
Sect. 3.

THE latter part of his reign shews, that he had a proper sense of his treatment from Rome, and, had he not been broken by the misfortunes of his own house, it is probable she had still found him a vigorous and formidable adversary. So ardent was he to the last, in the pursuit of his favourite scheme of attacking the Romans, that about a year before his death, he ascended to the top of mount Haemus²², an attempt of immense labour, and exceedingly perilous, merely because he had been told, that from the summit of this mountain might be seen the Adriatic sea and the whole country of Italy to the Alps, the destined scene of his future operations. The measure he adopted, of in-

ardent to
the last in his
enmity to
Rome:

²¹ " Le monde de ce tems là," says an ingenious modern, " n'étoit pas comme notre monde d'aujourd'hui : les voyages, les conquêtes, le commerce, l'établissement des grandes états, les inventions des postes, de la boussole, et de l'imprimerie, une certaine police générale, ont facilité les communications, et établi parmi nous un art, qu'on appelle la politique : chacun voit d'un coup d'œil tout ce qui se remue dans l'Univers."

²² Grand. et Decad. des Rom. c. 1.

²³ Liv. L. xl. c. 21.

roducing



Book VI. introducing the Bastarnæ, was certainly a deep stroke in po-
 Sect. 3. litics; and, had he lived to have brought his plan to maturity,
 or had his successor had the abilities to make a right use of
 this new connexion, it had probably laid Italy open to such
 inroads, as would have left her little leisure for the invasion
 of other kingdoms²³.

his prepara-
 tions for
 war.

PHILIP, besides, without making any shew of war, or
 giving the Romans the least suspicion of his operations, had
 collected at home an army more numerous and better disci-
 plined than any he had ever brought into the field. He had
 laid up, Plutarch²⁴ tells us, in his arsenals, arms for thirty
 thousand men; in his garrisons eight millions of measures of
 wheat; with money in his treasury to defray the charge of
 maintaining ten thousand mercenaries for ten years. And all
 this was executed, after he had been reduced and plundered by

²³ It appears, that the Romans were soon sensible of their danger, had Philip's
 plan been carried into execution. We are informed by Livy (L. xlv. c. 1.) that, about
 eight years after this period, the consul Cassius would have attempted to penetrate
 from the Lower Gaul through Illyricum into Greece, in order to join the other
 consul; but that the senate, upon the first intimation of his project, sent him peremp-
 tory orders not to proceed, "lest he should shew the neighbouring barbarians the
 way by which they might enter Italy." Mithridates, we read, some time
 before his death, had adopted Philip's plan, and, had not his son's revolt baf-
 fled his schemes, would probably have executed it. Upon the same principle,
 Augustus, who, from the fate of Lollius and Quintilius Varus, had found what
 formidable foes these fierce tribes were, and how vain it was to attempt the wilds
 and deep forests they inhabited, appointed the Danube for the boundary of the Ro-
 man empire on that side, having secured the hither banks of it by a strong line of
 forts and military stations; and even left an express injunction to his successors, not
 to pass beyond it (Diocassius) as if foreseeing, that from this quarter were to issue
 forth those nations who, during a length of ages, were to be the terror and the
 scourge of Rome.

²⁴ In Paul. Aemilio.



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the Romans, cut off from the benefits of commerce, and obliged to retire within the antient boundaries of Macedon. A striking proof of his abilities, and of the resources of that kingdom under an able and active prince.

BOOK VI.
Sect. 3.

BUT all the designs of Philip were defeated by the machinations of treacherous policy: the flame of jealousy and division was kindled in his family, to which the unhappy Demetrius fell a victim, and by which the aged monarch himself was sent broken-hearted to the grave. Rome exulted in her success, beheld with joy all his bold and well-concerted projects at an end; and, in the future vassalage of Macedon, contemplated one more prostrate kingdom groaning under Roman domination.



3 T

HISTORY



HISTORY OF GREECE.

B O O K VII.

S E C T I O N I.

C O N T E N T S.

Perseus ascends the throne of Macedon—begins his reign with some appearance of vigour—courts the affections of the Macedonian people, and the friendship of the neighbouring states.—The Romans jealous—prefer sundry complaints against him, and invade Greece.—Perseus, with advantages in his favour, loses the benefit of them by his avarice and pusillanimity.—Suffers himself to be over-reached by the Romans—neglects to improve the repeated opportunities, which, during the space of three years, the incapacity or the corruption of the Roman commanders presented to him.

THE first years of the reign of Perseus exhibit scenes which by no means justified that contempt in which the Romans appear to have held Macedon at the time of his accession¹; or the opinion which historians tell us

B O O K
VII.
Sect. I.

Perseus be-
gins his reign

¹ OLYMP. CLI. BEFORE CHRIST 175.



BOOK
VII.
Sect. I.

with an appearance of ability ;
his conduct at home,

had been generally entertained of Perseus himself. His chief object was, to establish himself in the affections of the Macedonian people ; and, as if the late sanguinary measures had been altogether his father's crimes, he immediately assumed an air of benignity and gentleness. Antigonus, his rival in the kingdom, had suffered the fate which usually attends the unsuccessful rivals of kings^a ; but Perseus prevented the apprehensions of farther severities, by publishing a general pardon to offenders of every description. He not only recalled all those whom fear or judicial condemnation had, in the course of the late reign, driven from their country ; but he ordered even the income of their fortunes, during their exile, to be reimbursed^b. To the rest of his subjects, his whole deportment, in like manner, exhibited princely dignity and parental tenderness. Whatever debts were due to the crown of Macedon at the period of his father's death, he remitted. Skilful in the art of war, which he had studied under his father, he made the discipline of his troops, and the improvement and strength of his kingdom, his principal occupation ; and he carefully avoided those illiberal excesses which disgraced a great part of Philip's reign.

and abroad. His conduct to foreign states was equally conciliating. Embassadors were sent to the Roman senate, to notify his accession to the throne, and to request a confirmation of the treaties subsisting between Rome and Macedon. Rome answered with the same dissimulation with which he had pro-

^a See Liv. L. xlii. c. 5. Plut. in Paul. Aemilio ;
vitiis, p. 1440.

^b Polyb. de virtut. et

bably



bably addressed her; acknowledged his title, and pronounced him the friend and ally of the Roman people⁴. To the several states of Greece and Asia he made his application with more sincerity. Sensible of what importance it was to strengthen himself by alliances with the powers around him, he studied to remove those jealousies, to which his father's ambitious projects had given birth. With the Rhodians⁵ he found little difficulty. Relieved from the uneasy suspicions which Philip's naval improvements had occasioned, they saw the mistake they had been guilty of, in assisting the Romans to overthrow the power of Macedon; and espoused with cordiality the interests of Perseus. Prusias⁶ of Bithynia was prevailed on with the same ease; and, to render the connexion betwixt this prince and himself more binding, Perseus gave him his sister in marriage. The Syrian court was not less favourably disposed. Antiochus was dead, and his son Seleucus on the throne; who, irritated by his father's sufferings and his own, willingly gave ear to every thing Perseus had to urge against the Romans⁷. He found, therefore, no difficulty in convincing Seleucus, that these republicans were, from principle, the enemies of kings; and that whatever portion of empire they had left him, would be violently wrested from his house on the first favourable occasion. But the weak and impoverished state of Syria

BOOK
VII.
Sect. I.

⁴ Liv. L. xl. c. 58.

⁵ Polyb. Legat. lxx. & lxxvii.

⁶ Liv. L. xlii. c. 12.

⁷ This was, according to Livy (L. xliv. c. 24.) the purport of the embassy sent afterwards by Perseus to Antiochus; but it is evident he had before applied to Seleucus; and as his views in both embassies were the same, so, very probably, in both were the same arguments employed.

permitted:



B O O K VII. Sect. I. permitted not his following the dictates of his heart. All he could do was, to wish Perseus success; and, as a pledge of his regard, to give him his daughter Laodice in marriage. The Rhodians^a distinguished themselves on this occasion; as if to make amends for having employed their arms against Macedon, they equipped a most superb fleet, and desired to have the honour of convoying the princess to her royal husband. The same disposition prevailed throughout the greater part of the Lower Asia. Perseus looked even as far as Carthage for confederates, and dispatched ambassadors accordingly. The opportunity favoured his views; exasperated by the encroachments of Masinissa, and the duplicity of Rome, the Carthaginians were ripe for violent councils; they gave audience to the ambassadors by night, in the temple of Aesculapius^b, in order to conceal the transaction from the Romans; and immediately dispatched some of their chief men, to concert measures with the Macedonian king.

**He courts
the states of
Greece.**

MEANWHILE, the emissaries of Perseus had been employed in every quarter of Greece; and in support of their negotiations, he made a progress to Delphi^c. Religion was his pretence; but his real objects were a display of his power, a shew of moderation, and an appearance of a regard for the liberties of Greece. Attended by a formidable escort, the flower of the Macedonian army, he passed through Greece without hostility or depredation; and, having performed his devotions, returned in the same pacific manner to his own kingdom.

^a Polyb. Legat. lx.

^b Liv. L. xli. c. 22.

^c Liv. *ibid.*

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BOOK

VII.

Sect. 1.

The general temper, at this period, of most of the Grecian states.

WHAT rendered these intrigues the more effectual, was the general temper of the Greeks themselves¹¹. Most of them began to have prophetic fears of what they had to expect, should the Roman dominion be once fully established in Greece, and looked on Macedon as the last bulwark of their liberties. Accordingly, a revolution of interests took place almost every where. The people of Epire favoured Perseus. Several of the Thessalian tribes inclined to the same side. The Boeotians declared themselves avowedly; and, having put to death the most strenuous of the Roman partizans, entered into an alliance with Macedon; and, to give the stronger sanction to the treaty, caused it to be engraven on tables of brass, and set up in the temples of Delphi, Delos, and Thebes. The Aetolians, though divided into two factions, animated by all that virulence which civil discords produce, agreed in one point, that Perseus should be the arbiter of their differences. Athens and Achaia alone stood firm to the Roman cause; though even Achaia was nearly lost to Rome. The Achaean states, in the days of Philip, had prohibited by law all communication with Macedon; many of the Achaean slaves availing themselves of this interdiction, had fled from their masters, and taken refuge in the Macedonian territories. Perseus, to ingratiate himself with the Achaean people¹², caused as many of these slaves as could be found to be sent back; accompanying the present with a letter, in which he requested the rescinding of this un-social edict; and that a friendly intercourse should again be opened between the two nations. The request was plausible,

¹¹ See Liv. L. xlii. c. 12 & seq.

¹² Liv. L. xli. c. 23.

and



Book VII. Sect. 1. and met with powerful advocates in its favour among the Achaeans. But upon a representation by the friends of Rome, that it was beneath the dignity of the Achaean states to take public notice of a letter, sent by a private messenger, conveying a requisition, which should have been made in form by ambassadors, in order to be laid before the next general diet, the farther consideration of the matter was postponed; and afterwards, when the national convention was held, they had influence sufficient to defeat the proposition.

The domestic advantages possessed by Perseus.

EXCLUSIVE of the advantages Perseus might derive from the well-grounded jealousy of Roman ambition, which was entertained by most of the Grecian states, he succeeded to all those mighty preparations which his father had made during the latter years of his life. He had a rich treasury; an army, numerous, well disciplined, and well appointed; and, both in Thrace and Illyricum, a number of petty princes, connected with his crown, were ready to march at his command. The vigour of his operations appeared at the same time not unworthy of his power. The Dolopians²³ had contested some of his claims, and had made their appeal to Rome; but, regardless of this appeal, he entered their country, and reduced them to subjection. The people of Byzantium, pressed by Eumenes, had applied to him for aid; when he immediately sent forces to their assistance, and obliged the king of Pergamus to retire. Abrypolis, who reigned over a district of Illyricum,

²³ Liv. L, xli. c. 22. L. xlii. c. 12.

and



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and was one of the allies of Rome, having made an inroad into Macedon, Perseus marched immediately against him, put him to flight, and pursued him into his own dominions, of which he took possession. And even afterwards, when attacked by the Romans themselves, he maintained war against them for three years, with considerable success.

In what manner all this seeming strength came to be annihilated, and so many advantages to terminate in discomfiture, and the utter extirpation of him and the house of Macedon, is a fit subject for historical inquiry.

PERSEUS, at the very commencement of his reign, was guilty of a capital error. The Bastarnae, of whom mention has been made, were on their march through Thrace when his father died. Philip had stipulated the subsidy they were to receive, and the different sums to be paid to the chiefs of the Thracian tribes for granting them a free passage through their territories. Perseus, who, although possessed of immense treasures, was under the dominion of the most sordid avarice, would not abide by these stipulations; in consequence of which, the Bastarnae refused to advance, thirty thousand men excepted, who having already entered the Macedonian frontiers, pursued their route to Dardania. The rest halted in Thrace; where, provoked by the treatment they had met with, they fell on the people of the country, and, as if to indemnify themselves, plundered wherever they came: so that Perseus lost an ally, who had probably rendered Macedon, at least for the present, exceedingly formidable; whilst he at the same time forfeited the confidence of his Thracian neighbours, who were not only defrauded of

His error in
relation to
the Bastar-
nae.



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the promised subsidy, but compelled, through his perfid-
ousness, to take up arms in their own defence.

FROM the importance of the services performed by the thirty thousand Bastarnae who entered Dardania¹⁴, the consequences are obvious had the whole force of those emigrants, said to amount to upwards of an hundred thousand men, been poured into this country. The Dardanians, heretofore the most active enemies of Macedon on that side, now finding more than sufficient employment at home, were forced to retreat to their strong-holds, where, with difficulty, they maintained themselves against those bold invaders. The Bastarnae found powerful auxiliaries in the Scordisci¹⁵, a fierce nation to the north-west of Dardania, whose settlements extended to the confines of Italy; and who, originally from the same neighbourhood, and similar in language and in manners, rejoiced in the opportunity of joining their kindred tribes. At length, however, neglected by Macedon, and hopeless of supplies from their own country, the Bastarnae were under the necessity of retiring homewards; but even then, not dispirited by their situation, they made good their retreat, and without any material loss regained the banks of the Danube. The sequel of their adventures¹⁶ seems,

¹⁴ See Liv. L. xli. c. 19. & Polyb. Legat. lxii.

¹⁵ Justin, or rather Trogus, (L. xxxii. c. 3.) is of opinion, that they were a part of those known by the name of Gauls, who had emigrated under Brennus and his fellow-leaders, and who had settled in this country after their unsuccessful attempt on Delphi. According to this historian, they had their head-settlement near the confluence of the Save and the Danube, in that part of Hungary where Belgrade now stands.

¹⁶ See Liv. L. xli. Supplem. French.

by



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by the Roman historians, to be heightened by the marvelous. We are informed, that the Danube being frozen over, as they approached their own confines, they attempted to pass over on the ice, which breaking under them, they all perished. The like fate, Livy¹⁷ tells us, involved their countrymen who had halted in Thrace; most of them, according to him, being miraculously destroyed by a violent tempest of thunder and lightning. The truth of both these accounts is much to be questioned: they probably took their rise from some vague reports, at first readily believed, and afterwards industriously propagated, by a people whose vanity it was to imagine, "that, to have marched forth in support of the enemies of Rome, was an impiety which it concerned Heaven to punish." And it even appears from Strabo¹⁸, who is silent as to these tales of wonder, that the Romans of those days, far from having a knowledge of the history of the different tribes of this part of Germany, scarcely were instructed even in their names.

THE Romans soon discovered, or at least suspected, the designs of Perseus. The invasion of Dardania by the Bastarnae; his reducing the Dolopes; the relief he had sent to the Byzantines; and his progress to Delphi; had raised an alarm at Rome. Commissioners had repeatedly been dispatched to demand the reason of these hostilities, and, above all, to inspect narrowly into the situation of affairs in Macedon. During the first years of his reign, Perseus had submitted to the pleasure of the senate, and had given the different commissioners an honourable reception. But

The Romans,
jealous of
Perseus,

send commis-
sioners into
Macedon;

¹⁷ L. xl. c. 58.

¹⁸ See L. vii. p. 203, 204. Casaubon.



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Perseus treats
them with
contempt.

provoked at length, that messengers from Rome should still continue to infest his court, renewing inquiries, of which he plainly saw the design, he began to shew his resentment at the indignity; and Caius Valerius Laevinus, with some other Roman patricians, having, in the seventh year of his reign, come to Macedon on the usual errand, he put them off from day to day, under various pretences, until at last they were obliged to leave Macedon without an audience¹⁹.

The machi-
nations of
Eumenes:

THE report of the contempt with which their commissioners had been treated, had already reached the senate, when Eumenes of Pergamus afforded new matter to strengthen their suspicions²⁰. Mortified at the encrease of power which he saw Macedon was acquiring, and apprehensive of the consequences to himself, should that kingdom be restored to its antient splendor, he hastened to Rome; and having obtained a private audience of the senate, laid before them a full account of the formidable appearance of the Macedonians, and of the enterprising spirit of their king; of the treasures he possessed; the mighty armaments he had in readiness; and the alliances he had formed with most of the Greek and Asiatic states, who, from a settled jealousy of Rome, were prepared upon the first opportunity to unite against her as a common foe.

is received
favourably
at Rome.

THE senate acknowledged the zeal which Eumenes manifested on this occasion, by bestowing on him extraordinary honours; he was presented not only with magnificent gifts,

¹⁹ See Liv. L. xli. c. 25. et L. xlii. c. 2.

²⁰ Liv. L. xlii. c. 11. & seq.

but



but also with the highest ensigns of Roman magistracy, the curule chair and the ivory wand. The utmost precaution was at the same time taken, that no part of his information should transpire. It only was whispered in Rome, that Eumenes had attended the senate with very interesting intelligence; and it was not till after the overthrow of Perseus, that the particulars were made public". This affectation of secrecy, together with their effusions of gratitude to the Pergamenian king, were evidently designed to impress the Roman people with apprehensions of mighty dangers from Macedon, and of the absolute necessity of a war; the most urgent motives to which, were however the ambition and avarice of the senators themselves.

Perseus sends
ambassadors
to counteract
Eumenes;

PERSEUS, who had notice that Eumenes had set out for Rome, caused ambassadors to follow him; where for several days they attended in vain, soliciting an audience; which having at length obtained, they were treated with such marks of slight and disrespect, that Harpalus, at the head of the deputation, could not suppress his indignation: "The king," said he to the senate, "wishes to be believed, when he declares, that neither by words nor by actions has he given the Roman people cause to think him an enemy; but if he finds that you are seeking a pretence against him, he wants not courage to defend himself. The chance of war is alike to both; the issue uncertain."

their remon-
strance to
the Roman
senate.

THE Macedonian king had no positive information of the business of Eumenes at Rome; but, from the character of

²¹ See Liv. L. xlii. c. 14. ²² Liv. L. xlii. c. 14.

that



BOOK that prince, and the hostile purposes the Romans seemed
VII. now to avow, he suspected it, and meditated vengeance.

Sect. I. In his service was Evander of Crete, a captain of auxiliaries: this officer, with three Macedonians accustomed to the perpetration of such crimes, he employed to assassinate Eumenes, who had declared his intention of taking the route of Delphi, in his return homeward, in order to sacrifice to the Delphic god. The situation of Delphi, on the declivity of a mountain, rendered the road to it for the most part steep and difficult; and the path leading to the temple, winded through a valley so narrow, that only one person could pass at a time. Here the assassins took their stand, concealed by a wall that hung over this hollow way, and waited the approach of the king²³. His retinue had moved forward, and last of all came Eumenes himself, preceded by Pantaleon an Aetolian chief; when the wretches, just as the king came under the wall, tumbled down upon him two huge stones, one of which falling on his head, and the other on his shoulders, struck him to the ground, and a shower of small stones succeeding, seemed to have overwhelmed the unfortunate monarch; when the assassins, thinking they had effectuated their purpose, made their escape up the mountain, after having killed one of their accomplices, whose slowness of pace exposed them to a discovery.

Eumenes
escapes with
life.

EUMENES, however, was not dead. His attendants, Pantaleon excepted, had all fled upon seeing their master fall; but now gathering round, they found him, though

²³ See Liv. L. xlii. c. 15 & seq.

senseless,



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senseless, still warm and breathing. They immediately conveyed him to a place of safety in the neighbourhood, and soon after to Aegina, where he lay concealed till he was in a condition to be removed to Asia. For some time a report of his death prevailed, and so confidently was it believed, that his brother purposed to take possession of the kingdom, and to marry the wife of Eumenes. Already had he been *talking*, as Livy terms it, *with* the queen, and the commander of the citadel of Pergamus, when tidings arrived, that his brother was returning. From another brother, and a prince, this precipitancy might have provoked the sharpest reprehension. Eumenes, however, contented himself with telling Attalus in a whisper, "not to think for the future of marrying his brother's wife, until he was certain that her husband was dead."

ALL the friends of Eumenes considered Perseus as the author of the assassination, although no direct proof could be brought against him. The Romans undertook the tracing of this dark affair. A woman of some distinction, named Praxo, who lived at Delphi, was known to have connections with the Macedonian king, and at her house the assassins were said to have lodged. Valerius, lately one of the commissioners at the court of Macedon, who was now at Chalcis, contrived to carry off this woman to Rome; where Rammius of Brundisium, who had informed Valerius that he had important discoveries to make, also attended him. From the testimony of these two persons, according to the Roman writers, the clearest evidence appeared of Perseus's guilt. Praxo confessed she knew the assassins,

Perseus is charged with the assassination.



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assassins, and that they were employed by Perseus, having received them into her house in consequence of his directions. And Rammius, who generally entertained at Brundisium every eminent person, Greek or Roman, in their passage to and from Greece, deposed, that Perseus had practised with him to poison not only Eumenes, but other persons whom he was to have named; that, apprehensive for his own life, Rammius had promised compliance; and that a poison of the most subtle kind had been delivered to him, for the proposed purpose, by Perseus himself.

Commissioners sent to Perseus to demand reparation:

WITH a prince of such a character (for at Rome these several charges were considered as undoubted facts) the senate held it a reproach to be on terms of amity; commissioners²⁴ were therefore immediately dispatched, requiring him to desist from all further acts of violence, and to make ample reparation for what he had already been guilty of; and, should he refuse to comply, to renounce, in the name of the Roman people, all friendship and alliance with him. Perseus, probably apprised of the purpose of the embassy, after making the deputies wait several days for an audience, condescended at last to admit them, when they were on the point of returning to Rome unheard. The freedom of their remonstrances added to the indignation which already swelled within him, and he retorted on them the keenest recriminations; exclaimed against the haughtiness of the Romans; their insolence to kings; their insatiable lust of empire; and their infesting his court with their daily ambassadors, who joined the mean artifices of spies to the imperiousness of despots, to whose

he treats them with insult.

²⁴ Liv. L. xlii. c. 25.

control



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control they expected he should subject all his actions. Unmoved by this intemperate language, they calmly demanded an answer to the requisitions they had made. "To-morrow," said he, "you shall have it under my hand." Accordingly, next day he delivered them a writing, in which he declared, "That as to the treaty of alliance said to subsist between Macedon and Rome, he held himself no way bound by it; that it was a contract entered into by his father, and binding on him only; that at his accession, when not yet firmly seated on his throne, he had submitted to it from policy;—yet he was still ready to conclude a treaty of alliance with Rome on equitable conditions, and if they had such to offer, he would take it into consideration." The reply of the Roman deputies was short. They pronounced Perseus to be no longer the ally of Rome. And Perseus, in the voice of defiance, commanded them, within three days to quit Macedon.

THIS apparent vigour was but poorly supported on the part of Perseus. The senate, upon the report of their ambassadors, had ordered a body of eight thousand foot and four hundred horse, under the command of the praetor Cn. Sicinius, to march into Epire²⁵. The instant Perseus heard of this, he seems to have shrunk with dismay from the approaching contest; for he sent ambassadors to Rome, to solicit terms of peace. They were received as he might have expected: they had audience, not in the senate, but without the city, in the temple of Bellona²⁶, as coming

A Roman
army passes
into Greece:

Perseus sends
ambassadors
to solicit
peace.

²⁵ OLYMP. cli. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 202. ²⁶ Liv. L. xli. c. 46.



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from a prince the declared enemy of Rome; and after some questions, relative to certain hostile attempts lately committed by the king of Macedon in Perrhaebia and Thessaly, concerning which, the ambassadors said they had no instructions, they were ordered to leave Italy within eleven days, and to tell their master, never more to presume to send embassies to Rome, but to make his future application to the commanders of the Roman armies in Greece.

who are ordered to leave Italy.

Roman commissioners sent into Greece.

Perseus applies to Marcius;

SICINIUS was soon after followed by five commissioners, appointed by the senate to visit the Grecian states, and to confirm them in the interests of Rome; of whom Aulus Hostilius and Quintus Marcius Philippus had Epirus, Aetolia, and Thessaly, assigned to them for their department. The father of Marcius had been the guest and friend of the late king of Macedon. The mean-spirited Perseus laid hold of this circumstance; and though he had already applied by letter to the five commissioners upon their arrival on the coast of Greece, desiring to be informed why he was threatened with hostilities, and had been answered with manifest contempt; he nevertheless renewed his application to Marcius at Larissa, reminded him of the mutual hospitality by which their families were united; and requested, that he might be admitted to a conference²⁷.

the policy of Marcius;

MARCIUS received the application in the most gracious manner. "He had often," he said, "heard his father mention his connections with the Macedonian king; and it was chiefly in the view of doing Perseus service, that he had

²⁷ Liv. xlii. c. 38. & seq.



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“ accepted of his present commission; he therefore cheerfully granted him the conference which he desired.” Accordingly, on the appointed day, the Macedonian king and the two Roman commissioners arrived on the opposite banks of the Peneus. The Romans were accompanied by deputies from most of the Grecian states, who, either anxious for their own fate, or as a mark of respect to Rome, had come to witness the important issue; and Perseus was attended by his guards, with a number of Macedonian lords and Thracian chiefs. The adjusting of the ceremonial was the first point in question, whether the king should pass the river to the Romans, or the Romans to the king. The compliment seemed to be due to regal dignity: but it was the policy of Rome to manifest a contempt of royalty; and, as the king had requested the conference, the Romans alledged, that he should yield the point of precedency. At length, by an insipid kind of jest, Marcius put an end to the contest; “ let the younger,” said he, “ pass to the elder, the son to the father,” alluding to his own name, Philip. The next point was, whether the king should pass over with only a few of his guards, or with all his retinue. The latter Perseus insisted on, as most honourable: but in that case Marcius required hostages, that no act of hostility should be committed. To this humiliation also the Macedonian king was obliged to submit.

MARCIUS opened the conference with many professions of his personal regard for Perseus, at the same time acquitting the Romans of having provoked the impending war, of which he asserted the king alone was guilty, whose repeated acts of violence had made it necessary for Rome to send an

3 X 2

army



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his artful
charge
against Per-
seus.

army into Greece. In one point only, he told Perseus, the senate thought he had acted wisely, in sending his embassadors to renew the treaty of alliance with the Roman people; and yet, how much better had it been never to have renewed the treaty, than to have broken it as soon as renewed. Abrupolis, the friend of Rome, he had driven from his kingdom. Artetarus, the most faithful confederate that the Romans had among all the Illyrian princes, had fallen by domestic treachery, and to his murderers he had given an asylum in his dominions; evidently shewing, to speak in the mildest terms, how much he rejoiced in their treason. In direct contravention of the late stipulations, he had marched an army through the midst of Greece to Delphi; he had sent succours to the Byzantines; he had entered into a league with the Boeotians; he had made war on the Dolopes. Everfa and Callicritus, the Theban ambassadors, perished as they were returning from Rome; "I would rather ask," continued Marcius, "whose crime this was, than fix it on any individual. Violent commotions have arisen in Aetolia, in which some of the principal men have lost their lives; by what party but the Macedonian were those commotions excited? Eumenes had nearly fallen a sacrifice to treachery before the altars at Delphi; I am unwilling to name the person he accuses. As to Rammius, what discoveries he has made, your own ambassadors, no doubt, have already informed you. The hearing of these things is irksome to you. You brought it on yourself, by inquiring, in the letter which you addressed to us, why the Romans send an army into Macedon, or garrison the cities of their allies. You have now heard their reasons. And, harsh as you may think the answer, you would probably have thought
"yourself



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“ yourself more severely treated had your enquiry been left
“ altogether unanswered. Mindful of the friendship that
“ subsisted between our fathers, I shall lend a favourable ear
“ to whatever you can offer in your justification; and I wish
“ you may furnish me with arguments to plead your cause in
“ the senate.”

So severe a charge, delivered in this manner, not only before a number of his own subjects, but also in the presence of the deputies of the Grecian states, shews little of that tender concern for Perseus, by which the Roman pretended to be actuated. And, what renders this conduct more worthy of notice, it appears from the defence which Livy has put in the mouth of the Macedonian king, that of these accusations, some were evidently ill-grounded, and many heightened with much unfair aggravation. Rammius, Perseus declared, had never been at the court of Macedon but once, nor was he ever expected there again: how improbable therefore was it, that he should intrust a person, in whose fidelity he could not repose confidence, with a commission of so delicate and hazardous a nature? The Theban ambassadors, it was well known, had perished by shipwreck. The murderers of Artetarus he had ordered to be expelled from his dominions the instant he heard that they had taken refuge there. With relation to Eumenes, he was sensible he had been pointed at as the author of his assassination; but upon what kind of evidence! had that prince, whose oppressions had made him odious throughout Greece and Asia, no enemies to fear but from Macedon?—This was his reply to those articles, that concerned him as an individual; as a king, his answer was yet stronger. Abrupolis, unprovoked,

had:

The king's
answer.



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had made an inroad into Macedon, and had spread his depredations as far as Amphipolis, before Perseus took up arms against him; on whom lay the blame, if the issue of the war proved fatal to this lawless invader? The province of Dolopia had been assigned to the Macedonian king by the Romans themselves; the Dolopians nevertheless had risen against Euphranor, the Macedonian governor, and had put him to death, with circumstances of the most barbarous cruelty; when did it become criminal in a prince, to reduce rebellious subjects to obedience? He had marched through a part of Greece to Delphi, in discharge of his vows; but if any of the states that lay on his way, could make it appear, that the smallest outrage had been offered to them, or if, under the disguise of religion he had been found to conceal any ambitious design, he was willing to submit to condemnation. Respecting his assisting the Byzantines, and his league with the Boeotians, his ambassadors had already explained those matters to the senate, who, notwithstanding the opposition of a few, had accepted of his apology. "This defence of mine," he added, "will be received by those who hear me, according to their passions and affections; nor is it of so much importance, what my conduct or my views have been, as in what light you mean to see my actions. My conscience bears me witness, that I have not offended knowingly; and if through ignorance I have transgressed, instructed by your reproof, I shall endeavour to correct whatever is amiss. I have certainly done nothing wrong, which I may not remedy, nor for which you can think I merit all the horrors of an impending war. With little reason therefore are you renowned for moderation and dispassionate



“passionate councils, if, for causes that scarcely deserve ex-
 “postulation, you take up arms against princes who are
 “your friends and allies.”

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MARCIUS seemed much moved, and wished the king again to send ambassadors to Rome, with conciliating proposals. The difficulty was, how, in the mean while, to suspend hostilities. After many laboured objections from the Romans, Marcius, “who could not,” he said, “but reverence the sacred ties of hospitality, which subsisted between Perseus and him,” appeared to yield at last to the solicitations of the king, and granted him a truce, until his ambassadors should have time to return.

An insidious
 truce proposed by Mar-
 cius;

ALL this specious shew of friendship to the Macedonian king, was no more than a feint²⁹, which Marcius employed, in order to betray him into this very truce, the most ruinous measure that the unhappy prince could possibly have adopted. It will be proper to enter into an explanation of this matter.

WHEN Sicinius and the Roman commissioners arrived in Greece, they found the situation of things very different from what they had expected. Perseus was at the head of an army the best appointed and most numerous that Macedonia had seen since the days of the great Alexander; his exchequer rich, and his magazines of war completely supplied; whilst his subjects appeared united and hearty in his service. Besides the interest he was at the same time said to

the ruinous
 consequence
 of it to Per-
 seus.

²⁹ Liv. L. xlii. c. 43.

have



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have with the Asiatics, as well as with his Illyrian and Thracian neighbours, there was, throughout all the states of Greece, a general disposition in his favour. The people were every where for Macedon; and though several of their leaders were, from a principle of venality or ambition, attached to Rome, yet even among the chief men, Perseus had many personal friends; and, in general, the wisest and the best men in every city, apprehensive of what must be the fate of Greece should the Roman power remain without control, wished success to Perseus. As Licinius, the new consul, at the same time, had not yet made the necessary levies, and the force of the Romans in Greece was but inconsiderable, had Perseus, instead of sending his dastardly deputations to the Roman commissioners, to inquire what brought them into Greece, taken advantage of this fortunate assemblage of circumstances, and attacked his enemies the instant they landed, he could hardly have failed of victory; when, encouraged by such an act of vigour, the greater part of Greece had probably declared in his favour. But the timidity and irresolution of this devoted prince relieved the Romans from their embarrassment; and they improved the opportunity. Their troops they cantoned in the strong holds of Epire, so as to form a line along the western frontier of Macedon, whilst the five commissioners, taking their progress through the different states of Greece, most of them seeing the hopes they had placed in Perseus disappointed by his spiritless conduct, readily promised whatever was asked. The truce completed what the Romans had in view. It gave them time to provide more effectually for the war; and it shewed to all the confederates of Macedon, how little dependence



pendence there could be on a king, who, after all his boastings, and with the numerous advantages he possessed, was abject enough to become an humble suppliant for peace.

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THE Boeotians first experienced the consequences of this fatal measure³⁰. They had, as we have seen, entered into a league of alliance with Perseus. And several of their cities, when charged with this fact by the Roman commissioners, had alleged, that it was the act not of any particular city, but of the whole Boeotian body; in which, however, some of the cities had not concurred. This apology furnished Marcius with a hint, which rendered the league abortive, and at the same time destroyed the Boeotian power for ever. He offered to consider every city as a separate and independent state, and as such, to conclude with it an alliance. The pride of independence, or perhaps the dread of Rome, induced most of them to accept of the offer. Thus was the Boeotian confederacy, which derived its whole strength from its union, crumbled into separate and inconsiderable states; and never afterwards recovered its antient importance. Two Boeotian cities only, Corona and Haliartus, refused to depart from their alliance with Macedon; and being threatened on this account by the Thebans, now in the Roman interest, applied to Perseus for protection. His answer was worthy of his character. "The truce had tied up his hands, and they must provide for their safety as they could"³¹.

The art employed by Marcius to dissolve the Boeotian confederacy.

³⁰ Polyb. Legat. lxiii. Liv. L. lxii. c. 38, 43. Liv. L. xliii. c. 46.

³¹ See Polyb. Legat. lxvi.



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The conduct
of Marcius
disapproved
of by many
old senators.

THE Roman historians, however, tell us, that upon Marcius's return to Rome, the finesse by which he had deceived Perseus, obtained him but little praise. The old senators, who remembered ancient manners, could not, without abhorrence, hear a Roman senator pride himself in having practised deceit even on an enemy, especially under the disguise of friendship, and a pretended reverence of the sacred rites of hospitality". "Not so our forefathers," said they; "who, disdaining a victory that was not the prize of generous valour, in their war with the Falisci delivered up to the prince of the country, the wretch who had betrayed into their hands the royal children intrusted to his care; and who again, in their wars with Pyrrhus, warned that king, though wantonly invading them, of his physician's traiterous designs." But their remonstrances were over-ruled. The majority of the senate, now governed by other principles, approved of the conduct of Marcius; and, as the reward of his services, appointed him to the command of part of the fleet to be employed on the coast of Greece.

Perseus finds
himself de-
luded:

MEANWHILE, Perseus, proud of his fancied superiority in the late conference, soothed himself with the thoughts of an approaching peace. "I have," said he, in his dispatches to some of his Asiatic friends, "been heard before the Roman commissioners in vindication of my conduct, and have fully answered all their objections." The return of his ambassadors awakened him from this delusion. They

" Liv. L. xlii. c. 47.

informed



informed him, that, after having been admitted to the parade of an audience before the Roman senate, where their representations had been treated with the utmost contempt, they had been ordered to leave Rome instantly, and Italy within thirty days; and that the consul Licinius, whose levies were now finished, was on his way to Greece.

PERSEUS, roused from his dream of security, immediately convened at Pella a council of his principal nobility, in order to consider what was to be resolved upon in the present emergency³³. Every expedient which fear could suggest, were successively mentioned by the king, or by those who possessed his confidence: they even proposed “to pay whatever tribute, or to give up whatever portion of territory the Romans should demand; nay, should other conditions, still more humiliating, be insisted upon, to submit even to these, rather than abide the hazard of a war.” Some of the council, however, protested warmly against these ignominious measures, and urged the certain ruin which must attend them. They insisted, that if the king did not mean to cede all, he must resolve to give up nothing; that the rapaciousness of Rome would not be satisfied with less than his whole kingdom; that he was now in a condition to bid them defiance; and that, supposing even the worst, it was far more honourable to encounter any dangers in the defence of his throne, than tamely to resign it.—“Be war then our choice,” replied the king, whether from conviction, or from shame; “and may the gods grant us success!”

irresolute and
fearful of entering upon
a war.

³³ Liv. L. xlii. c. 50.



B O O K
VII.
Sect. 1.

Spirited loyalty of the Macedonian people.

THE spirited loyalty of the Macedonians on this occasion²⁴, shews, that whatever were the vices of the man, Perseus was not wanting in those qualities which usually endear kings to their people. As soon as it was known that war was resolved upon, from every part of Macedon he had offers of large subsidies, and ample supplies of all things necessary for the maintenance of an army. His conduct did him no less honour. He thanked his subjects for their honest zeal; but told them, that his own treasures were sufficient to answer all his demands; and that the only service with which he should burden them, was the furnishing of carriages for transporting his machines and implements of war.

Perseus takes the field;

has an opportunity of beginning the war to advantage;

loses it:

PERSEUS was early in the field²⁵; and having made himself master of the streights which open from the Macedonian frontier into the vale of Tempe, had advanced, before the Romans appeared, as far as Sycurium, a city situated at the southern extremity of mount Offa. He had now a favourable opportunity of opening the campaign with advantage. The consul, on his march through Athamania to Thessaly, was at this very time intangled in the defiles and intricate passes which intersect this mountainous part of Greece. Had Perseus attacked him here, the Romans themselves confessed, that a total defeat was almost unavoidable: but fearful of engaging in any hazardous enterprize, say the Roman writers, or more probably, not having proper intelligence of the enemy's motions and situations, which in those days was often difficult to be obtained, the Ma-

²⁴ Liv. L. xlii. c. 53.

²⁵ Ibid. c. 54, 55.

cedonian.



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cedonian king contented himself with the opportunity which his position afforded him, of covering Macedon and the northern Thessaly.

B. O. O. K.
VII.
Sect. I.

AT length Licinius reached Larissa; and, having been joined by a thousand auxiliaries from the Achaean states, a reinforcement of five thousand men under Eumenes from Asia, and a body of Thessalian horse, he encamped on the north-side of the Peneus. The two armies were now within a few miles of each other³⁶; but though the foraging parties from the Macedonian army overspread the country, and had extended their ravages into Pheraea³⁷, and though Perseus had for several days appeared every morning in order of battle, and even insulted the Roman camp, in the hopes of bringing on an engagement; the consul, nevertheless, seemed industriously to avoid it. Emboldened by this, Perseus moved his camp seven miles nearer; and the ensuing morning, by the first dawn of day, having formed his whole army, advanced at the head of his cavalry and light-armed infantry to the verge of the Roman entrenchments. The sudden appearance of the enemy at an hour much earlier than usual, and their resolute and firm appearance, threw the Roman camp into confusion; the tumultuous hurry of the soldiery making the danger from without appear greater than it was. The consul, in this critical situation, commanded all his cavalry, with the light-armed and auxiliary troops, to fall forth and repulse the enemy, he himself remaining

the Romans advance against him.

Battle of the Peneus;

³⁶ Liv. L. xlii. c. 57. & seq.

³⁷ One of the fairest provinces of Thessaly, and under the immediate protection of the Romans.

within:



B o o k
VII.
Sect. I.

the Macedo-
nians victori-
ous:

within the trenches with his legionaries, ready to answer any exigency. The Roman detachment found the task assigned to them, much more difficult than they expected. Unable to stand the furious charge of the Thracian horsemen, who, to use the expression of the Roman historian, "rushed forward with a ferocity like that of wild beasts springing on their prey," they gave way on every side, after having sustained considerable loss; and had been all cut to pieces, if the Thessalian cavalry, who covered the left wing, and had hitherto stood their ground, had not received them within their ranks, and sheltered them from the pursuers.

Perseus wants
spirit to im-
prove his vic-
tory;

THE instant it was known that the advantage was on the side of Macedon, Hippias and Leonnatus, who commanded the phalanx, advanced to the field of battle, in hopes of crowning the glory of the day by storming the Roman camp. And had the king yielded to their martial ardour, there had been little doubt of success: but so daring an exploit was more than Perseus durst aspire to. His natural pusillanimity returned; and Evander, who was no stranger to his master's weakness, and probably discovered his wishes in his looks, at sight of the phalanx advised him, "not to tempt fortune any further for the present, but rather be satisfied with the success he had already obtained, which would certainly facilitate a peace, if peace was his object, or, if he chose to continue the war, would induce numbers to join him." Perseus, with much commendation of Evander's prudence, ordered the phalanx to halt, and a retreat to be sounded³⁰. In this action, there fell of the Roman

³⁰ Plutarch in Paul. Aemilio.



infantry two thousand, with two hundred of their cavalry; two hundred more of their horsemen being made prisoners. Forty foot and twenty horse were all the Macedonians lost.

BOOK
VII.
SECT. I.

NEXT morning discovered to Perseus his fatal error³⁹. Dreading the very enterprize which the Macedonian durst not attempt, Eumenes had advised the consul to decamp by night, and retreat to the other side of the Peneus, where he might remain in safety; and Licinius, notwithstanding the humiliating confession which such a step implied, found it expedient to follow the advice. Perseus now saw, what might have been done had he followed his victory, or even been attentive to the enemy's motions during the night, and attacked them in their retreat over the river.

sees his mistake :

FROM the temper of mind with which the news of this success, imperfect as it was, were received throughout Greece, we may judge what the real dispositions of the people were, and how difficult the Romans would have found this war, had a prince of abilities, and worthy of public confidence, been then seated on the throne of Macedon. The different states had before shewn their disaffection to the cause of Rome, in the scanty succours they sent to the consul; which, in general, says Livy⁴⁰, were so inconsiderable as not to be worth recording, whilst they apologized under various pretences, and still professed an ardent zeal for her ser-

his victory occasions general exultations throughout Greece.

³⁹ Liv. L. xlii. c. 60.

⁴⁰ Quorum pleraque (adeo parva erant) in oblivionem adducta.

Liv. L. xlii. c. 55.

vice.



Book VII. Sect. I. vice. That disguise which the dread of Roman power had obliged them to assume, was now thrown off⁴¹; and not only the friends of the royal house of Macedon, but even the men who were supposed to have been warm in the interests of Rome, joined in the general joy. The Romans, it appears from the confession of their own writers, had already made Greece feel their insolence and oppression; and many of their most zealous partizans began to entertain the most melancholy apprehensions of impending servitude.

Perseus
meanly sues
for peace;

is refused:

PERSEUS, by his own conduct, soon weakened the impressions which, properly cultivated, might have been highly advantageous. As if former experience had not taught him that a vigorous prosecution of the war was his only resource, he renewed his solicitations for peace with all the abjectness of a vanquished enemy⁴²; offering to cede to the Romans, all the cities and provinces which had been ceded by his father Philip, and to pay the same tribute he had agreed to pay. But the Romans, whose maxim it was, "never, in whatever fortune, to make peace with a victorious enemy," rejected his offer with scorn, imperiously requiring Perseus "to surrender himself and his kingdom to the Romans at discretion," as the only way by which peace was to be obtained. Incensed at this haughty answer, the king's counsellors advised him to abandon all thoughts of accommodation; but the very haughtiness of the answer terrified his spirit, and became a new argument

⁴¹ "Fama pugnae," says Livy, speaking of this battle, "nudavit voluntates hominum." L. xlii. c. 63.

⁴² Polyb. Legat. lxix. Liv. L. xlii. c. 62.

with



with Perseus for renewing his application. He thought it impossible that the consul should manifest such firmness, without an assurance of success; and sent a second deputation with an offer of a much larger tribute; to which the Romans returned the same answer.

B o o k
VII.
Sect. I.

Bad conduct
of the Roman
commanders.

THE manner in which the consul prosecuted the war during the remainder of this year, shewed but little of that firmness or assurance of victory, which these spirited answers seemed to imply⁴³. In Thessaly, the two armies were employed in attacking or defending, with various success, places of little importance, except merely on account of their situation; or in occasional skirmishes, mostly between the foraging parties, which, though sometimes bloody and attended with loss to the Macedonians, made no material alteration in the state of affairs. Perseus, in defiance of all the Roman efforts, still kept possession of the passes and strong holds that commanded the Macedonian frontier. In Illyricum⁴⁴, one of the consul's lieutenants had made himself master of two opulent towns, and had granted the inhabitants their effects, in the view of alluring to submission, by this apparent clemency, another strong town in the neighbourhood: but finding his expectations disappointed, and that neither his subtlety of contrivance nor force of arms could give him possession, he returned and pillaged both the places which he had formerly spared. In Boeotia⁴⁵, the praetor Lucretius laid siege to Haliartus, and having taken it after an obstinate and vigorous defence, plundered it of

⁴³ See Liv. L. xlii. c. 64 & seq.
L. xlii. c. 63.

⁴⁴ Liv. L. xliii. c. 1.

⁴⁵ Liv.



B o o k every thing valuable, appropriating most of the spoils to his
VII. own use, and then razing it to the ground. From thence
Sect. I. he proceeded to Thebes, which, though she opened her
 gates, he nevertheless treated with all the severity of an
 exasperated enemy; not content with restoring the citizens
 that had been banished for their attachment to the Roman in-
 terest, but also selling, with their families, as slaves, all who
 were suspected of favouring the cause of Macedon.

Perseus acts
 with vigour
 and success.

PERSEUS having, in the mean time, surpris'd a part of
 the Roman fleet⁴⁶ which lay at Oreum in Euboea, had
 taken twenty of their store-ships, sunk the rest, laden
 with wheat, and made himself master of four gallies, of
 five benches of oars. Intelligence having been received, that
 some of the Thracian tribes, instigated and assisted by Eu-
 menes of Pergamus, had broken into the dominions of
 Cotys, a king of Thrace in alliance with Perseus, and an
 auxiliary in the Macedonian camp, he immediately dismissed
 the Thracian king with large presents, and a considerable
 sum of money, to the defence of his own territories; and
 so little now were his apprehensions of danger from the Ro-
 mans, that he himself marched soon after to the aid of Cotys,
 and obtained for him a complete victory over the invaders.

The consul
 Hostilius suc-
 ceeds to the
 command;

LICINIUS was succeeded in the command by the consul
 Hostilius, who was more unsuccessful than his predecessor.
 Upon his very entrance into Epire, of whose defection there
 was not, as yet, any suspicion, he narrowly escaped falling
 into an ambuscade of Epirots, who had lain in wait for him.

⁴⁶ Plutarch. in Paul. Aemilio. Liv. L. xliii. c. 2.



in order to deliver him up to Perseus. He afterwards endeavoured to penetrate into Macedonia by the province of Elymaea; and was defeated. He attempted a passage by the Cambunian mountains; and found it impracticable. He detached his lieutenant Appius Claudius, to infest the Macedonian frontier from the side of Illyricum; who having formed the design of plundering Uscana⁴⁷, a city on the confines of Macedon, suffered himself to be caught in a snare by a stratagem of the Cretan garrison: they had promised to betray the place to him; but upon his approaching the walls with a careless security, they sallied out with the inhabitants, and attacked him so vigorously, that scarcely a fourth part of his army escaped.

BOOK
VII.
Sect. I.

fails in every
attempt.

THIS train of bad success became the more reproachful from the cause to which it seemed justly to be ascribed, "the rapacity and insolence of oppression," with which most of the Roman commanders of the present year, as well as the preceding, stood charged. Decimius⁴⁸, who at the beginning of the war had been sent on an embassy to Gentius of Illyricum, was, with good reason, suspected of having sold himself to the Illyrian king. Complaints, supported by the strongest proofs, had been laid before the senate, against Lucretius⁴⁹, one of the praetors of the last year, who, after enriching himself with the pillage of the enemies of Rome, had not even spared her friends; despoiling the very temples of Chalcis, then confederate with the Romans, of their most precious ornaments, in order to add to the magnificence of his

Cause of these
miscarriages.

⁴⁷ Liv. L. xliii. c. 10.

⁴⁸ Liv. L. xlii. c. 45.

⁴⁹ Liv. L. xliii. c. 4.



B o o κ villa in the neighbourhood of Antium. There was also
 VII. reason to suspect, that Licinius himself had not been guilt-
 Sect. 1. less. The like complaints were now brought against the
 consul Hostilius, and the officers under his command. Cas-
 sius, one of his praetors, was infamous for his depredations.
 His admiral, Hortensius⁵⁰, had put to death the chief men
 of Abdera, on the Thracian coast, and sold for slaves the
 rest of the citizens because they had refused to comply
 with his merciless exactions, and had dared to appeal to the
 consul for relief; so that the neighbouring cities, alarmed
 by these enormities, and dreading similar acts of violence,
 had shut their gates against him. On his return to Chalcis,
 the unhappy Chalcidians again experienced all the cruelty
 and rapine of Lucretius. Even the army under the immediate
 command of Hostilius⁵¹, had been rendered unfit for service,
 either by the facility or avarice of the consul and his prin-
 cipal officers; numbers of the soldiers having, for money, or
 through favour, obtained leave of absence, and returned to
 Italy.

The Mace-
 donian af-
 fairs in a
 prosperous
 situation;

THE Macedonian affairs, on the contrary, wore a prospe-
 rous appearance⁵². Perseus had defeated every attempt against
 Macedon during the summer; and as soon as winter had set
 in, and the snows had rendered the mountains and glens
 around him impassable to the Romans, he attacked and
 defeated the Dardanians, who, probably upon the retreat
 of the Bastarnae, began again to be troublesome, leaving ten
 thousand of them dead on the field. From thence he had

⁵⁰ Liv. L. xliii. c. 7.
 c. 18, 19, 20.

⁵¹ Liv. *ibid.* c. 11.

⁵² See Liv. L. xliii.

advanced



advanced into Illyricum, with the view of recovering some places of strength, formerly taken by the Romans, which were of consequence to the security of the Macedonian frontier; and, at the same time, of entering into alliance with Gentius, the most powerful of the Illyrian princes. He found little difficulty in the accomplishment of the former, and might as easily have effected the latter, had not his own avarice⁵³ been the only obstacle. Gentius wanted money; and Perseus could not think of supplying him; so that, after a repeated interchange of messages, the negotiation ended without effect. He had not yet entered Illyricum, when he received the pleasing intelligence, that the Epirots, at the instigation of Cephalus, one of their chieftains, had renounced the friendship of Rome, and declared in his favour. The Aetolians too solicited his presence, offering to put Stratus into his hands, a considerable city of Acarnania on the Achelous, which at this time was in their possession. The invitation was eagerly accepted, and Perseus was instantly in motion. But the severity of the season and the difficulty of the roads rendering his march exceedingly tedious, a Roman commander, who was stationed in the country, conceiving some suspicion of the design, had entered the city with a strong body of troops the evening before Perseus reached it. He made himself, however, some amends, by getting possession of Aperantia, a neighbouring district of Aetolia; and this success was soon followed by advice, that Clevas, one of his generals, had defeated the Romans on the borders of Epire, in two successive engagements, in which,

⁵³ See Polyb. Legat. lxxvi. lxxvii.

⁵⁴ Liv. L. xliii. c. 23.



BOOK two thousand of the enemy had fallen, and three hundred
 VII. been made prisoners.
 Sect. 1.

but injured
 by the sordid
 avarice of
 Perseus.

NOTHING, indeed, seems now to have been wanting to Perseus, but to have known how to employ properly, the treasures of which he was master. The corruption and insolence of the Roman commanders, had made them generally odious. Polybius himself acknowledges, that, had the Macedonian king (whose avarice, to such a wonderful excess of fordidness and folly, must, says he, have been a judgment on him from the gods⁵⁵) improved the present opportunity, by giving moderate subsidies to the kings and states of Asia and Greece, gratifying at the same time with presents the principal men in the different cities, he had effectually ruined the Roman interest with most of the Greek and Asiatic nations.

Consternation and prosecutions at Rome.

WHEN tidings of these matters were received in Rome, they occasioned the deepest consternation. Upon the first complaints, commissioners had been immediately sent into Greece⁵⁶; and their report exceeded even the voice of fame. Embassadors also had now arrived from those states which had suffered most from the oppressions and rapacity of the Roman commanders, to implore justice from the senate and Roman people. To the Romans the crisis was alarming: they were in danger of losing Greece, if not Asia: and some of the first nobility were among the accused cri-

⁵⁵ Δαιμονιαβλαβία is the expressive name that Polybius gives to the amazing avarice of this wretched prince. See Legat. lxxvii.

⁵⁶ Liv. I. xliii. c. 8, 11, 17.

minals.



minals. Orders were immediately issued, requiring all the senators throughout Italy, unless employed on public service, to repair immediately to Rome, and forbidding any senator to go farther than one mile from the city. Lucretius⁵⁷, the late praetor, had already been summoned to appear. The nobles would gladly have saved him, but they found it impossible. Two tribunes of the people, M. Juventius Thalna and Cn. Aufidius, were active in the prosecution; and his trial being brought on, the thirty-five tribes, with one voice, pronounced him guilty. Several others, not less criminal, had probably shared the same fate, had not their trials been put off, under pretence, that they were necessary persons in the army abroad, and could not therefore appear in their own defence.

THE next business was, to guard against the consequences to be dreaded from the resentment of an injured people. An edict was accordingly passed⁵⁸, which enacted, "That henceforth the allies of Rome should not pay obedience to any requisitions made by any magistrate whatsoever, unless it appeared, that these requisitions had proceeded from the senate themselves." Orders were likewise transmitted to Hostilius⁵⁹ and the other commanders in Greece, to conduct themselves for the future with greater caution; and wherever

Edict to check the abuses committed by the Roman commanders :

⁵⁷ When the charge against him was first laid before the senate, it was pretended, that he was abroad with the army; and that therefore it was necessary to postpone the inquiry. It afterwards appeared, that at this very time he was at his villa, employing in expensive works, the vast sums which he had brought home from the pillage of Haliatus, and the plunder of the Chalcidians. See Liv. L. xliii. c. 4.

⁵⁸ Liv. L. xliii. c. 17.

⁵⁹ Ibid. c. 8.

reparation:



BOOK VII. SECT. I. embassadors sent to the Grecian states to notify the edict: reparation could be made, to make it as speedily as possible. To the several states also ambassadors were deputed, to assure them of the affectionate regard paid to their interests, and to notify the new edict, which the senate, *ever attentive to the LIBERTIES of GREECE*, had been graciously pleased to issue.

insidious instructions given to those ambassadors: THIS, however, as appears from Polybius⁶⁰, was only the *ostensible* part of their commission. Beneath all this semblance of affection, lurked the most treacherous designs. The ambassadors had secret instructions to seize the opportunity, when these gracious assurances should have lulled every suspicion, to destroy all those, whom eminent abilities and zeal for the liberties of their country had rendered obnoxious to Rome. In those states, where their opponents were too many to be thus dispatched, they were to endeavour at least, to get into their hands a number of the most considerable persons, by way of hostages; or to obtain permission to introduce Roman garrisons into their cities, in order to lay those states under the necessity of submitting to whatever terms Rome might thereafter think fit to prescribe.

the reception they met with from the Achaeans; THE ambassadors were to have entered on the execution of this part of their instructions in Achaia: and three Achaeans of the highest distinction, Lycortas, Polybius, and Archon, whose virtue had withstood every temptation, were the first victims marked for destruction. But upon the opening of the Achaean diet, it was found, that matters were not yet ripe for their purpose. Even the question, "whether Achaia

⁶⁰ Legat. lxxiv. lxxv.



should take part with Rome against Macedon?" was likely to produce great heats. And the embassadors began to fear, that, should they venture on the attempt they had in view, it would only serve to disclose what it was their interest to conceal, and perhaps involve their whole party in ruin.

BOOK
VII.
Sect. I.

WITH the Aetolians, from whom they were to have exacted hostages, they had no better success. The diet was a scene of tumult and confusion; and to such an excess of mutual violence did the Macedonian and Roman parties proceed, that those in opposition to Rome, stoned, in the very diet, and in the presence of the embassadors, one of the contrary faction. From such an assembly it had been to little purpose to have demanded hostages; and the embassadors took care to withdraw without mentioning them.

the Aetolians;

FROM thence they proceeded to Acarnania, too inconsiderable a state in appearance to be capable of much firmness. And here, besides, Rome was supposed to have a strong party; yet, the instant it was proposed that they should receive Roman garrisons into their cities, the greater part of the assembly expressed the highest indignation⁶¹; and the embassadors, who saw it would be in vain to contend against so general an opposition, had the prudence to desist.

the Acarnanians;

⁶¹ Livy (L. xliii. c. 17.) has given some account of this transaction, but in a very slight and cursory manner. However, what he mentions of the opposition made to the article of *garrisons* in the Acarnanian convention, is remarkable: "Pars," his words are, "recusare, ne quod bello captis et hostibus mos esset, id pacatae et sociarum civitates ignominiae acciperent."



BOOK
VII.
Sect. I.

THESE proceedings need no comment. They clearly de-
veloped the Roman character at this period. And shew what
powerful aids Macedon might still have drawn from Greece,
had not Perseus been wanting to himself and to his cause.

Quintus
Marcius Phi-
lippus elect-
ed consul,
and appoint-
ed to conduct
the Macedo-
nian war.

THE conduct of the war now devolved on Quintus Mar-
cius Philippus, the *trusty friend* by whom Perseus had been
circumvented; who, with Q. Servilius Caepio, had been
elected to the consulship. His setting out had an appear-
ance of vigour that promised great things; his necessary le-
vies were completed with unusual expedition; and by the
first opening of the spring he had already joined the army
in Thessaly. The commencement of his operations was
equally spirited. Ambitious of succeeding where the pre-
ceding commanders had failed, and sensible, that the arti-
fice which he had practised before, could not avail him again,
he staked all his hopes on boldness and enterprise; declaring
himself resolved to force his way⁶² through some of those
formidable barriers, which had hitherto defied the Roman
arms. Upon enquiry, he was told there were three passes
where he might possibly succeed; one by the way of Py-
thium, another by the Cambunian mountains, where Hosti-
lius had failed, and a third by the lake Ascuris. For
some part of the way, one common road led to all, which
afterwards branched into three, each leading to one of the
above mentioned passes. Undetermined which to choose,
he nevertheless began his march, purposing to form his
plan according to the discoveries he should make as he
advanced. Being arrived at the place where the road di-

⁶² See Liv. . xlv. c. 2, & seq.

vided,



vided, he detached, for what reasons we are not told, a body of four thousand men under two commanders, one of them his son, to attempt the pass by the lake Asciris; halting with the rest of the army, until he had intelligence of the event.

BOOK
VII.
SECT. I.

THE road through which this detachment had to march, was rugged, steep, and worn into channels by the mountain-floods; so that after two days incessant labour, they had scarcely proceeded fifteen miles. At length, on the evening of the second day they gained the top of a hill, where they ventured to encamp; and the ensuing morning, having moved on about seven miles farther, they reached the summit of another mountain, from whence they could descry one of the enemy's stations about a mile from them, and at a farther distance, Dium, the camp of Perseus, with all that part of the Macedonian coast that is washed by the gulph of Thessalonica. Advice was immediately dispatched to the consul, who, fortunately for them, was already on his march; anxious to know the fate of his men, whom, inconsiderately enough, he had ventured into the midst of the enemy's posts, defiles, and hollows, to which they were strangers. No sooner were the army somewhat recovered from their fatiguing march, than Marcius prepared to drive the Macedonian party from the post, without which it was impossible for him to advance. The Macedonians were not less ready to receive them. The party which Hippias commanded was twelve thousand strong; and having only a mountain's summit to defend, where he knew every advantage of ground, and where only a few combatants could engage, he was more than a match for the Romans; who were repulsed. On the second day they re-

He attempts
the Macedo-
nian fron-
tier;

attacks a
Macedonian
post without
success.



BOOK VII. renewed the attack; and in like manner on the third; but still without success.

Sect. I.

Perilous situation of the Roman army;

folly of Perseus in not advancing against them.

THE consul saw his critical situation. It was impossible for his army to subsist on the sharp ridge of a barren mountain. He could not advance: and to retreat was highly dangerous, from the nature of the road, through which he must pass, and from the enemy's commanding the mountain-heights, from whence they might pour down destruction on him and his army. It is scarcely conceivable, that at this critical conjuncture, Perseus should have shewn that imbecillity of conduct, of which he appears to have been guilty. Had he done what was in his power, had he supported Hippias, or endeavoured to cut off Marcius's retreat, the Romans themselves confessed their ruin had been inevitable. Instead of this, though during the three days that the engagement lasted, he was so near the scene of action as probably to hear the shouts of the combatants, he employed himself in parading along the shore at the head of his cavalry, without sending the smallest reinforcement up the mountain.

Marcius ventures down from the mountain;

MARCIUS, however, resolved not to return back, but at all hazards to descend the mountain, and endeavour to penetrate into Macedon through the glen below, leaving Popilius with a party of the army on the summit to cover his rear. This was an enterprize of infinite toil. The mountain was in many places exceedingly steep, and even where it seemed to be less abrupt, there was no sure footing to be found in those untrodden paths; so that the troops, rather than trust to their feet, for the most part rolled,



rolled themselves down. To add to the difficulty, the elephants refused the precipices, and became outrageous, throwing their riders, and scaring the horses with their hideous cries. During the general confusion which this occasioned, had only a small part of the enemy appeared, the consul himself acknowledged afterwards, there had been an end of the Roman army. After trying several expedients, it was contrived to let down these unwieldy animals by wooden platforms, one end of which was joined to the cliff, and the other end supported by posts fastened in the slope beneath; over the floor of the platform was spread a covering of earth, that the elephant might not be shy of venturing on it. As soon as he had gotten on the platform, the posts that upheld it being cut, he was made to slide off to a second, which began where the first ended; in like manner to a third; and so onward to the bottom. In this tedious and laborious employment was the whole day consumed. Towards night they reached a level spot, which, though they were ignorant where they were, or with what dangers they were still encompassed, was a circumstance which greatly relieved them, as they could now stand on firm ground. The morning light afforded them no better information. They found themselves in the hollow of a gloomy forest, through which it was impossible to descry what lay beyond. Here, however, they remained all that day, in order that Popilius, who had received directions to follow as soon as he safely could, might have time to join them. The two succeeding days they moved forward without meeting any obstruction, excepting what arose from the deep and wood-entangled glens through which they had to march; when at length their prospect opened into the cham-
paign.

with great
risque makes
his way to
the neigh-
bourhood of
the Macedo-
nian camp.



B o o k VII. Sect. I. paign country between Heracleum and Libethrum, a considerable way above the entrance into the streights of Tempe, and a few miles from Diium, where Perseus had his headquarters.

Terror of Perseus.

PERSEUS was bathing, when tidings were brought him that the Romans had passed the defiles, and were advancing. Every part of his conduct now betrayed his abject character. In an agony of fear he flung out of the bath, exclaiming he was vanquished without fighting; and, as if he gave up all for lost, instantly sent off orders to burn his naval stores at Thessalonica, and to throw his treasures at Pella into the sea; recalled Hippias from his post at the Asciris, and in like manner all the other commanders from the several passes where they were stationed; and, having removed on board his fleet the statues of Alexander's soldiers that were at Diium, abandoned that city to the enemy, and fled to Pydna. Even now, had there been the smallest firmness on his side, Marcius had paid the full price of his temerity. He had got beyond the pass of Asciris, and the streights of Tempe; but what did this avail him? Unable to advance, without a possibility of retreat; having no means of subsistence from the country in which he was, and cut off from all foreign supplies; he must, had Perseus continued only to guard the several passes, have inevitably perished. He could not have retreated by the way he had come; as the Macedonians were masters of that road, and with ease could have destroyed him from the heights, of which they were in possession. And, should he have attempted to penetrate farther into Macedon, the only opening

The dangers to which the Romans were exposed, had Perseus shewn firmness.



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opening into it from that quarter was by Dium, and that flanked on the one side by Mount Olympus, and on the other, partly by a dangerous morafs, and partly by the suburbs of the city, fo that only a narrow ftrait remained, where a fmall force was fufficient to difpute the paffage againft the moft formidable army. The fole refource, therefore, that he had left, was, to have returned into Theffaly through the vale of Tempe. But that was hardly to be effected. For the length of five miles the road through this vale was fo exceedingly narrow, that it was not poffible for two beafts of burden to pafs abreaft; and on each fide fo frightful was the precipice, that the traveller with averted eye fhrank from the tremendous profpect; below alfo rolled the Peneus, the ftunning noife of whose waters, tumbling over the rocky bottom, and broken into frequent falls, deepened wonderfully the horror of the fcene. In addition to all this, the Macedonians had forts and entrenchments ftrongly garrifoned at all the important pofts along the valley. So that had not Perfeus weakly given up every advantage which he poffeffed, he had now the enemy at his mercy. But the unthinking temerity of the conful, fay the Roman writers, found its apology in the *pusillanimity* of the king⁶³. Whatever Marcius's folly was, luckily for him, it was conspicuously outdone by the king's fuperior imbecillity.

THE conful, in amazement that the Macedonians had evacuated Dium, entered the city with great caution, apprehenfive, that under fo ftrange an appearance of timidity,

The Roman
conful enters
Dium:

⁶³ " Quae temeritas confulis videri potuiffet, quod èo processiffet, unde invito hoſte regredi nequiret, eam non inconfultam audaciam. (rex) fecit."—Liv. L. xlv. c. 6.

ſome



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pushes on
northward :

finds himself
in distress :

abandons all
his con-
quests.

some hostile ambuscade must be concealed. His wonder increased when he saw the strength of the place, and what a stand might have been made there, had it been properly defended. From Diium he pushed on northward with the same success; the Macedonians every where submitting as he approached. But though he had no enemy to oppose him, he soon found, that he had advanced farther than prudence could justify. The country was poor; and as he proceeded farther north, it became every day more difficult to procure provisions. His fleet also, which he had ordered to follow, and on which he depended for the support of his army, disappointed his expectations; it had arrived off the coast, but the store-ships, by some mistake, had remained at Magnesia. At last, when at the height of distress, he received advice from Lucretius, that the Macedonians had abandoned all their posts in the streights of Tempe, and had left plenty of provisions behind them; and that sufficient supplies should, with all possible expedition, be hastened forward to his relief. But whether Marcius began to fear, that the necessities of his army might provoke them to mutiny; or that the Macedonians, recovering from their panic and dejection, might intercept the supplies, and perhaps cut off his retreat; he immediately marched to Phila, near the entrance of the vale, where he had reason to suppose the provisions were by this time arrived; thus abandoning all his conquests with the same rapidity with which he had acquired them. Whatever induced this extraordinary step, it fixed a considerable blemish on his military character⁴⁴.

⁴⁴ Liv. L. xlv. c. 2.

PERSEUS



PERSEUS now saw, with shame and regret, what his terror had not permitted him to see before, "that to his own spiritless conduct the Romans owed their preservation;" and having returned to Dium, and repaired what the Romans had dismantled, he encamped on the Enipeus, five miles to the south of that city, with a design to cover this part of Macedon from farther insult. What mortified him most, were the orders he had given concerning his treasures at Pella, and his naval stores at Thessalonica; they were a confession of fears, which at present he was unwilling to avow, and he resolved, at any rate, to wipe off the reproach.

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Perseus stung with shame at his own misconduct:

THE persons he had employed in this service, were Andronicus and Nicias; the one had been sent to Pella, the other to Thessalonica. Nicias, punctual to the directions which he received, had caused the treasures to be sunk in the sea. Andronicus, suspecting that his master would soon repent, had delayed the destruction of the stores until farther orders. To have, or not to have obeyed, Perseus considered as equally criminal, and put both his agents to death. To recover the treasure, he procured divers, who brought up the greater part of it. They met with the reward of Nicias and Andronicus; the tyrant vainly imagining, that all remembrance of his pusillanimous conduct would be obliterated, by destroying those who had it more immediately in their power to discover it⁶⁵.

the cruel manner in which he seeks to wipe off the reproach.

THE remainder of the operations of the year did little towards restoring honour to the Roman arms. The

The consul does nothing else considerable:

⁶⁵ Liv. L. xlv. c. 10.



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Sect. I.

only town the consul was able to take, was Heracleum, a place of no great consequence, and which the Macedonians, though their camp on the Enipeus was within sight of it, made no motion to relieve. He next attempted certain cities on the Thermaic gulph, Thessalonica, Torone, Cassandrea, with Meliboea and Demetrias on the confines of Thessaly; but all without effect; the whole of his achievements, amounting to some tumultuary depredations, in one of which he was even repulsed with considerable loss.

meanly prevents succours being sent to Appius.

His conduct in relation to Appius Cento the praetor, was not less disreputable. Appius commanded in Illyricum, and, finding the superiority of the enemy, had applied to the Achaeans for succours. The Achaeans had before sent Polybius to the consul, with an offer of marching a body of troops to his aid⁶⁶, which, probably despairing of making any impression on the Macedonian frontier, he had refused; and such was his illiberal spirit, he would not permit Appius to be reinforced from that quarter, notwithstanding his application and present necessity, that he might not be in a better condition than himself. The case was delicate. It was of importance to the Achaeans, to be considered as the faithful allies of the Romans. And the situation of the Roman commander required instant relief. Polybius, artfully enough, contrived to elude the praetor's application, and withal to affect the highest respect for Rome. He represented to the Achaean states, that by the senate's late edict, they were not to pay regard to any requisition made by a Roman commander, unless that requisition appeared to have

⁶⁶ See Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

the



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the sanction of the senate. Appius had no such sanction to produce; and therefore his demand could not be complied with.

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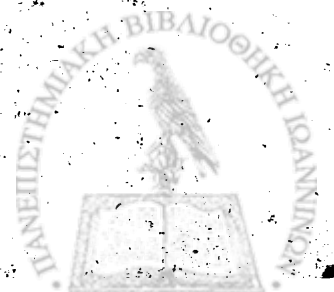
THE consequences of the consul's mean jealousy, proved nearly fatal to Appius; for history⁶⁷ informs us, that with the utmost difficulty he escaped being cut off by the enemy.

⁶⁷ Liv. L. xlv. c. 20.



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B O O K VII.

SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

Lucius Aemilius Paulus elected consul, and appointed to conduct the Macedonian war—restores and improves the discipline of the Roman army, which had suffered from the mismanagement of the preceding commanders—advances against Perseus—forces him from his entrenchments on the Peneus—engages, and defeats him at Pydna.—Perseus flies to Pella—to Amphipolis—to Samothrace—surrenders himself to the Roman admiral—is brought to Rome—produced before the triumphal car of the victorious Roman, and dies in wretchedness.—Humiliation of Macedon under the Romans—their inhuman treatment of the people of Epirus—the people of Aetolia—and most of the other Grecian states.—Cruel designs entertained by them against Achaia, not carried into execution—for what reasons.

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THREE years and upwards had the Roman arms been employed against Macedon, to little advantage. At Rome, the fault of this dilatory and unsuccessful war was altogether imputed to the incapacity or the corruption of the



the several commanders, to whom the conduct of it had hitherto been intrusted; and it was now the general voice of the people, that, regardless of the intrigues of ambition, some person should be called forth to this service, whose known abilities and integrity merited the public confidence¹. In Lucius Aemilius Paulus they seemed to have found the man whom they were seeking; son to the consul Aemilius Paulus, who had refused to survive the carnage of his countrymen on the fatal day of Cannae: He had been consul fifteen years before, and in the discharge of that office, as well as the other offices through which he had passed, was conspicuous both for military skill and unblemished honour. But having stood a second time for the consulship without success, he had retired from public life, untainted by the contagion of dissipated manners, which began to be the disgrace of the Roman nobility. His only reproach was, that he had divorced his wife Papiria, a lady unexceptionable in her conduct, and descended from one of the noblest families in Rome. She had lived with him many years in wedlock, and had brought him several children, two of them sons, who promised to be the ornaments of their illustrious house. At the same time it must be confessed, that this was not so much the reproach of Aemilius as of the times; the Roman law and manners, by the free permission of divorces, having now entirely levelled that important fence of domestic happiness and national virtue, reverence for the marriage bond². He made,

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Lucius Aemilius Paulus;

his character:

¹ Plutarch in Paul. Aemilio.

² How lightly the Romans accounted the marriage-compact, we may judge from an anecdote mentioned by Plutarch (in Paul. Aemilio). A certain Roman had



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made, however, some amends to his young family, for the loss which they sustained in being deprived of their mother, by the extraordinary care he bestowed on their education. Removed from the bustle of the world, he gave up his whole attention to the cultivation of their minds, superintending their studies and exercises with the most watchful tenderness and attention. At this period Aemilius was in his sixtieth year, but still in the full vigour of body and mind; and from his natural firmness and severity of manners, was well qualified to correct that licentiousness of the Roman soldiery, to which the late relaxation of discipline had afforded much encouragement.

is appointed to the consulship, and the conducting of the Macedonian war;

AEMILIUS having been prevailed on to appear among the candidates, was elected consul by the unanimous suffrages of all the tribes; and, if we are to believe Plutarch, immediately upon his election was appointed to the command in Macedon, without suffering the lots to be cast³, as generally was the custom in the disposal of provinces.

his judicious precautions.

THE spirited and judicious manner in which he entered on the department assigned to him, shewed, that their choice had not been misplaced. Report had made very unfavourable representations of the situation of the Roman affairs in Greece. But report was not to be trusted. He therefore

had divorced his wife, and being pressed by the expostulations of his friends, who asked, *was she not fair? was she not chaste? was she not fruitful?* holding up his shoe to them, replied, *is it not handsome? is it not new? yet none know where it pinches but he that wears it.*

³ Livy (L. xliv. c. 17.) says otherwise.

obtained



obtained of the senate, that commissioners⁴ should be sent thither, with orders to enquire minutely into the state both of the fleets and armies on service in the Macedonian war; what progress the land-forces had made; what magazines they had established, and how they were supplied; what posts and places of strength they were masters of; how near they were to the enemy; what allies the Romans had, and how far these allies were to be depended on.

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THE report of the commissioners fully explained why so little had been done'. The late consul Marcius, they said, had, with the utmost risque, passed certain defiles, which he might as well not have passed. The Romans, it is true, were in sight of the Macedonian camp; but besides that the Macedonians had the command of all the country, Perseus, who was posted on the Enipeus, seemed unwilling to hazard an engagement, and to force him to it was not in the power of his enemies: thus were the Romans hemmed in on all sides, without a possibility of attempting any thing, and with provisions for only six days. The condition of the Roman fleet was equally bad; disease had carried off a great number of the seamen; most of those who had survived, had deserted; and the few that remained on board, had neither subsistence nor even cloathing. The situation of Appius Cento in Illyricum, was still more wretched; a strong and immediate reinforcement being necessary to prevent a Roman commander from owing his safety to *flight!*

The distress-
ful state of
the Roman
affairs in
Greece;

⁴ Liv. L. xlv. c. 18.

⁵ See Liv. *ibid.* c. 20.

AEMILIUS



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he endeavours to restore them.

AEMILIUS made it his first care, to recover every part of the Roman army under his command from this state of debility. Anicius the praetor was ordered into Illyricum with a large body of forces. Octavius, another of the praetors, was appointed to command the fleet. Aemilius himself hastened the necessary levies with all possible expedition; and in eleven days from the time of his leaving Brundisium, though on his way he stopped at Delphi to sacrifice, he was in person at the head of the army in Macedon.

Faults committed by Perseus.

BUT, whatever advantages Aemilius might obtain from these vigorous exertions, he derived more from the timidity and fordidness of Perseus⁶. During the winter, which had been uncommonly severe, whilst the Romans, hemmed in on every side, had scarcely the means of subsistence, and every road, excepting to the hardy and experienced native, was utterly impassable, the Macedonian king had not made the least attempt to drive his enemies from that part of the country, and to regain the streights of Tempe. A winter's campaign, to his Thracian auxiliaries a matter certainly of little difficulty or hardship, had probably completed the ruin of this part of the Roman army, and restored the king to the possession of all those important passes which in the phrenzy of fear he had abandoned.

WHAT is still more extraordinary, Perseus had at length prevailed on a tribe of the Bastarnae,⁷ from the banks of the Danube, to march to his assistance, by the promise of a

⁶ Liv. L. xlv. c. 20, ⁷ Liv. L. xlv. c. 26. Plutarch in Paul. Aemilio.

large



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large subsidy, ten pieces of gold to every horseman, five to every foot soldier, and a thousand to every chieftain; and they were already, to the number of ten thousand horse and as many foot, within seventy miles of the Macedonian camp. When the king saw that he must part with his money, his predominant passion interfered; and in hopes of putting off the payment, or perhaps of eluding it, he sent Antigonus with splendid presents to the leaders, and the strongest assurances, that they should find plenty of provisions and every kind of refreshment prepared for them, on their march. But, barbarians as they were, they were not to be so trifled with. Clondicus their leader, immediately demanded of Antigonus, "Have you also brought the promised subsidy?" who returning an evasive answer, "Let your master then know," replied the barbarian, "that the Bastarnae shall not advance one step farther, until the stipulated gold is paid down to them." The sole expedient that now occurred to Perseus, was, at least to save a portion of his darling treasure, by taking into pay a part only of the auxiliaries; pretending to his lords, that they might prove dangerous inmates, should so large a body be permitted to enter Macedon. Antigonus was again dispatched, to inform Clondicus, that his master had only occasion for five thousand horsemen. This prevaricating proposal was answered with a cry of indignation from the whole army: "However," said Clondicus, "have you brought the gold for these five thousand, whom you demand?" when, perceiving by the confusion of Antigonus, what the case was, he turned from him with indignant rage, instantly commanded his troops to move homeward, and in revenge, as well as for subsistence,

his sordid
treatment
of the Bastar-
nae.



B o o k marked his return with ravage and desolation. It was extraordinary, that Antigonus was not made the victim of their fury. **VII.** His escape, as Livy tells us, was more than he himself expected. These barbarians, it seems, of whose manners we are apt to conceive very injurious ideas, respected the sacred character with which Antigonus was invested, notwithstanding the perfidiousness they had experienced from his master. **Sect. 2.**

The loss sustained by him in consequence of it.

THE return of the Bastarnæ proved an irreparable misfortune to Perseus. They were, Plutarch informs us; the finest body of men Macedon had ever seen. In stature, in activity, agility of body, and expertness at every kind of martial exercise, they were not to be excelled; while energy was given to all these advantages, by an uncommon boldness of spirit and contempt of danger. The occupations of navigation, agriculture, and pastoral life, being accounted disreputable among them, to fight and to conquer was their only object. Had the whole of this fierce emigration therefore been permitted to advance, and been employed in spreading devastation through Thessaly, whilst Perseus, by maintaining his post on the Enipeus, kept the consular army at bay, the Romans, Livy acknowledges, had with difficulty escaped.

* The learned reader will recollect, that the sacking of Rome by the Celtic tribes from Gaul, was occasioned by the violation of the rights of nations, of which the Roman ambassadors had been guilty: these ambassadors had been sent to the Gaulish camp before Clusium, to deprecate the destruction of that neighbouring city; but not succeeding in their suit, they departed from the character of ministers of peace, and fought under the Clusian banners; provoked at which, the Gauls instantly raised the siege, and marched to Rome.

THE



THE same sordidness of temper prevailed through all the transactions of this weak and impolitic prince. He might at this time have gained the friendship and assistance of Eumenes; but he lost both by his avarice. That king, long the zealous friend of Rome, was said to be disgusted by certain insults, which he had received from the haughty Marcius⁹; and he began perhaps also to perceive, what he himself might expect from this formidable power, which he was aiding to advance to universal dominion. He entered therefore into a secret negotiation with Macedon¹⁰. On the payment of a thousand talents, he offered to withdraw his assistance from the Romans; and for fifteen hundred, to oblige them to conclude a peace; engaging at the same time to give sufficient hostages for the performance of his stipulations. The bargain to Perseus was highly advantageous; but with him, the difficulty was, to part with his money. He was willing enough to promise; but Eumenes, from experience of the man, was unwilling to place confidence on such unsolid grounds. After much negotiating, little to the honour of either party, Perseus consented to pay down the sum required, provided it was deposited in the temple at Samothrace, until Eumenes should fulfil his engagements. But this island being subject to Perseus, Eumenes considered it as perfectly the same, whether the money were in the coffers of the Macedonian king or in the temple at Samothrace: and thus the negotiation proved abortive¹¹.

Negotiates with Eumenes, and loses him by his avarice.

⁹ Liv. L. xlv. c. 13.

¹⁰ Liv. *ibid.* c. 25.

¹¹ Some time after, the Romans discovered the intended treaty, and never forgave Eumenes for the share he had in the transaction.



B O O K VII. Sect. 2. **B**UT the baseness of the Macedonian monarch appears most conspicuous in his treatment of Gentius the Illyrian¹³. The district of Illyricum which he reigned over, was washed on its western extremity by the Adriatic, on the eastern it was divided from Macedon by a ridge of mountains, and it extended southward to that part of Illyricum which the Romans claimed by right of conquest. The situation therefore of this prince rendered him to Rome, as well as to Macedon, a convenient friend or a troublesome enemy. Perseus and the Romans had both sought his alliance; but his inclination led him to the Macedonian interest; which he offered to join, on payment of three hundred talents. Perseus, however, had hitherto protracted the negotiation, in hopes of bringing him down to lower terms. But the present emergency would not admit of a longer delay. Peace, he saw, was not now to be obtained; and two envoys had at this very time arrived at the court of Gentius, in order to put the finishing hand to an alliance between Illyricum and Rome. In this situation Perseus had recourse to a stratagem. He agreed to the terms of Gentius, and desired that his ambassadors might attend to receive the subsidy, and to swear to the due performance of the treaty; when he ordered the three hundred talents to be delivered to them; and in order to give the greater solemnity to the act, the treaty was executed in presence of his whole army. It was now proper, that messengers should be sent to the Illyrian king with an account of the transaction; and as the weight of treasure would have prevented the necessary dispatch, they took with them only ten talents, leaving the remainder sealed up with the signets of

His mean and
perfidious
dealing with
Gentius.

¹³ Liv. L. xlv. c. 27. Plutarch in Paul. Aemilio.

the



the Illyrian embassadors, to be delivered to confidential persons, who were to convey it without delay. Gentius entertained no suspicion; the money he was told was on the way; and, as a proof of his attachment to Macedon, he immediately seized and imprisoned the Roman envoys. This was the very thing that Perseus had in view. "He has now," said he, "advanced too far to recede; and should he even repent, it is impossible the Romans should forgive him." Exulting in the success of his scheme, he commanded the money to be stopped. This despicable policy, however, produced no advantage to Perseus. It sacrificed, on the contrary, an ally, by precipitating the ruin of Gentius. This wretched prince, by the perfidy of the Macedonian king, losing both his crown and his liberty; Anicius, the Roman praetor, having soon after attacked him, reduced his whole kingdom, and carried him, with all his family, into captivity.

Gentius undone by it.

THIS transaction strongly marks the character of Perseus: Gentius indeed appears, from history, to have been a prince of a very unamiable character¹³; being a violent, merciless tyrant, rendered still more brutal by intemperance, to which he was much addicted. He stands charged with having sacrificed to caprice or jealousy, some of his most valuable subjects, and with having even imbrued his hands in the blood of his brother, whose virtues he probably considered as his own reproach. But however unworthy of our pity the Illyrian may have been, the conduct of Perseus was not the less impolitic and unprincipled.

Character of this Illyrian prince.

¹³ See Liv. L. xlv. c. 30.

HAD



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HAD



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The Greek
and Asiatic
states well
affected to the
interests of
Macedon :

Perseus ne-
glects to im-
prove these
favourable
dispositions.

Activity of
Aemilius ;

his attention
to the disci-
pline

HAD the king of Macedon adopted a more manly and more liberal system; had he made a proper use of the wealth and other resources of which he was still master, the Romans had found his overthrow a work of infinite difficulty. Had he been brave, generous, and honest, not only mercenaries, but voluntary succours had poured into him from every quarter. Most of the Grecian states secretly wished him success, well knowing, that in the fortune of Macedon was involved the fate of Greece. The Asiatics, in like manner, whatever connections many of them appeared to have with Rome, could not, without the most painful apprehensions, look forward to the probable consequences of the extinction of the Macedonian power. Even Prusias of Bithynia¹⁴, the most servile of the Roman vassals, had ventured to remonstrate, by his ambassadors, against the continuance of the war. The Rhodians did more: they required both the Romans and the Macedonian king to lay down their arms, threatening to declare war against whichever power should refuse to adopt pacific measures. But such was the folly of this prince, that every resource which might have contributed to his safety, was either rejected or misemployed; and he was at last deserted by all, only because he was the first to desert himself.

THE presence of Aemilius gave new vigour to the Roman arms. He began by improving their discipline¹⁵. The advanced posts had been permitted the use of shields, from which many inconveniences had arisen. Trusting to this defensive armour, they were often less watchful of the ap-

¹⁴ Liv. L. xlv. c. 14.

¹⁵ Liv. *ibid.* c. 33. Plut. in Paul. Amelio.

proach



proach of the foe ; and even ventured to stand and skirmish, when their duty was to have retreated, and alarmed the posts behind them. They had frequently been found reclined on their shields asleep ; and the gleaming of the brass had been known to discover them to the enemy : the consul, therefore, gave directions, that when employed on this duty, they should leave their shields ¹⁶ behind them. It had been the custom also, to give out the daily orders aloud to the whole army ; hence the pretence, that they had not been heard distinctly, afforded an excuse, or at least a palliation for every failure in duty ; and what was still more dangerous, no sooner had the orders been delivered out, than the enemy generally was apprised of them. The consul, therefore, gave it in command, that thenceforth the military tribunes should whisper their orders to the first centurion, he to the officer under him, and so on, until every person had received them. At the same time, notwithstanding the severity with which these regulations were enforced, the attention he paid to every thing which could contribute to the security or refreshment of the troops, endeared him to them all. At his arrival, they were in great want of water, which, in this climate, and at this season of the year ¹⁷, was exceedingly distressing ; and those who had been sent to look out for some, reported, that none but brackish water was to be found. The verdant and leafy summits of the mountains around, induced Aemilius, nevertheless, to pronounce, that

and wants of
his army :-

¹⁶ Plutarch says, their *pikes* also were left behind, that they might guard the more against sleep, when they were sensible that they had nothing to defend themselves.

¹⁷ It was now midsummer.



BOOK VII. Sect. 2. in numbers to the Roman army; and his men, fighting as they now would, in defence of their altars and their families, those pledges which every generous mind holds most dear, and animated besides by the presence of their sovereign sharing every danger with them, would certainly exert a vigour that could hardly fail of proving victorious. Ashamed, though probably not convinced, he assumed a more resolute countenance, and commanded his army to form under the walls of Pydna; where, soon after, Aemilius appeared in order of battle, having been previously joined by the detachment from the mountains.

Aemilius advances against him;

but defers fighting until the ensuing day;

and on what account.

NASICA, flushed with his late success, urged the consul to begin the attack instantly¹². But the Macedonians were refreshed, while the Romans were fatigued and almost parched with drought after their precipitate march through sandy roads, exposed to the sultry heat of the mid-day sun. "Young man," replied the consul, "at your years I should have thought as you do; at mine, you will act as I shall:" and having given directions to mark out the ground for incamping, and to inclose it with a ditch and rampart, he ordered the rear to move into it, as soon as it was completed; the front ranks still presenting an unbroken face to the enemy, until the rest of the battalions having successively quitted the field, they also fell back in like manner without confusion, though in the presence of an embattled foe: a remarkable instance of the excellence of Roman discipline.

¹² See Liv. L. xlv. c. 36. Plutarch in Paul. Aemilio.



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THE ensuing night, there happened an eclipse of the moon²⁰. The Roman soldiers were apprized of it; the tribune Sulpicius Gallus having foretold it to the consul, and, with his permission, to the whole army. But in the Macedonian camp it occasioned the greatest dismay. This phaenomenon they were accustomed to view with terror; and they now considered the darkening of the lunar orb as a sure presage of the extinction of the glory of Macedon.

Eclipse of the moon;
different effects it had on the Roman and Macedonian soldiery.

NEXT morning the two armies were drawn out in order of battle; but, however spirited and determined in appearance, probably rather for the purpose of observing each other's motions, than with any serious intentions to engage²¹; the consul as well as the king betraying, in their whole conduct, much irresolution and anxiety. Early in the day Perseus withdrew from the field into Pydna, "to offer," he told his soldiers, "his supplications to Hercules;" a god, says Plutarch, who never hears the coward's prayer. Aemilius, more artfully protracted the time, sacrificing beast after beast, under pretence that the omens were not yet propitious, until, upon the slaying of the twenty-first victim, the aruspices had orders to announce to the army, "that the gods had promised them the victory, on condition they stood on the defensive." The Roman writers scruple not to acknowledge, that this language of piety was all an artifice devised by the consul himself. During the former part of the day, the Romans had the sun in their faces; Aemilius wished to defer engaging, until his declination

Battle of Pydna;

²⁰ Liv. L. xlv. c. 37. Plut. ubi sup.

²¹ Liv. ibid. c. 37, 40.



BOOK VII. Sect. 2. to the west had relieved his army from this inconvenience. The Macedonian phalanx, besides, was posted on advantageous ground, and presented to view such an impenetrable front of interwoven shields and pikes, as seemed to bid defiance to the most vigorous assault. Aemilius himself was wont to confess, that so strong was the impression which the sight of this formidable phalanx had made on his mind, that a certain terror always attended the recollection of that day. He was therefore desirous, that the Macedonians should begin the attack, in hopes they might break their ranks as they advanced.

brought on
by an unlook-
ed-for inci-
dent.

THESE were the reasons which the consul alleged for his conduct. Livy²², however, is of opinion, that his real purpose was to amuse and restrain the Roman soldiery, who were impatient of delay; and, at least for that day, not to have ventured a battle. At length, an unlooked-for incident²³ put an end to all farther hesitation. Towards three in the afternoon, some Thracian soldiers endeavouring to intercept a Roman convoy, or, according to others, to seize a horse that had escaped from the Roman to the Macedonian lines, a skirmish ensued, and large reinforcements being detached from both armies, the engagement soon became general.

AN exact detail of this battle is not at present to be obtained, as most part of the narrative, which Polybius and Livy had given of it, is long since lost; the principal circumstances, however, may be gathered from the few facts which Plutarch and the later historians have preserved.

²² Liv. L, xlv, c. 40.

²³ Plutarch in Paul. Aemilio.



It began in a manner that threatened utter discomfiture to the Romans. Having attempted to make an impression on the front of the Macedonian phalanx, the length of whose pikes rendered it impossible for the Roman soldiers to reach the enemy with their swords, their first line was broken, and cut in pieces; and the second, discouraged by the fate of their companions, declined the charge, and retreated. Could this body of Macedonian infantry now have pushed on, without losing that compact form and solidity which constituted its strength, the fate of the Roman army had been at once decided. The consul's presence of mind saved them from destruction. He immediately ordered his men to divide into small platoons; and, instead of rushing against this dangerous rampart with unavailing intrepidity, to mark the several breaks and interstices into which the long-extended front must necessarily open as it advanced, from the irregularity of the ground, and the different exertions of the combatants; to penetrate between the pikes into those vacant spaces, and charge the enemy sword-in-hand. This manoeuvre had all the success that could have been expected. The instant a void space appeared, the Romans, piercing through it into the very heart of the phalanx, dealt destruction on every side. The pike, meanwhile, remained a cumbersome embarrassment in the hands of the Macedonian soldier; and the ranks, from their being wedged together, were slaughtered without the power of resistance. The Roman armour, besides, had considerable advantage over the Macedonian in close combat. The sword of the Macedonians was short, and their bucklers small and slight; the Romans, on the contrary, had shields that covered them from head to foot, and swords ponderous, well-tempered, and of powerful execution.

The Romans
in danger at
the begin-
ning;

but obtain a
complete vic-
tory.

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AT the same time that discomfiture was thus spreading along the whole front of the phalanx, both the flanks and the rear were likewise successfully attacked. So that this formidable mass of warriors, which had lately so fierce an aspect, now exhibited one continued scene of disorder and carnage.

Young Cato's distress at losing his sword;

its effects fatal to the enemy.

THE victory was no longer doubtful, and the rage of battle was beginning to subside, when an unexpected event unhappily added to the slaughter of this bloody day. The younger Cato, son to the censor, and afterwards married to one of the consul's daughters, had lost his sword²⁴. After distinguishing himself in the attack on the phalanx by many acts of valour, it had sprung from his hand in the heat of action, and he had hitherto searched for it in vain. For a soldier to have returned without his sword, though he had even returned victorious, had been highly reproachful²⁵. He hurried from rank to rank, bewailing the disaster and imploring the assistance of every companion and friend. A considerable number soon joined him, and under his command, again rushed impetuously on the foe, relentless slaughter marking their way as they advanced; until at length they discovered the fatal sword under an heap of arms and dead bodies. Elevated with this success, they charged the few that remained unbroken, with redoubled ardour. Three thousand Macedonians, all chosen men, had hitherto kept their ranks; they were now cut off to a man. The rest of the army fled; but few escaped; neither flight nor darkness saving them from the Roman sword; the pursuit being eagerly continued during the night, for upwards of

²⁴ Plutarch, in Paul. Aemilio et in Catone.

²⁵ Excerpt. Polyb. L. vi. c. 25, fifteen



fifteen miles. The sides of the neighbouring hills were covered with the dead and dying; and the river Leucus, which the Romans passed the following morning, was even then tinged deep with blood ²⁶.

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If we are to believe Plutarch ²⁷, this important action was determined in less than one hour. It began, he tells us, at the ninth hour ²⁸, and before the tenth hour the Romans were in full possession of victory. The returns which he gives us of the dead, is not less amazing. Twenty-five thousand of the Macedonians fell; and of the Romans, one hundred at most; according to Scipio Nafica, only eighty ²⁹. It is also remarkable, that the auxiliary troops of the Macedonian king, and particularly the Thracian horse, who at the battle on the Peneus had done important service, and might have retrieved, perhaps, the fortune of the day, appear to have taken no share in the engagement ³⁰. Are we to suppose, that they had received the consul's gold? or that they disdained to fight for a prince who had not the spirit to fight for himself? We certainly have it on Livy's ³¹ authority, that the Bisaltae, a Thracian tribe to whom Perseus made appli-

Remarkable circumstances that attended this battle:

the Thracian auxiliaries desert.

²⁶ From this memorable day, the Macedonian phalanx seems to have been held in low estimation. It gained little credit at Cynoscephalae; but the battle of Pydna completely ruined its reputation.

²⁷ In Paul. Aemilio.

²⁸ The same with our three in the afternoon.

²⁹ The circumstances of this battle, as related by Plutarch, will suggest to the reader of reflection, many reasons for doubting the truth of this account.

³⁰ Liv. L. xliv. c. 42.

³¹ Ibid. c. 45.

cation



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Sect. 2. Thracians he had in pay, as soon as they had reached the
 banks of the Strymon, abandoned his service, and retired
 homeward.

Perseus flies
 to Pella;

IMMEDIATELY on the defeat of his army, Perseus, in terror, fled from Pydna, escorted by a considerable body of cavalry; but numbers of the Macedonian infantry, who were making their escape from the field, coming up, and insulting the horsemen, to whose cowardice and treachery they imputed the discomfiture, Perseus began to fear, that an affray would follow, in which he might possibly be involved. Apprehensive of the consequences, he struck off from the road into the thickest part of a wood, through which, with great difficulty, and with only a few attendants, he at length, about midnight, made his way to Pella.

his distraction
 and ferocity:

THE anguish of disappointed ambition, remorse, and terror, racked the tyrant's mind, and added to his natural ferocity. Euetus and Eudæus, two principal officers of his exchequer, having ventured to blame some part of his conduct, he stabbed them with his own hand²². Shocked and alarmed at this act of barbarity, his other lords refused to approach him; so that, not knowing where to hide himself, or whom to trust, he set off again from Pella before break of day, taking with him what treasure he could carry. The whole force he had now to attend him²³, consisted of three captains of auxiliaries (every Macedonian having de-

obliged to
 leave Pella;

abandoned
 by the Macedonians;

²² Plut. in Paul. Aemilio.

²³ Liv. ubi sup. c. 43. Plut in Paul. Aemilio.

ferted



ferred him) Evander the Cretan, Neon the Boeotian, and Archidamus the Aetolian, together with five hundred Cretan mercenaries, who had been allured by the hopes of sharing the treasure of which they saw him in possession. He suspected their motive; and, to save the rest, suffered them to carry off a number of vessels of gold and silver, which he had designedly caused to be scattered in their way.

THE third day after the battle, he entered Amphipolis³⁴, to as little purpose as he had entered Pella. He would have addressed the people, before whom he presented himself with his eldest son, in hopes of exciting their compassion, when a gush of tears stopping his utterance, he made signs to Evander to speak for him; but they unanimously refused to hear him, exclaiming with indignation, "Away, away, lest we also should be involved in ruin." Driven in this disgraceful manner from Amphipolis, he hastened to the sea-side, in order to pass over into Samothrace, where the reputed holiness of the place promised him, he imagined, a secure asylum. But anxious to save his treasure, not less than to save his life, he could not think of leaving with the Cretans what his fears had induced him to disperse among them. Among the vessels which they had carried off, he told them, were certain vases which had belonged to Alexander the Great, for which, if restored, they should receive the most ample recompence. The Cretans of those days are said to have surpassed all the nations of the earth in fraud and artifice: they were, nevertheless, overmatched on this occasion. Depending on his royal

flees to Amphipolis,

and is driven from thence;

seeks to escape to Samothrace;

over-reaches his Cretan mercenaries.

³⁴ Liv. L. xlv. c. 45.



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word, they restored to Perseus most of the vases he required, to the amount of thirty talents; but he forfeited his promise: they received nothing in return.

Total revolution throughout Macedon.

By this time, a total revolution had taken place throughout Macedon, one of the most rapid recorded in the page of history. In fifteen days after Aemilius had begun to put his army in motion, all that formidable armament under Perseus was broken and dispersed; and in two days after the defeat at Pydna, the whole country had submitted to the consul. This extraordinary change, effected so soon and with so much facility, Plutarch³⁵ seeks to ascribe to some miraculous interposition of the gods, exerted in favour of Rome; "that a people, hitherto eminent for the love they bore to their kings, should now, as if the chief bulwark of their constitution were overthrown, and all were fallen with it, have at once given up all thoughts of resistance, and have renounced their native and kindred princes!" But the cause is easily discovered in the conduct of Perseus himself. The pusillanimity, the cruelties, and sordidness of this unhappy prince, had lost him that affection which he certainly possessed in the beginning of his reign, and from which a wise and virtuous king had derived strength and security. But even a foreign yoke seemed now, to the Macedonian nation, more tolerable than the domination of a native tyrant, equally merciless and oppressive³⁶.

As

³⁵ In Aemilio.

³⁶ We are sometimes apt to question the character which the Roman writers have drawn of this prince, and to suspect, that the colouring has been overcharged: but that he should have been thus abandoned by his own subjects, forms a presumptive



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The Romans
pursue Per-
seus to Sa-
mothrace :

As soon as it was known that Perseus had fled to Samothrace, the praetor Octavius sailed thither in pursuit of him³⁷. Perseus had taken shelter in the temple of Castor and Pollux. The difficulty was, how to draw him from thence without violating the privileges of a sanctuary, held in the highest reverence by the pagan world. Evander had accompanied him; and the Romans availed themselves of this circumstance. The priests to whom the superintendency of the island belonged, were asked, whether it was not a defilement of the sacred ground, that a polluted person should there find a retreat? and why this holy asylum was permitted to Evander, the assassin of king Eumenes, and the impious profaner of the Delphic temple? Perseus, who soon had notice that Evander was not to be protected, felt, with excruciating agony, the consequences of his being delivered up. The king had not one guilty secret, to which this worthless associate was not privy; and in the hands of the Romans, the hopes of life might tempt him to reveal all. Apprehensive of the event, he endeavoured to persuade Evander to prevent, by a voluntary death, the tortures that certainly awaited him, should the Romans once have him in their power. The Cretan seemed convinced, and agreed to poison himself; but the king perceiving that he procrastinated, and beginning to fear that he meditated an escape, procured him to be murdered; and corrupted Theondas, chief of the Samothracian priests, to report that he died by his own hands.

the dastardly and perfidious arts he has recourse to :

tive evidence against him, to which it is difficult to give an answer. Forfaken by a people, lately zealous in his service, it is hardly possible, but his administration must have been beyond measure oppressive.

³⁷ Liv. L. xlv. c. 5 & seq.



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This perfidious treatment of the unhappy instrument he himself had employed, and whose chief guilt it was, that he had too faithfully obeyed the orders of such a master, deprived Perseus of his few attendants that remained, almost all of them going over to the Romans. The Macedonian monarch had before this, solicited Aemilius³⁸ to accept his submission; but though this request was conceived in the most abject terms, the consul refused to listen to any proposal that was not accompanied with a resignation of the regal title. The only resource that now remained to this wretched prince, was to attempt an escape to the Thracian coast, and to implore the protection of Cotys his late ally. Oroandes, the captain of a Cretan vessel, who lay off Samothrace, had engaged to take him on board the ensuing night, when under favour of the darkness he might elude the vigilance of his enemies. He had accordingly caused his treasure to be shipped; but when he reached the shore, to his inexpressible mortification, Oroandes was already sailed with all his wealth. Thus bereaved of his treasure, and exposed to his enemies, he wandered disconsolate for some hours along the beach, and was forced, at the approach of morning, to shrink back to his sanctuary, which with difficulty he reached before the Romans could prepare to intercept him. In addition to his misfortunes, Ion of Thessalonica, his chief favourite, to whose care he had intrusted the younger part of his family, now deserted also to the Roman admiral, to whom he delivered up all the royal children committed to his charge. Abandoned thus by all but his eldest son Philip, without a probability of escape, with-

finds it impossible to save himself, and surrenders to the Romans.

³⁸ Liv. L. xlv. c. 4.



out means even of subsistence, he was under the necessity of surrendering at last to Octavius, who immediately set sail with his prisoner to Amphipolis, and from thence transported him to the consul's camp.

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AEMILIUS received the king³⁹ in a manner which, whatever Perseus deserved, did the victor little honour. The Macedonian, remarkably mean under every reverse of fortune, approached with the most abject servility, bowing his face to the earth, and endeavouring, with his suppliant arms, to grasp the knees of Aemilius. "Why, wretched man," said the proud Roman, "dost thou acquit fortune of what might seem her crime, by a behaviour which makes it appear that thou deservest her indignation? Why dost thou disgrace my laurels, and detract from my glory, by shewing thyself an abject adversary, and unworthy of having a Roman to contend with? Courage in the unfortunate is revered even by an enemy, and cowardice, though attended with success, is, by the Romans, treated with contempt."

The behaviour of Aemilius.

THIS stern and humiliating address, which a more generous conqueror would have spared, he seemed afterwards to temper, by raising him from the ground, and bidding him, nevertheless, to hope every thing from the clemency of the Roman people. Of this boasted clemency, Perseus soon had the most bitter experience. A spectacle to his enemies in the streets of Rome, he was forced to adorn the victor's pomp, exposed, with all his family, before

³⁹ Plutarch in Paul. Aemilio.

the



Book VII. Sect. 2. the consul's triumphal car. With much earnestness he begged of Aemilius to save him from this ignominy: "It is in his own power to save himself," replied the obdurate Roman. The triumph ended, he was cast into a dank and dreary prison, the common receptacle of the meanest malefactors, and fed on the same allowance with these outcasts of society; until Aemilius, probably ashamed⁴⁰ of such excess of cruelty, procured his removal to a cleaner apartment, and took care he should be supplied with better food; but, unable to brook his almost unparalleled reverse of fortune, and the contempt with which he was treated, this wretched prince soon after starved himself to death. If we are to believe others, he ended his days in a manner yet more dreadful. The soldiers who guarded him, from some provocation which he had given, marked him as the object of their vengeance; and, finding no other means more effectual, contrived to hinder him from sleeping. They watched him by turns, and used such diligence to effect their purpose, that, worn out at last with want of rest, he expired. His eldest son Philip⁴¹ and one of his younger sons, are supposed to have died before him. Another son, Alexander, became so great a proficient in the Roman language, as to be able to discharge the office of a writing clerk; in which capacity he is said to have been employed by the chief magistrates of Rome.

Death of
Perseus.

Fate of his
family.

⁴⁰ Plutarch tells us, that those Macedonian nobles who were obliged to remove to Rome, found afterwards an active protector in Aemilius.

⁴¹ Livy (L. xlii. c. 52.) says he was his brother, and his son only by adoption.



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SUCH the uncertainty of human greatness! and such the close of the royal house of Macedon, once one of the most illustrious the world had ever seen, and whose empire seemed, by its strength and vigour, to promise stability for a length of ages! Perseus reigned eleven years. And from the death of Alexander the Great, to the final subversion of the Macedonian monarchy, one hundred and sixty years only had elapsed.

THE spirit of Rome appeared still more glaringly despotic in the settlement of Macedon⁴², and the policy she now observed towards the several states of Greece. Ten commissioners were appointed to assist the consul in arranging the Macedonian affairs; the principal outlines of which arrangement, had previously been traced out to them at Rome. In consequence of this plan, a new form of government took place throughout Macedon. The whole kingdom was divided into four districts; the inhabitants of each were to have no connexion, intermarriages, or exchange of possessions, with those of the other districts, but every part to remain totally separated and distinct from the rest. They were neither to fell timber themselves, nor to permit others to fell any. They were not to import salt; nor even where they had it in plenty, to export it, but under certain regulations laid down by their Roman masters. They were prohibited the use of arms, unless in those places which were exposed to the incursions of the barbarian borderers. They were permitted to work their iron and copper mines; but the working of those of gold and silver was strictly pro-

Settlement
and humilia-
tion of Ma-
cedon.

⁴² Liv. L. xlv. c. 29.

hibited;



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hibited; probably left the Macedonians, by thus acquiring wealth, should regain any portion of their former greatness. They were excluded from all share in the administration of government; some unimportant offices in the civil department excepted, which were delegated to certain municipal officers annually chosen by the Macedonian people. Whilst all the nobles of Macedon, all who had held any command in the king's fleets or armies; all governors of towns, and officers of his court; all, in a word, who had been in any shape distinguished by high birth, large possessions, elegant living, or any circumstance which raised them above the level of the vulgar, were ordered, with all their children above the age of fifteen, under pain of death, to leave their native land, and transport themselves into Italy⁴³.

Misrepresentations of the Roman writers in favour of Rome.

A MORE severe humiliation could hardly have been devised: indeed, a more complete debasement almost baffles imagination. Must we not then turn with disgust and indignation from those writers, who, after the narration of such facts, wish to convey the idea, that the Roman conquest bestowed liberty on Macedon? But it seems, that the overthrow of royalty, and the subjecting a kingdom to the far more oppressive yoke of a Roman senate, was, in the language of Rome, *to give liberty to a people*. In one point alone, the alteration seems at first sight to have been favourable to the conquered. They were to pay the Romans one half only of the taxes they were accustomed to pay to their kings. Had this indulgence been even meant as a relief, it had been a poor compensation for a dismembered

⁴³ Liv. L. xlv. c. 32.

kingdom,



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kingdom, bereaved of its chief strength by the expulsion of its noblest and most respectable families, and laid prostrate beneath a foreign yoke. But, in truth, even this diminution of taxes, in the present impoverished state of Macedon, far from being dictated by mercy, was the result of necessity. It was the utmost that Macedon could bear. The Roman consul had not only possessed himself of the numerous magazines and granaries which Perseus had erected throughout his territories, and plundered the royal palaces of all the rich furniture, precious vases, and other costly manufactures, in which they are said to have abounded; he had also drained the kingdom of its wealth, having every where seized on all the treasure he could find. The amount, there is reason to conjecture, must have been prodigious, as it appears, that the Romans themselves were industrious to conceal it, every one of their historians giving us a different account of the matter. From one circumstance, however, which we have on the authority both of Cicero⁴⁴ and Plutarch, some judgment may be formed. In consequence of the money brought into the treasury by Aemilius on his return from the Macedonian war, the Romans were exempted from taxation during the space of an hundred and twenty-five years⁴⁵.

Prodigious
value of the
plunder of
Macedon.

THE arrangement of the administration of government in Illyricum, was conducted on the same plan with that of Macedon.

⁴⁴ Tantum in aerarium pecuniae (Paulus) inexit, ut unius imperatoris praeda finem attulerit tributorum—says Cicero. De Off. L. ii. 22.

⁴⁵ Until the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa, who were consuls in the first war between Caesar and Antony.



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Triumphal
games ce-
lebrated by
the consul
at Amphi-
polis.

AEMILIUS concluded the settlement of Macedon with the celebration of triumphal games at Amphipolis⁴⁶; to which all the neighbouring nations both of Europe and of Asia were invited. The magnificence exhibited on this occasion surpassed, we are informed, all that this part of the world had ever seen. Besides the extraordinary pomp and elegance with which the various sports were introduced, and the richness of the prizes bestowed on the successful candidates, all the ornaments of gold and silver, with every thing precious, elegant, and rare, that had been found in the numerous palaces of the Macedonian princes, were ostentatiously displayed, and the scenery beautifully diversified with such prodigious quantities of curious armour, exquisite paintings, and finished statues, that the eye was not only filled, but dazzled with the variegated profusion. The consul prided himself in exhibiting these splendid marks of victory, and he was probably no less pleased with the opportunity of impressing on the different nations who witnessed them, an awful idea of the power of Rome, before which, an empire, seemingly so formidable, and provided with such ample means of strength and defence, had not been able to stand. The vast concourse of people that crowded to the sight, as well as the Roman armies in the neighbourhood, were all entertained, at the same time, by Aemilius, in the most sumptuous manner, from the stores which had lately belonged to the Macedonian king. And such was the abundant provision of all things, that these feasts were not only continued as long as the games lasted, but the guests were, at their departure, presented with whatever they chose to take

⁴⁶ Liv. L. xlv. c. 32, 33. Plut. in Paul. Aemilio.



away. In the midst of the different pompous pageants produced at this festival, was seen to arise an immense pile of various weapons and instruments of war, which at the close of the solemnity the Roman soldiers, upon a certain signal, set on fire and destroyed. These, it seems, were the least valuable part of the Macedonian arms, not worth the transporting to Rome, and improper to be left in the hands of a vanquished people.

FROM Amphipolis Aemilius directed his course to Epiro. The Epirots had submitted some time before; and those leaders who had been instrumental in promoting the alliance with Macedon, and who had not saved themselves by flight, had all fallen by the sword, or been delivered up to the Romans. The consul now gave out, that the Roman garrisons were immediately to be withdrawn from Epiro, and the whole country restored to the enjoyment of its liberties; and having summoned ten of the principal inhabitants from every town to attend him, commanded them to collect whatever silver or gold was to be found in their houses or temples, in order to be delivered, at an appointed day, to persons to be commissioned by him for that purpose. The requisition was punctually complied with: and, lulled into profound security, the Epirots fondly pleased themselves with the thought, that this heavy contribution was all the penalty they were to incur.

Treatment
of Epiro by
the Romans;

BUT they knew not the atrocity of Roman policy. Parties of soldiers⁴⁷, under various pretences, were dispatched to

⁴⁷ Liv. L. xlv. c. 34. Plut. in Paul. Aemilio.



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their per-
fidiousness
and cruelty.

their different towns so as to arrive about the same time ; with orders, that on the same day, and at the same hour, they should seize, for slaves, every native of Epire, level the walls of their cities, and totally despoil them of all they possessed. The gold and silver having, in obedience to the consul's commands, been accordingly brought in and delivered to the Roman officers, the signal was given, and an hundred and fifty thousand persons, unheard, unconvicted, unsuspecting, without any particular crime even alledged against them, were, at one instant, doomed to slavery, their dwellings given up to the spoiler, and all their towns, to the number of seventy, laid in ruins : a deed so horrid, and of such exceeding perfidy, that, to use the words of a judicious historian, *I should not believe it, had any one writer said to the contrary* ⁴⁹.

Barbarous
treatment
of the Acto-
lians.

PLUTARCH ⁴⁹ endeavours to exculpate Aemilius. This military execution, he would have us believe, was altogether contrary to the gentleness of his disposition : and he only yielded obedience to orders, which it was not in his power to control. Should this excuse be admitted, in what light must the Roman senate appear ! But from the manner in which Aemilius had just before treated the Aetolians, we are led to form of him a very different judgment. Violent disputes had for some time prevailed among the people of Aetolia, a great number of them having declared in favour of the

⁴⁸ Raleigh's History of the World.

⁴⁹ Plutarch says, Every soldier had only eleven drachmas to his share (somewhat more than seven shillings.) Livy says, That every horseman got 400 denarii (about 12l. 18s. 4d.) and every foot-soldier half that sum.

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Romans, whilst others were still for maintaining an opposition to a power, which they saw threatened ruin to the Aetolian liberties. Encouraged by the success of Aemilius in Macedon, two chiefs of the Roman faction⁵⁰, Lyfiscus and Tisippus, obtained from A. Baebius, the Roman commander in Aetolia, a body of soldiers; and surrounding the place where the convention of the Aetolian estates was held, fell unexpectedly on those in the contrary interest, and having put to the sword five hundred and fifty of the principal persons, banished the rest, and confiscated the possessions of them all. The matter was soon after laid before Aemilius; and the families of those who had perished, together with the unhappy exiles, made application to him for redress. His answer is memorable. The only question before him, he said⁵¹, was, "To what party the sufferers had belonged; if not friends to Rome, whatever they had suffered, they had suffered deservedly:" nor would he reverse the iniquitous decree. Yet so flagitious in the eyes of the Romans themselves was the barbarous deed, that this acquittal of the perpetrators of it, did not save Baebius; he was pronounced guilty of having debased the Roman soldiery, by making them the inhuman instruments of the perfidious massacre.

FROM Livy it appears, that this decision of the Aetolian cause, in which Rome seems indeed to have laid aside all disguise, completed the humiliation of most of the Grecian commonwealths. The creatures of Rome became now all-powerful in almost every place: they obtained possession of every magistracy; and the direction of every measure: whilst

Humiliation of Greece.

⁵⁰ Liv. L. xlv. c. 48.

⁵¹ Ibid. c. 31.



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those who presumed to vindicate their ancient liberties, or even to recommend temperate counsels, were marked out as harbouring treasonable designs against their Roman lords, or of having some secret connection with their enemies.

Tyrannical proceedings of the Romans throughout the Grecian States;

THE Romans, on their part, did every thing to confirm them in this servile dejection. Neon the Boeotian, and Andronicus the Aetolian, two persons of the first rank in their respective countries, had served under Perseus; they were both beheaded, as having departed from the allegiance they owed to Rome. Emissaries were dispatched throughout Boeotia, and all the adjacent states, with special instructions, to make inquiry concerning all who had favoured the Macedonian interest, and report them to Aemilius; when the accused were commanded immediately to attend him to Italy, in order to take their trial. This mode of inquiry was extended even to Asia. And it having appeared that Antissa, a city of Lesbos, had in the course of the late war received the Macedonian fleet into her harbour, and supplied them with provisions, Labeo was sent to exterminate the inhabitants, and to lay the place in ruins.

Achaia excepted;
whence this exception.

OF all the Grecian states, Achaia alone remained not yet totally subdued; having hitherto been exempted from this species of inquiry. The reasons of this apparent lenity, however, we are not to look for in the moderation of the Romans. A portion of the spirit of ancient days still animated that republic, from which they apprehended much opposition. And though even there they had gained over several leaders, who were prepared to betray the liberties of Achaia, it was necessary to proceed with great circumspection,



tion, lest the destruction of their own creatures should defeat the Roman designs. These considerations Livy³² himself mentions. He adds another consideration; which, for the honour of his country, a less candid historian had concealed. "After the severest scrutiny, not the least vestige was found of a correspondence having ever subsisted between any member of the Achaean body and the late king of Macedon." Accordingly, in order to ground an accusation, *invention* was to supply the place of *evidence*. On this account it was thought expedient, that some of the Roman commissioners should, in person, pass over into Achaia, and either by terror or subtilty, bring the Achaean diet to make concessions, of which advantage might be taken at some future period.

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Designs of
Rome against
the Achae-
ans.

THE dishonourable scheme was accordingly carried into execution; with what success, will be seen in the following pages.

³² See Liv. L. xlv. c. 31. See also Polyb. Legat. xciv.

HISTORY



HISTORY OF GREECE.

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S E C T I O N I.

C O N T E N T S.

Insidious designs of the Romans against Achaia.—The Achaean chiefs transported into Italy—with what views—and how treated.—Perplexed state of the Achaean councils—the perplexity encreased by the policy of Rome.—Affairs of Oropus.—The Achaeans take up arms against Sparta.—The Roman commissioners attempt to disunite Achaia from the several states not originally belonging to the Achaean body.—An insurrection is made at Corinth.—The Romans dissemble—and from what reasons.—New war in Macedon.—Andrifeus pretends to be the son of Philip—his success—and the termination of his fortunes.—Another pretender ascends the throne of Macedon—is overthrown—and escapes into Dardania.—A third pretender appears—is defeated—and slain.

ACHAI A, guiltless of any connection with Macedon, remained unsuspecting of the Roman machinations. Whatever jealousy she might have entertained of the designs of Rome against Greece, or however averse, in general, the Achaeans

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Cautious
councils of



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the Achaean
States.

Achaean might have been to the total overthrow of the Macedonians; yet the follies and the crimes of Perseus, with the apprehension of being involved in his ruin, had given a bias so different to the national councils, that, far from assisting that depraved and pusillanimous monarch, repeated offers had even been made to second the Roman operations in Macedon with the united strength of Achaia. But their innocence or guilt was a matter perfectly indifferent to the Romans. *Is Achaia formidable?* was the sole question at Rome.

Rome jealous
of Achaia;

THOUGH much fallen from her antient splendour, Achaia still maintained a respectable appearance. That form of government, which had been the foundation of her power, notwithstanding the wide breaches made by foreign cabals and domestic faction, still subsisted. She was at the head of the Peloponnesian states, and she possessed a territory well cultivated and populous. Her cities were numerous; and some of them, Corinth particularly, superbly ornamented with those works of magnificence and taste, which are considered as indications of opulence and power. All these, to a Roman eye, were objects of envy and of rapacious desire. The Achaeans were besides distinguished by their discipline, and that kind of warlike knowledge which experience alone can teach; while many of their leaders were equally conspicuous in the cabinet and the field. What rendered all these circumstances the more formidable to Roman jealousy and suspicion, was, that they could not be supposed to have beheld the fate of Macedon with an indifferent eye; and yet not the least trace was to be discovered of their having had any correspondence with Perseus; an alarming proof, according to the interpretation of

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Rome, of their well-concerted schemes, and of the art with which they were conducted.

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FRAUGHT with these impressions, C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus, the two Roman commissioners, who had Achaia for their department, entered the Achaean diet. The infamous Callicrates, whose perfidious practices against his country have been already recorded, had previously delivered to Claudius and his colleague a list of all those citizens who were most distinguished by their zeal for the liberties of Achaia, and from whom an opposition to Roman measures was of course to be expected. The commissioners accordingly opened their address to the diet with a complaint "That some of the first men of Achaia had acted in concert with Macedon." At the same time, they required that sentence of death should be immediately pronounced against them; and promised, that after sentence should be given, they would produce the names of the guilty. "After sentence is given!" exclaimed the assembly; "what sort of justice would that be? first name those whom you accuse, make good your charge, and we shall be ready to proceed against them."—"I name then," resumed the commissioner; "all those, who have borne the office of chief magistrate of Achaia, or have been the leaders of your armies."—"In that case," answered Xeno, a noble Achaean of eminent worth, "I also shall be accounted guilty, for I have commanded the armies of Achaia; and yet I am ready to make proof of my innocence, either here, or before the senate of Rome."—

sends commissioners to the Achaean diet.

Roman duplicity.

* See Polyb. Legat. 94. Liv. L. xlv. c. 31. Pausan. in Achaicis.



B o o k VIII. Sect. 1. " You say well," replied the subtle Roman, laying hold on his last words ; " Let the *senate of Rome* then be the tribunal, " before which you shall answer." A decree was accordingly obtained, by which all whom he should name were to be sent as delinquents to Rome, in order to answer for their conduct².

The Achaean chiefs transported into Italy;

THUS, by a sentence general, indiscriminate, arbitrary, and ill-founded, was the strength of Achaia, her noble leaders, her ablest and most faithful counsellors, in number above a thousand, transported into a foreign land. It was an act of oppression, says a Grecian writer³, beyond the most daring attempts even of Philip or Alexander, in the meridian of their power.

the principal cause of this iniquitous measure.

THIS transaction, so reproachful to Rome, exhibits the noble remains of virtue which still existed in the midst of Grecian degeneracy. Every other probable expedient to enslave, had doubtless been already tried by the Romans; and it was not, we may safely pronounce, till after the failure of all those arts of corruption, which they had practised with such fatal success throughout the other Grecian states, that they had recourse to a deed so repleté with unblushing and infamous oppression. What then must Achaia have been! that in this little corner of Greece, not three or four chosen spirits only, but upwards of one thousand patriots should have been found, whose integrity had remained unshaken amidst every

² OLYMP. CLIII. 1. BEFORE CHRIST 163.

³ Pausan. in Achaicia.

effort



effort of corruption, and every impresson of fear; who, unfeduced by the splendid offers of Rome, and un-intimidated by her arms, devoted themselves with a manly steadiness to the service of their country.

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THIS, as a famous historian * justly calls it, was truly *the captivity of Greece*. From the subsequent treatment of these illustrious prisoners, the designs of Rome appeared notoriously conspicuous. Instead of admitting them to an hearing, and instead of the smallest inquiry into the truth of the accusation, the senate imperiously decreed, that they should be dispersed through the cities of Etruria. This was to add cruelty to injustice, by depriving them of that mutual intercourse which alleviates the sorrows of the unfortunate. The only colouring they could give to these unjustifiable proceedings was, that their cause had been already heard, and their condemnation pronounced, by their own countrymen. Repeated deputations ⁵ were in vain sent from the Achaean states, disavowing this pretended trial, and requesting the senate to take cognizance of the matter. But these cares were ineffectual. The united power, however, of Roman influence and policy could not prove the prisoners to be guilty; and yet their acquittal was a measure which Rome was determined never to permit. The answer of the senate to one of these deputations, addressed to the chief magistrates of Achaia, has been preserved by Polybius ⁶. It betrays the whole secret, and discloses the shameless rapacity of Roman artifice. "It is neither advantageous for *you*," say the senate, (who, by

Cruel treatment of the Achaean exiles.

* Raleigh, History of the World.

⁵ See Polyb. Legat. 105. 122. 129. 130. 137. and Pausan. ub. sup.

⁶ Legat. 105.

the



BOOK VIII. Sect. 1. the removal of so many illustrious personages, are now at the head of the Achaean affairs) "nor for the good of your *people*," (whose wisest policy it is to submit in silence, and who might be raised to bolder hopes than we mean they should, were their high-spirited chieftains to be restored to them again) "that the exiles should be suffered to return into Achaia." Thus did the Roman fathers endeavour, at the same time, to work upon the hopes and fears of the Achaean magistrates, by reminding them, in this indirect manner, that the exile of their countrymen had placed them in the seat of power, and that a secure possession could only be insured by the absence of those illustrious citizens; whose return, with their superior talents, and influence in the state, would reduce *them* to their former insignificance, and rouse the spirit of the *people* to a vain struggle against the imposition of a yoke, which Rome was determined to impose. At length, after a period of seventeen years, when more than two thirds of the unfortunate victims had perished, either by the lawless outrage of their tyrants, or by that consuming anguish which preys on the unhappy⁷; and when Achaia was so reduced, that the interposition of the remaining few could be of little avail; the senate granted to the survivors the permission so often applied for in vain⁸. Nor had even

⁷ Pausanias informs us (in Achaicis) that "as many of these illustrious captives, as were found attempting to escape out of the hands of their oppressors, were put to death without mercy by the Romans." What a dreadful charge is this against Rome!

⁸ After some years, Polybius informs us, the solicitations of the Achaean states were only employed in behalf of a few of those captives, whom they applied for by name; for, says he, *length of time had consumed almost all the rest; men, whose memories well deserve to be held in reverence*: τούς μιν γὰρ πλείστοις σχεδὸν ἀπαντας ἡ χροίος ἤδη κατατρώκει, τοὺς γὰρ καὶ μνήμης ἀξίους. See Legat. 122.

this



this indulgence been obtained, had it not been for Cato's repeated expostulations: "Shall we for ever be debating," said he to the senate, "whether a few old Greeks shall have leave to be buried in their native land?" An expression of his to Polybius the historian, who was one of the exiles, paints, on this occasion, in the strongest colours, the opinion which that venerable Roman entertained of his countrymen. When the permission to return home had been at last granted to them, Polybius implored Cato's mediation with the senate, that they might also be restored to their honours. "Polybius," said he, "you do not imitate the wisdom of Ulysses; you are for going back to the den of the Cyclops, in quest of the hat and belt you left behind you."

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SEVENTEEN years, abounding in events, had elapsed, as we have observed, from the first perpetration of this act of despotism, to the return of the remaining exiles⁹. We have given an unbroken and circumstantial detail of the whole of this memorable event; and shall now endeavour to delineate the other transactions of this period, which are not less important or interesting.

THE carrying to Rome as delinquents the chief men of Achaia, was only a small part of the Roman plan of subjugation. Having removed that barrier against her tyrannical designs, the Romans took the remaining steps with more confidence of success, and contemplated with a secret satisfaction the future completion of her schemes. What had

Farther attempts of the Romans against Achaia;

⁹ Plutarch in Catone.

¹⁰ OLYMP. CLVII. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 146.

principally.



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principally contributed to render the Achaeans formidable, was the association, which they had framed, of the several states of Peloponnesus and the adjoining parts. To dissolve this confederacy was the object the Romans had in view". For this purpose Sulpicius Gallus was sent to Greece, with instructions to encourage faction and dissension among the states composing the Achaean league, and in the name of the Roman senate to hold out the lure of protection and assistance to all who should consent to be dismembered from that powerful body. The temper of the times was but too favourable to this insidious plan. Numbers, to ingratiate themselves with the Romans, were assiduously employed in sowing every where the seeds of discontent, and in fostering a jealousy of the present establishment. The Spartans, above all, bore with impatience their present abject condition, and wished eagerly for an opportunity of attempting a revolution. The Achaean councils too were perplexed, unstable, and turbulent; the families of those, who had been carried off into Italy, filled all Achaia with their complaints; the people warmly espoused the same interest; and, under the pretence of supporting this public-spirited cause, the factious and most contemptible of the citizens had got possession of the administration. A general ferment thus prevailed throughout all Greece; and there was scarcely a single state or city that was not tainted with corruption, or inflamed with anger.

and their suc-
cess.

IN such a situation of affairs, it was hardly possible that Sulpicius could have failed to operate the purposes of his commission. Pleuron, a city of Actolia, which some time

" Just. L. xxxiv. c. 1. Pausan. ub. sup.

before



before had been incorporated into the Achaean league, now applied to be relieved from this connection, and was pronounced an independent state ¹². A difference about their boundaries, between the Lacedaemonians and Argives, was referred to the arbitration of the Roman commissioner. He might easily have settled the dispute; but this would not have accorded with his views. He chose rather to leave it to the decision of Callicrates the Achaean; who, being the most insolent of all the Greeks, and one of the most flagitious instruments of Rome, was therefore the most likely to widen the breach. There was, besides, a farther policy in this. The Spartans, exasperated by the treatment which they were probably to receive from Callicrates, would have an additional reason for resenting the domination of Achaia, to whose supreme court of judicature they, as part of the Achaean body, were now amenable; and they might resolve upon a separation, and demand their independency. Sulpicius, accordingly, gave them a private intimation, that Rome was ready to encourage and assist them in their expectations of this kind. Similar intimations, it appears from Pausanias, were given to all the states belonging to the confederacy of Achaia. So that this noble fabric of alliance being shaken and disjoined, became every day more feeble and more ruinous.

THE Athenians, mean time ¹³, impoverished by their continual wars with Macedon, had been tempted by the prosperous circumstances of the people of Oropus ¹⁴, to make a

Affairs of
Oropus.

¹² Paus. in Achaicis.
on the confines of Attica.

¹³ Pausan. ibid. Plutarch in Catone.

¹⁴ A city



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predatory incursion on their territory, and had taken and plundered their capital. The Oropians carried their complaint before the senate of Rome; who, with what view is obvious, instead of determining the matter themselves, left it to the decision of the Sicyonians. They accordingly condemned Athens to pay a fine of five hundred talents; from which sentence the Athenians having appealed to the Roman senate, the Romans, still farther to excite the mutual enmity.

The contest, in which this affair of Oropus involved the Athenians, holds a distinguished place in history, from the share it had in introducing the arts of Greece into Rome. The Athenians, according to Plutarch (in Catone) had sent thither Carneades the Academic, and Diogenes the Stoic, (to whom Cicero (Orator. l. ii.) and Aulus Gellius (vii. 14.) add Critolaus the Peripatetic,) to plead their cause before the senate; the three persons, doubtless, from whose eloquence they thought the greatest success was to be expected. Some years before, certain Greek philosophers and orators had attempted to establish themselves in Rome; but those Romans who still retained the ancient spirit of their ancestors, apprehensive that this kind of study might check that martial ardour, which they rather wished to encourage, procured an edict to be issued, by which they were expelled the city. This, according to Suetonius, (de Clar. Rhetor.) happened in the year of Rome 592, in the consulship of Caius Fannius Strabo and Marcus Valerius Messalla. The present philosophers stood on a different footing. They came invested with the sacred character of ambassadors; and by the law of nations were entitled to an honourable reception upon their arrival. All the Roman youths, therefore, who had a taste for learning, crowded to hear them. Above all, they were charmed with the impetuous and forcible eloquence of Carneades, who, says Cicero, never attempted to support an argument, which he did not establish, or to combat an opinion, which he did not overthrow: "qui nullam unquam rem defendit, quam non probavit; nullam oppugnavit, quam non everterit," so that his reputation filled in a short time the whole city, and drew an audience of the politest and most considerable persons in Rome. The report was, "that there had come from Greece a man of astonishing powers, whose eloquence, more than human, was able to control and disarm the fiercest passions, and who had made so strong an impression on the Roman youths, that, abandoning every former amusement and pursuit, they burned with an enthusiastic love of philosophy alone." The fathers in general were delighted to behold their sons thus fondly receive the Grecian literature, and follow these wonderful men. Cato.

on.



enmity and contention of the Grecian states, pronounced the punishment to be excessive, and reduced it to a mulct of an hundred talents, but without taking the least step to enforce its payment. The Oropians, thus baffled, implored the protection of Menalcidas, at this time first magistrate of Achaia; who, in consideration of a reward of ten talents, engaged to oblige the Athenians to do them justice. Callicrates, then at the head of the Roman faction, and therefore exceedingly powerful in the state, was prevailed upon, by the promise of three talents, to join with him in persuading the Achaean diet to support the cause of Oropus. This compact, however, was of little service to that city; for the

on the contrary, was alarmed. From the moment he perceived this passion for Grecian learning prevail, he began to fear, that the Roman youths would turn their ambition that way, and prefer the glory of eloquence to reputation for arms. When he found, that the fame of these philosophers was rising higher every day, and that even some of the senatorial order did not disdain to translate their speeches into Latin, he had no longer patience, but went to the senate, and preferred a complaint against the magistrates for detaining so long such ambassadors as these, who could persuade the people to whatever they pleased. "Decide in their affairs," said he to them, "as speedily as possible, that, returning to their schools, they may hold forth to the Grecian youth; and that our young men may again give attention to the laws and the magistrates." He had conceived an opinion, Plutarch tells us, which he was wont to deliver with a kind of prophetic confidence, "that, when the Romans came thoroughly to imbibe the Grecian literature, they would lose the empire of the world." The event in some measure justified the prediction; Rome having lost her constitution and liberties, at the very time she had reached the summit of Grecian literature, and had made the greatest progress in every kind of erudition. This, however, is not to be charged to the account of literary improvement; the cause is to be sought in that irreligion, that luxury, that dissoluteness and general immorality, the attendant and disgrace of those times, in which the greatest politeness of taste and refinement of living are found. Rome ceased to be free, not because she ceased to be rude and ignorant, but because, corrupted by prosperity, she ceased to be virtuous. The reader will readily conclude, that, defended by such able advocates, the Athenian cause was victorious.



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Character of
the Achaean
magistrates.

Athenian garrison, as soon as they heard that the Achaeans were hastening to its relief, pillaged it a second time, and, carrying off every thing of value, had evacuated the place, and marched back to Athens, before Menalcidas appeared. This hireling protector contrived, however, to extort the ten talents from the wretched Oropians; and, to compleat his baseness, he defrauded Callicrates of his share, under the pretence that this Achaean, who in fact had fulfilled his engagements, having failed in the performance of the stipulated services, was entitled to no reward. The vengeance of disappointed avarice is blind and unrelenting. As soon therefore as Menalcidas was out of office, Callicrates, though himself a traitor to his country, accused him before the convention of the Achaean estates, of having betrayed the interests of Achaia to the Romans, and of having laboured to detach Sparta from the Achaean confederacy. And, so powerful was his influence, that the condemnation of Menalcidas was inevitable, had he not, with the three talents which were to have been the portion of Callicrates, bribed Diaeus of Megalopolis, his successor in the office of chief magistrate; who managed the business with such dexterity, that he was acquitted, in opposition to the general sense of the assembly.

Attempts of
Diaeus
against the
liberties of
Sparta.

THESE intrigues in the Achaean councils, which strongly marked the degeneracy of Grecian manners, had serious consequences. Diaeus, finding¹⁶ that the protection given to Menalcidas had lost him the confidence of his countrymen, became solicitous to reinstate himself in their affections, and formed the

¹⁶ Pausan. in Achaicis.



plan of bringing the Spartans into a total subjection to Achaia; a measure most grateful to the Achaean people, whose jealousy of Sparta nothing could extinguish. By the last arrangement made by the Romans, all matters of a civil nature, in which Sparta had any concern, were to be finally determined by the Achaean diet. Diaeus pretended, that by this arrangement all their criminal causes were likewise to be decided by the same tribunal. The admission of this claim, with their former subjection in civil matters, invested Achaia with full power over the property and lives of the Spartans, and reduced them to the most abject state of dependence. The legality of the claim was therefore denied, and Sparta would have appealed to Rome; but the Achaeans alledged, that such an appeal could not constitutionally be made, unless with the concurrence of the Achaean states, and immediately prepared to establish their pretended right by force of arms. It was in vain for Sparta to attempt resistance. And Diaeus, to insure the success of his schemes, imperiously demanded, that twenty-four of their principal citizens, who had most strenuously asserted this *last* immunity of their country, should be delivered into his hands. The Spartans durst not refuse; and to have obeyed, had been the highest cruelty. They took a middle course. The obnoxious persons were suffered to escape, and, under colour of having fled from justice, their estates were confiscated, and the sentence of banishment was pronounced against them. They had, however, been previously instructed to repair to Rome, in order to lay the whole matter before the senate; and the Achaeans, being soon apprized of their intention, sent also a deputation thither to justify their proceedings.

The Spartans
appeal to
Rome.

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Sect. I.

The artifice
of the Ro-
mans.

THE Romans acted on this occasion with their usual duplicity. They heard, and gave hopes to both parties; and at last, instead of deciding, appointed commissioners, whom they promised to send into Greece, to investigate and determine the matter in dispute. But these commissioners, being on various pretences artfully detained in Rome, every thing was still left in suspense; and both parties returned elated with the success of their negotiations, without having obtained any formal decision. The Achaeans asserted, with exultation, that the subjection of Sparta was unquestionably decided; while the other party maintained, with equal confidence, that she was henceforth to be considered as independent.

War between
Achaia and
Sparta.

THESE contradictory accounts led to consequences which were agreeable to the wishes of the Romans. The contending powers had recourse to arms; the Spartans in vindication of their liberties; the Achaeans to enforce their subjection. A battle ensuing, the Spartans were defeated, with the loss of above a thousand of their best troops; and Sparta itself must probably have fallen, had not Damocritus, then at the head of the Achaean commonwealth, preferred plunder to the main object of the war; for which he was afterwards condemned, and fined in fifty talents. To Damocritus, Diaeus succeeded; who, at the request of Metellus, then commanding in Macedon, granted the Lacedaemonians a truce, which was merely illusory; for Diaeus employed the respite it afforded in gaining over and garrisoning all the circumjacent towns; so that the unsuspecting Spartans soon found themselves environed by their enemies. Irritated by these treacherous proceedings, they renewed the unequal war; which



which, from their enfeebled condition, turned out as unprosperous as before; their depopulated country could not raise an adequate military force¹⁷, nor could their exhausted treasury afford the necessary supplies.

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AFTER the strength of Peloponnesus had thus, during more than two years, been wasted in these intestine wars, the Roman commissioners at length appeared, with Aurelius Orestes at their head, and required the attendance of the Achaean chiefs at Corinth, in order to receive the final determination of the senate. The Roman plan now began to unfold itself. The Achaeans were commanded to retire within their ancient boundaries; and those states, not originally of the Achaean league, but which, in the course of time, had been incorporated into their confederacy¹⁸, were pronounced by the Romans to be dissevered from it, and henceforth unconnected and independent. This was evidently no more than a prelude to future humiliations; and was probably intended by the Romans as a kind of experiment. Should the Achaeans tamely submit, it was easy to proceed by degrees to the total dissolution of the league; if they made resistance, that would serve to palliate whatever violent measures Rome should find it necessary to adopt. The best expedient that seemed left to this devoted nation, was apparently to have submitted for the present to what it was not in their power to prevent. But the republican fire was not yet extinguished; and it burst forth on this occasion with uncommon spirit.

Roman commissioners come to Corinth;

and decree the dismemberment of Achaia.

¹⁷ Pausan. ub. sup.

¹⁸ Sparta, the Arcadians of Orchomenus, the people of Heracleum, near Mount Oeta, Argos, and Corinth.

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Insurrection
of the A-
chaean.

THE Roman envoys had not yet made an end of reading the decree, when the Achaean chiefs quitted the assembly in a transport of indignation, and spread the alarm among the populace, who had crowded in numbers to Corinth. The rage of the multitude was inexpressible; and, as if Sparta alone had been guilty, it proved fatal to every Spartan that could be found. Popular fury, as blind as it is violent, could not discern that Rome was the source of all the mischiefs of which they had to complain, and that, under this pretended regard for Sparta, she was only executing her own designs. The sacred character with which the Roman ministers were invested, could not, however, command respect amidst this storm of tumultuary violence. Their house was forced open, and every Spartan torn from that asylum: nay, the envoys themselves, say the Roman historians, owed their safety only to their flight¹⁹.

The Romans
affect gentle-
ness;

IT was to be expected, that the Romans would have called Achaia to a rigorous account for an outrage so violent. They nevertheless sent a second embassy thither, with particular instructions, not to animadvert with severity on the insult, but to employ only gentle exhortations; to conciliate, if possible, the minds of the Achaeans; and to leave to themselves the detection and punishment of the guilty. It is not difficult to trace the reasons of this uncommon and unexpected lenity²⁰. They are discoverable in the situation of the Roman affairs

¹⁹ Just. L. xxxiv. c. 1. See also Polyb. Legat. 143, and Florus L. ii. c. 16.

²⁰ Polybius, (Legat. 140 and 144) willing to excuse the Romans, pretends to believe, that their purpose, in thus threatening to dismember from the Achaean commonwealth the states which had been incorporated into it, was, not to carry their



affairs at this period. The final destruction of Carthage, alike the object of the hatred and dread of Rome, was not

their menaces into execution, but only to intimidate a people, whose high spirit had often been troublesome to them, and to awe those turbulent republicans into a more respectful observance of the dictates of Rome. And hence, according to him, arose that conciliatory temper, which they shewed on this occasion. However, there were others, he himself acknowledges, who accounted for this lenity in a very different manner; ascribing it, not to any regard they had for the Achaeans, but to their own apprehensions of what the consequence might be, should they at this time have provoked Achaia to take up arms against them, when Carthage was not yet destroyed, and Spain was endeavouring to throw off the yoke. But nevertheless, says Polybius, the charge is ill-grounded: "the intentions of Rome towards Achaia had nothing hostile in them; she had admitted the Achaeans into her friendship, and reposed a confidence in their faith, far greater than in that of any other of the states of Greece." — Is it possible to read this without amazement! And could Polybius, who knew so well how treacherously the Romans had brought humiliation on Achaia, and with what excess of cruelty they had treated her illustrious chiefs; Polybius, who was himself one of the number, (see Legat. 105, and 122;) Polybius, who was able to point out, as he fully does, the flagitious motives that engaged them in the Dalmatian war, viz. *to keep their military men in practice*, who, now the Macedonians were subdued, had no other nation in those parts, in whose blood they could drench their weapons, (see Legat. 125;) Polybius, who had been himself a witness of the prevarication they had been guilty of in the case of Demetrius of Syria, son to Seleucus Philopator, and grandson to Antiochus the Great, whom, in the view of having Syria at their disposal, they endeavoured to despoil of his paternal throne, (see Legat. 114. ~~see also this transaction fully set forth in the ninth book of this work~~); Polybius, who had also witnessed how insidiously they had drawn in, first the Aetolians, (see Legat. 13) and afterwards the Carthaginians, (see Legat. 142) *to intrust their dearest interests to the faith of the Roman people*; I say, with such examples before his eyes, could Polybius be at a loss to know, by what motives Rome was now actuated?

It is not impossible to discover what misguided the pen of this excellent historian. He was a captive of Rome, and Scipio's friend. Either therefore his attachment to the one led him to think more favourably of the Romans than they deserved; or his dread of the other induced him to suppress sentiments, which he could not avow without danger. So difficult is it for the historian, who lives near the times of which he writes, to keep close to the line of truth, unwarped by fear or by affection.



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yet effected. The Roman arms, besides, had lately been unsuccessful in Spain; while new commotions, on a detail of which we are just about to enter, and which were not yet composed, had arisen in Macedon. In these circumstances, a war in Greece, an event to be expected from the present violence of the Achaean counsels, would have added considerably to the embarrassment of the Roman affairs. The Achaeans, however, from all that now appears, might have derived important advantages from the mild and pacific aspect which the Romans assumed on this occasion. It certainly presented them with the opportunity of soothing a power, which they could neither expect to subdue nor to resist; and of obtaining more favourable terms upon the subversion of their constitution, which, it was obvious, could not long be preserved.

Resentment
of the Achaeans.

Character
and imprudent
conduct
of Critolaus,
their chief
magistrate.

GUIDED, however, only by their resentments, they acted in direct opposition to all such prudential considerations. Unfortunately too for the Achaeans, their chief magistrate, Critolaus²², was a man daring and precipitate. He had risen to power by encouraging the frantic multitude in their defiance of Rome, and, of consequence, besides the impulse of his natural temper, was impelled to violent measures by the additional instigations of popularity and ambition. Sextus, who was at the head of the Roman embassy, had, upon his arrival, demanded of him, to convene the national council,

²² See Pausan. in Achaica.

that



that he might lay before them his commission from the senate²². Critolaus, in appearance, complied; and accordingly issued his summons; but he sent at the same time private directions to the several members of the Achaean diet not to obey it; so that, upon the appointed day, the Roman ambassadors had none but Critolaus to confer with; who, as if to add to the mockery, told them, that they had only to wait the expiration of six months, and a second diet should be convened. The consequence was, that the Romans, highly offended, returned to Italy without executing the business of their embassy; and no sooner were they departed, than Critolaus, to evince that he meant to keep no measures with Rome, assembled the national council at Corinth²³, and, notwithstanding the conciliatory interposition of Metellus, by his deputies Papirius and Scipio Africanus the younger, obtained a declaration of war against Sparta, though avowedly protected by Rome; to which mad resolution Thebes and Chalcis imprudently acceded.

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WE have entered into a minute detail of the intrigues and contests, which appear to have agitated these petty republics during this period, in order that the insidious policy of Rome, as far as regards them, might be developed and exposed to view. We have beheld her affecting the most solicitous concern for the immunities of some particular city, that she might kindle the fire of variance and contention in the neighbouring states, and thus excite them to mutual hostilities, and mutual destruction. We have seen her bestowing her favours on the meanest and most worthless among the Greeks, because,

Views and
policy of
Rome.

²² Polyb. Legat. 144.

²³ Polyb. Pausan. *ibid.*



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false to their country, they were the ready and pliant instruments of her ambitious purposes; whilst those distinguished by wisdom, authority, and temperate counsels, by whose faithful services the public ruin might have been retarded, were discountenanced, oppressed, and banished. And lastly, we have seen her employing the very mischief which she herself had encouraged, the madness of an incensed populace, which her own oppressions had provoked, as an excuse for the violence and flagrant cruelty she exercised on this unfortunate people.

War in Macedonia.

Claims and history of Andriscus;

DURING these transactions in Achaia, a war had again broken out in Macedonia²⁴; which, from the few imperfect hints history has preserved to us, appears to have been attended with circumstances of a very extraordinary nature. Andriscus, a man of obscure extraction, say the Roman writers, originally of Adramyttium, a town of Troas, was thought to bear a strong resemblance to the late Macedonian king. Sixteen years had elapsed since the defeat of Perseus. Upon the credit, nevertheless, of this supposed resemblance, a story was fabricated, that he was son to Perseus by a concubine; that his father had directed that he should be educated in the utmost privacy, lest, if his parentage should be known, he should be involved in the same destruction with the rest of his royal house; and that he had intrusted the secret to certain persons, who had authentic vouchers to produce in support of the allegation. Andriscus first applied to Demetrius Soter, king of Syria, whose sister had been wife to Perseus;

²⁴ Liv. Epitom. L. xlix. and l. Florus, L. ii. c. 14. Zonaras, Tom. 2.

who



who doubting the truth of the story, or probably fearing the Romans, seized him as an impostor, and sent him to Rome. But in such contempt, from his appearance and manners, was he held by the Romans, that they paid no attention to the confinement of their prisoner; who soon after effected his escape, and fled for refuge into Thrace. Here, the tale of his birth and misfortunes being eagerly listened to, and readily believed by this plain people, he had soon formed a party, and through them had introduced himself to their Macedonian neighbours. The spirit of discontent which, at this time, universally prevailed in Macedon, secured him a favourable reception: the nation began to feel the severity of the Roman yoke; and, without scrupulously investigating the claims of Andriscus, considered him only as a daring adventurer, through whom they had a chance of being delivered from their oppressors. There is much reason to suspect, that the Romans were not ill pleased at seeing these discontents ripen into open rebellion; and that they at first connived at them, in the hope of availing themselves of the pretence with which they furnished them. Exhausted and humbled as the Macedonians were, still a little property, and a few privileges remained to them; and a new war would afford the Romans an excuse for doing what they had hitherto been restrained from by motives of policy alone. But the despair of an oppressed people found resources, of which the Romans were not aware; and where they expected only to find an opportunity of gratifying their despotism and rapacity, they met a war difficult and dangerous. When accounts arrived at Rome, that the insurrection in Macedon would probably become a much more serious business than had been imagined, Scipio Nasica, who, since the time he had served

under

is acknowledged by the Macedonians:



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under Aemilius Paulus, had a considerable influence in Greece, was dispatched thither to observe the situation of affairs. His report was, that, by the assistance which he had obtained from the Achaeans and some of the cantons of Thessaly, he had with difficulty covered the northern provinces of Greece from the incursions of the enemy; but that the revolt was general throughout Macedon, where Andriscus was in possession of the throne, and had assumed the name of Philip; that most of the Thracian tribes had likewise declared for him; that several of the Grecian states were suspected of favouring the same cause; and that, unless the Romans exerted themselves speedily, and with vigour, the issue of the war was to be dreaded. In consequence of this intelligence, a considerable army was immediately ordered into Greece, under the command of the praetor Juventius Thalna. Juventius, at the same time rash and conceited, marched immediately against the usurper, with a settled contempt of this pageant-king, and in the full assurance that he durst not meet him in the field. His vanity had its reward. The Macedonian took care, by various feints, to confirm the presumption of the praetor, until at last he drew him on to an engagement, on the terms he wished, in which the Romans were totally defeated, with the slaughter of the greatest part of the army; Juventius himself falling, while he endeavoured in vain, by personal courage, to compensate for his want of abilities as a general.

meets the
Romans in
battle,

and defeats
them.

The Romans
alarmed;

THIS unfortunate event was attended with circumstances exceedingly alarming. Thessaly, with most of the northern provinces of Greece, acknowledged the claims of the victor, and took up arms in support of him. And though the Achaeans



Achaean had not followed their example, yet the present discontents of that people, and the manner in which their services had been repaid in the beginning of the Macedonian war, afforded little hopes that they would again be active in the interests of Rome. Even as far as Africa did the influence of this revolution appear to have reached; and an embassy arrived from the Carthaginians to congratulate the new king, and to negotiate an alliance with Macedon. To guard against these impending dangers, a powerful force was levied with all possible expedition, and Metellus, an illustrious Roman, of high reputation, was appointed to conduct the war.

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send Metellus against him.

By this time, if the historians of Rome may be depended on, the blandishments of royalty were beginning to effect what the Roman arms had in vain attempted. Andriscus, thinking himself established upon the throne, abandoned himself to a viciousness of disposition, which he had before concealed. Not content with indulging to a shameful excess in all the gratifications of luxury, he ruled with all the wantonness of insult, rapacity, and cruelty; so that the unhappy Macedonians, instead of that freedom, in hopes of which they had crowded to his banners, experienced all the miseries of slavery. This as a Roman account, especially when compared with facts to be gathered from the same historians, seems liable to some objections. Notwithstanding his dubious title, the Macedonians, unprovoked by all these alledged vices, preferred to him an unalterable fidelity; a kind of proof, that either he was not altogether so dissolute and oppressive as the Roman writers pretend, or that the Romans themselves were such execrable masters, that the yoke of the most outrageous tyrant was deemed light, and thought preferable to theirs.

Close of the fortunes of Andriscus:

And.



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his con-
tempt of the
enemy, the
cause of his
ruin.

And so far was he from being odious among his allies, that, even when overpowered by the Romans, he found a friendly and safe retreat in Thrace, nor was he delivered up until Roman gold, it is to be suspected, proved an overmatch for Thracian honesty. His misfortunes seem to have been chiefly owing to his temerity, and the contempt he entertained of his enemy. Though Metellus, who had advanced against him, was far superior in cavalry, yet the Macedonian ventured an engagement, and obtained a complete victory. Elated with this success, and thinking that the Romans would hardly, for some time, hazard a second battle, he made a considerable detachment for the security of Thessaly. This proved fatal to him. Metellus marked the opportunity; and, attacking him with a great superiority of numbers; cut his little army to pieces, and obliged him to take refuge among the Thracians. The Thracian princes soon supplied him with fresh troops. But the Roman commander had improved in such a manner the advantages derived from his late victory, and was so well prepared for his reception, that, notwithstanding the most spirited exertion on the part of Andriscus, he was routed, with the loss of the greater part of his army, and found himself under the necessity of again retiring into Thrace. The prætor could not pursue him thither; the commotions, we have before mentioned, in Achaia, which now threatened to involve all the adjacent states, calling off his attention to the southern provinces of Greece. Mean while, it was not his purpose that Andriscus should escape. He had already entered into a negotiation with the Thracian chiefs, at whose court the fugitive prince had taken sanctuary, who, for certain considerations easily to be conjectured, but which



which the Roman writers have not thought proper to specify, delivered him up to Metellus.

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THE unhappy fate of Andriscus, it might have been expected, would have restored peace to Macedon. But, such now was the deplorable situation of the miserable Macedonians, that they were eager to support the pretensions of every claimant, through whom they had the most distant prospect of deliverance. No sooner had Andriscus perished, than Alexander, another pretended son of Perseus, made his appearance, and met with the same loyal welcome from this oppressed and credulous people; and nearly with the same success. A considerable party had taken up arms in support of his title, but, unequal to a contest with Metellus, who, upon the first tidings of this insurrection, had hastened back into Macedon, they were soon dispersed; the pretended prince making his escape into Dardania. To the hospitality and incorruptible honesty of the inhabitants of this country, he was much more indebted than the unfortunate Andriscus had been to those of Thrace. The Romans, after the strictest inquiry and the most lavish offers, could never discover his place of concealment. And from this time, as history is silent, nothing more is known of this adventurer.

A second adventurer ascends the throne of Macedon;

is overthrown, but escapes.

THESE repeated insurrections in Macedon effectually answered the end, which the Romans doubtless had in view. We have already seen the severity of the terms imposed on that kingdom, by the arrangement of Aemilius Paulus. These terms, nevertheless, the Romans considered as the ex-

The Romans turn these insurrections to advantage,



Book VIII. Sect. I. cess of mercy. It was thought expedient to finish more completely the subjection of the Macedonian people; which accordingly we are told was now fully accomplished. This event took place about twenty years after the settlement by Aemilius. And henceforward Macedon remained in the humiliated state of a Roman province. By what arrangements the final humiliation of the Macedonians was effected, history has not exactly informed us; but of this it is easy to form very probable conjectures. The Macedonians had, at first, been allowed to have judges of their own for the decision of trivial matters; but even this faint shadow of judicial power they now lost; and, according to the customary Roman practice with conquered nations, a general confiscation probably took place of all the estates throughout Macedon, which were in the smallest degree objects of desire to these rapacious conquerors.

In this manner did Rome establish her dominion on the ruins of every national constitution. At first, her yoke was for the most part laid on with an affectation of gentleness; but, afterwards, repeated arbitrary and oppressive proceedings having provoked resistance, every manly effort against them became an excuse for additional exertion of power; until the system was by degrees completed, and appeared in all the stern severity of despotism.

A third adventurer appears in Macedon;

SOME years after, there appeared a third adventurer⁴⁵, a second Philip, and another pretended son to Perseus;

⁴⁵ Liv. Epitom. L. liii. Eutrop. L. iv.



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who found that Macedonian credulity was not yet exhausted, and that their desire of liberty was not yet at an end.

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BUT his career was soon run. Having hazarded an engagement with Tremellius Scrofa, the Roman commander, his army was totally defeated, and he himself was slain.

and meets
with no
success.

4 K 2

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B O O K VIII.

SECTION II.

C O N T E N T S.

The Achaeans, provoked by the perfidiousness of Rome, take up Arms—Metellus marches against them—defeats them—is superseded by Mummius,—who continues the war—obtains a decisive victory—takes, and burns Corinth—puts an end to the Achaean Commonwealth, and to the liberties of Greece.—The principal causes that produced the decline and final overthrow of the Grecian states.

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Achaean
war;

THE Macedonian insurrection under Andriscus was not yet completely suppressed, when the flames of war, which the Achaeans had lighted up, were already spreading through the southern provinces of Greece. Metellus had at first endeavoured, by repeated remonstrances, to stop the progress of these commotions. But, finding his representations to be ineffectual, he had, as soon as the Macedonian affairs permitted him, advanced southward, to intimidate, since he could not persuade; and perhaps not without the hope,



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hope, that to the reduction of Macedon, he should have the glory of adding the conquest of Peloponnesus.

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FROM the extraordinary spirit displayed by the Achaeans on this occasion, and from the precipitancy with which they rushed into this war, a judgment may be formed of the violence of their resentment. The Roman arms, from their late success in Macedon, were become more formidable than ever; and of all the Grecian states without the Isthmus, whatever might be their secret wish, not one had ventured to avow itself the confederate of Achaia; Thebes, and the people of Chalcis excepted. The Achaeans nevertheless, as if unconscious of their own weakness, and insensible of the recent fate of Macedon, provoked a contest, which was evidently to terminate in discomfiture and servitude.

inducements
to it;

imprudence
in attempt-
ing it.

THE siege of Heracleum, near Mount Oeta, which had revolted and declared for Rome, was the commencement of hostilities. It was invested and taken by Critolaus²; who afterwards hearing, that Metellus was on his march to attack him, endeavoured to retreat to Scarphaea³, where, the Romans coming up with him, before he could get into the city, he was forced to engage*. The issue was fatal to the

Siege of He-
racleum.

Achaeans
defeated by
Metellus;

¹ See Pausan. in Achaicis.

² OLYMP. CLVIII. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 144.

³ A city of the Locri.

* Pausanias (in Achaicis) blames Critolaus for his retreat to Scarphaea; and thinks that he ought rather to have secured the straits of Thermopylae, and thus have stopped the progress of the Roman army. But the way over the mountain was no longer considered as impracticable; and, unless he had secured the passes above, for which probably his forces were not sufficient, his being possessed of the straits below had been of little service.



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Achaean. They were defeated, and the greater part of their army slain or made prisoners. The fate of Critolaus himself is uncertain, his body not having been found. He is supposed to have perished in some of the morasses*, which then covered a great part of this country, from the Maliac bay towards the foot of Mount Oeta. In addition to the loss sustained by the Achaeans in the field, a thousand Arcadians, who had escaped, were intercepted in their retreat homeward by Metellus, and all put to the sword.

who takes
Thebes;

THE Roman general marched then to Thebes, which he found deserted; most of the inhabitants having fled to the mountains upon his approach. To induce them to return and submit, he gave orders to spare the city; and required only, that Pytheas the Boeotian chief, who had advised the league with Achaia, should be put to death.

offers terms
of peace to
the Achaeans,

His intention now was, to enter Peloponnesus, and at once, if possible, to put an end to the war. However, as if averse from the decision of arms, he once more endeavoured to gain the Achaeans by expostulation and friendly professions; and even offered to conclude a peace, on the condition that Sparta, and the other states they held in subjection, should be restored to their antient privileges. But, either governed by passion, or perhaps distrusting an enemy by whom they had been so often deceived, the Achaeans rejected his proposals. It appears indeed from the account given by the Romans

which are
rejected.

* So says Pausanias: Livy's epitomizer, (l. lii.) in contradiction to him, says, that he poisoned himself.

themselves,



themselves, that this proffered peace was but a political expedient, in which the Achaeans would have found but little security; and that in fact, under the pretence of serving them, the Roman general was only consulting the interests of his own ambition. For Mummius, one of the new consuls, had been appointed his successor; and, jealous of having the fruits of his victory wrested from him, it might be his wish to settle the affairs of Peloponnesus on any terms, rather than allow his successor to reap the glory of terminating the war.⁵

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MUMMIUS soon after arrived, and assumed the command. But neither the arrival of the new general, nor the supplies he brought with him, occasioned the least alteration in the Achaean councils. Diaeus the Megalopolitan, a man not inferior in daring enterprise to Critolaus, had been appointed chief magistrate in his stead. Immediately upon his appointment, he summoned to the field every Achaean and Arcadian who was able to bear arms, and considerably augmented his forces by the manumission, and inlisting of the slaves. With an army, amounting at most to twenty thousand men, this impatient and adventurous commander prepared to dispute the fate of Achaia with Rome. A trifling advantage, obtained at the beginning, emboldened him the more. Mummius, being encamped within the Isthmus, that he might be apprized of the motions of the enemy, had posted a body of auxiliaries at its southern extremity, where the streight opens into Peloponnesus. The apparent remissness and security of this ad-

Metellus su-
perfed by
Mummius.

The Achae-
ans prepare
for a vigo-
rous defence;

emboldened
by a trifling
advantage;

⁵ See Pausan. ub. sup.

vanced



Book VIII. Sect. 2. vanced guard, tempted the Achaeans. They attacked, and carried the post, after having slain about five hundred of the detachment. This success to these vain republicans was a sure preface of victory. In full confidence that the defeat of Mummius might as easily be accomplished, they with the utmost ardour demanded to be instantly led against him; and their demand was readily complied with by the impetuous Diaeus.

MEAN while Mummius, who marked the exultation and confidence of the Achaean troops, and foresaw the consequences, had already formed his army in order of battle; and, upon the approach of the enemy, commanded his horse to charge the Grecian cavalry; who, thrown into confusion by this unexpected vigour, after a short resistance, were broken, and put to flight. The infantry, undaunted by this misfortune, for some time maintained their ground with resolution and firmness; but, deserted by their cavalry, and attacked in flank by a detachment, which the consul had kept in reserve for that purpose, they were at length totally routed⁶.

are totally routed.

THIS battle was fought within the streights. And so well assured were the Achaeans of the victory, that all the hills around were covered with their women and children, whom they had brought to be spectators of the discomfiture of the Roman army. The pursuit⁷ was continued by the consul, as far as Corinth, to which it was his intention to lay siege; but, to his great amazement, he found the gates open, and

Corinth abandoned.

⁶ Pausan. ub. sup.

⁷ Just. L. xxxiv. c. 2.

the



the city deserted. The remains of the Achaean army had pushed through it; and the bulk of the inhabitants, abandoning themselves to despair, accompanied them in their flight. This extraordinary appearance, so different from what he expected, struck the cautious Roman. A city, the pride of Greece, famous from the sieges it had sustained, and known to be of considerable strength, forsaken, without an attempt to save it, induced him to apprehend a snare. Impressed with suspicions, it was not until the third day, after he had encamped before it, that he ventured within the walls. On entering the city, a scene, the most splendid that Greece had to display, was exhibited to the eyes of the Roman army. Beside the advantages derived from the fertility of its territory, Corinth had for ages been the great emporium of both the eastern and western worlds; and, since its restoration to freedom by Aratus, it had become the principal city of the Achaean confederacy. From these copious sources, its opulence had increased to a wonderful degree. Whatever decorations either private wealth or public magnificence, under the direction of the most delicate and refined taste, had ever bestowed on any city, it had accordingly enjoyed. Its noble edifices, porticos, temples, and palaces, were the admiration even of the Greeks, to whom objects of this kind were familiar; and its paintings and statues, in number as well as in value, were not inferior to what Athens herself had to boast. Its elegance accordingly had passed into a proverb*.

* Horat. Epist. L. i. Epist. xvii. v. 36.

“ Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.”



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OF all this wealth Mummius became now the master. The possession of Corinth, a prize of such value, and so easily gained, afforded such a striking acknowledgment of the humiliation of Achaia, as might have disarmed the resentment of the victor. But the sternness of Roman severity was not thus to be softened. The situation of Corinth made it formidable, and consequently pointed out its destruction, according to the desolating plan of Rome. The horrid scene began with the massacre of the few men found in it, and the sale of the women and children. The Consul having then directed his soldiers to remove the most valuable of the paintings and statues, with which the temples and other public buildings were adorned, commanded the city to be set on fire, and all its boasted monuments of art and genius to be consumed. And such, it is said, was the quantity of curious works in gold, silver, and brass, thus devoted to the flames, that, during the conflagration, the united streams of these various metals poured along the streets of this unhappy city¹⁰, forming that famous consolidated mixture, which obtained the name of *Corinthian brass*, and which, for many ages, was held in the highest estimation. This unprovoked destruction many of the Romans, however, seem to have lamented; and the *nollem Corinthum*¹¹ of one of the finest geniuses of Rome, is a lasting testimony of this opinion.

and burnt.

⁹ This reason is assigned by Cicero himself. See Leg. Manil. 32. Offic. L. i. 112.

¹⁰ Flor. L. ii. c. 16.

¹¹ See Cicer. de Offic. L. i. c. 11. et L. iii. c. 11.



To the honour of Mummius, it is nevertheless to be observed, that he stands altogether clear of a species of guilt, with which other Roman commanders are generally charged. To the unpolished taste of the rough soldier, history has, with some apparent reason, ascribed his contempt for those exquisite productions of art, which an improved and travelled Roman would have beheld with admiration. Being present, we are told¹⁴, at the sale of some of these Corinthian paintings, when the Bacchus of Aristides, a piece esteemed one of the finest in the world, was purchased for king Attalus, at the price of six hundred thousand sesterces¹⁵; "it is impossible," cried out Mummius, "it should be of such value, unless some magical power is concealed in it; and if so, it must not be possessed by an Asiatic." He then commanded it to be set aside. And so little was he acquainted with the unrivalled excellence of the great Grecian masters, that he is said to have bargained with the commanders of the vessels, to whose care he intrusted the statues and paintings, which he was sending to Italy, "that, in case any of them were lost, they should deliver him new ones in their stead¹⁶." However much, at the same time, men of taste may lament the unrefined manners of the Roman Consul, his disinterestedness stands unimpeached in history. No portion of the riches of Corinth were applied by Mummius to his own private emolument: Cicero himself informing us¹⁵, that, though several of those curious works of the painter and statuary, which he had saved out of Corinth, were to be

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The integrity of Mummius:

¹⁴ Plin. L. xxxv. c. 4.

¹⁵ L. 4843. 15 s. od.

¹⁶ See Vell. Patercul. L. i. c. 13.

¹⁵ In Verrem. i. 21. et Offic. L. ii. 22.



B o o k VIII. Sect. 2. seen in the temples and public edifices throughout Italy, yet in the house of Mummius not one was to be found. And in such indigence, after all his conquests, did he leave his daughter, an only child, that provision was made for her by the senate out of the public treasury¹⁶.

his motives
for destroy-
ing Corinth.

MAY it not then be suspected, that these Corinthian works owed their destruction rather to the virtuous and patriotic apprehensions of the honest Roman, than to inelegance of mind? While the fine arts had been progressively carried to an uncommon degree of perfection in this part of Greece, every kind of luxury had kept pace with them. And, distinguished by their delicacy of taste, the Corinthians had not been less remarkable for their voluptuousness and dissolute manners. Hence probably the apprehensions of Mummius, that the introduction of the same arts into Italy would give rise to a similar degeneracy. The statues and paintings he preserved, as they appeared to him the least dangerous articles of Corinthian splendour¹⁷: the rest, he considered as tending only to enervate; and, in this view, he destroyed what he feared might prove fatal to his countrymen. To save Rome, he burnt Corinth¹⁸.

¹⁶ Front. Stratag. L. iv. c. 3. 15.

¹⁷ And yet this very introduction of these productions of the great Grecian masters into Italy, Sallust, certainly an able judge, numbers among the causes of the corruption of the Roman people. Velleius Paterculus uses the same language. *Better, says he, speaking of Mummius's ignorance in the arts, that the Roman taste had still remained thus unimproved, than that it should have acquired the improvement it now has, at the expence of the public manners.* See Vell. Paterc. L. i. c. 13.

¹⁸ About 103 years after, it was rebuilt and colonized by Julius Caesar.

THEBES:



THEBES and Chalcis, now fell the victims of their Achaean alliance. Mummius, to whom an affectation of lenity was no longer necessary, razed them to the ground¹⁹. Meanwhile Achaia remained in a state of inactivity, without forming a single plan, or attempting the least exertion for self-defence. Diaeus, whose rashness had principally contributed to bring on the present calamity, had fled from the field of battle to Megalopolis, and in the frenzy of despair, murdered his wife, and laid violent hands on himself. The Achaean cities were, most of them, forsaken by their chiefs; many of them were abandoned by numbers of their inhabitants; and all of them waited the determination of their fate with anxious and trembling solicitude. The demolition of three great cities, seeming in the mean time to have stayed the victor's fury, he now contented himself with dismantling every place of strength, and with obliging the inhabitants to surrender up their arms. Even this, however, was but a temporary suspension of servitude and ruin. Mummius, in fact, could not proceed farther, till the arrival of commissioners from Rome, jointly with whom, he was to be impowered finally to settle the affairs of Achaia. And, accordingly, upon their arrival, the long-projected scheme of Roman policy was carried into execution. They began by the dissolution of the Achaean constitution, and by declaring the several states and cities, formerly component parts of that respectable league, to be henceforth entirely distinct and independent. All popular assemblies were forbidden throughout Peloponnesus, and that small share of the civil administration which the natives were permitted to retain, was transferred from the people, and placed in the hands of

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Thebes and
Chalcis
razed to the
ground.

Despair of
the Achae-
ans.

Dissolution of
the republic
of Achaia.

¹⁹ Liv. Epitom. L. lii.



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the richer few, whose responsible circumstances the Romans considered as a pledge of their subjection. At the same time, lest any individual should acquire an influence that might be troublesome to Rome, by the possession of extensive property, they not only took care to impoverish the more opulent families, by fines and severe taxations, but also enacted, that a Grecian should be incapable of encreasing his possessions by the purchase of any lands in Greece.

Reasons for
the Roman
severity.

It had, in former times, been the constant policy of Rome, in giving laws to the conquered, at first to disguise the severity of the humiliation to which she destined them. But now Achaia, for many years the most respectable of the Grecian states, of whose aid Rome had frequently availed herself, and whose greatest crime was, that she had liberties, which were dear to her, saw herself doomed at once to the most abject vassalage. The reason is evident: in those days of seeming gentleness, Syria, Macedon, and Carthage were still formidable; and had Rome at once avowed her purposes, the mingled feelings of interest, indignation, and despair, would surely have united these nations in a cause, which was in reality the cause of them all; and Rome might have been involved in a contest pregnant with difficulty and danger; whereas now, neither Syria nor Macedon was in a condition to excite her apprehensions; and the final destruction of Carthage by the younger Africanus, which had taken place about the same time with that of Corinth, enabled them to throw aside the mask of gentleness, as it left them not an enemy to fear.

THE



THE terms granted to Achaia, which we have mentioned, are recorded by Pausanias²⁰. But the particular severities employed on this occasion, he and every other historian have passed over in silence. Indeed an exact relation of all occurrences of this kind, which such a revolution must have produced, was hardly to be expected from the writers of those days; who, whether Grecian or Roman, influenced either by fear or shame, would avoid a minute detail of the melancholy story. With what unrelenting acrimony the Romans pursued these wretched remains of the Grecian people, we may, however, gather from a circumstance which Polybius²¹, though in a great measure the advocate of Rome, has preserved to us. The commissioners encouraged the preferring an accusation against those Achaean chiefs, who of old had distinguished themselves in advancing the prosperity, or vindicating the liberties of Achaia. Philopoemen and Aratus were arraigned as criminals! and even Achaeus, the supposed founder of the Achaean people, as if on this account he ought to be numbered among the enemies of Rome, was to have suffered by a posthumous condemnation! A request was preferred to the commissioners, that all the decrees which had been enacted to the honour of these patriots should be rescinded, and their statues overthrown. But while this extraordinary trial was carrying on, and when sentence was on the point of being pronounced, Polybius arrived in Peloponnesus, in his return from the siege of Carthage, whither he had accompanied his friend Scipio. Disposed, as Polybius might

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Extraordinary
prosecution
set on foot by
the Roman
commission-
ers.

²⁰ In Achaicis.

²¹ See Polyb. de virtut. & vitiis, p. 1483, & seqq. Casaub. 8^o.

be.



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The spirited
conduct of
Polybius:

be, from a regard to his personal safety and interest, and still more, perhaps, from an attachment to his Roman friend, to give way to the prejudices of that all-powerful people, and well apprized of the jealousy they entertained of these illustrious citizens, the boast and honour of Achaia; still this great man could not suppress his indignation at the ungenerous attempt. Philopoemen he had personally known in his earlier years, and had in part been a witness of the exalted virtues of that excellent patriot; "and shall then," said he, "that integrity of conduct, which was his glory, be now his guilt! Far from having been the inveterate enemy of Rome, he supported your cause, he fought under your banners, against Philip, against Antiochus; and if at any time he engaged in opposition to you, it was only, when impelled by the leading motive of all his actions, regard for his country. Such as he was, such were also Aratus, and those other Achaean chiefs, whose statues you are about to demolish; criminal, only because unalterably faithful to the interests of Achaia. And will you condemn in a Grecian, what in a Roman you would have accounted worthy of the highest praise?"

THE commissioners seemed convinced; and, probably conscious of the infamous part they were acting, artfully gave up to Polybius what they could not have insisted on, without making themselves altogether odious. They not only dropped the prosecution, but likewise caused the statues of Achaeus, Aratus, and Philopoemen, which had already been transported out of Peloponnesus, to be brought back. They even affected to do Polybius particular honour; and orders were issued to present him with whatever portion of the confiscated



confiscated estates he should think worthy of his acceptance; an offer which he nobly refused, disdain-
 ing to grow rich by the spoils of his unhappy countrymen. His disinterested spirit raised him still higher in the estimation of the Romans; and he had a commission given him, to visit the several districts of Achaia, and to re-establish tranquillity and cultivation throughout that distracted and desolated country. The ability and zeal with which he acquitted himself in the discharge of this delicate office, endeared him to all. To have encouraged the Achaeans in the most distant hopes of that liberty which they were never more to enjoy, would have been the highest cruelty. He therefore endeavoured to reconcile them to their present fate; to allay the various discontent and personal animosities which the late times of tumult and confusion had engendered; and to induce them to acquiesce in a peaceable submission to those laws, under which they were now destined to live.

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his disinter-
estedness;

AMIDST unavailing regret for having been so long deprived of the presence of a citizen, whose salutary instructions might possibly have prevented their ruin, the Achaeans gratefully acknowledged the importance of his present services by every mark of public esteem. Some of the statues then erected in honour of this patriot, Pausanias, who lived three hundred and twenty years after the destruction of Corinth, tells us, remained till his time. On one, which he saw in Arcadia, within the sacred precinct of the *Despoina*, the most revered of the Arcadian deities, appeared the following honourable inscription: "Polybius, from whose counsels Greece might

honours paid
him by his
countrymen.

²² See Paus. in Arcadicis.



BOOK VIII. " have derived safety, had Greece suffered herself to be
Sect. 2. " guided by them; and in whom she found her only pro-
" tector, in the day of her distress."

Greece formed
into a
province;

THE overthrow of the Achaean commonwealth finished the debasement of Greece, which soon after sunk into a Roman district, under the denomination of the province of Achaia; because with the overthrow of this republic was completed the final reduction of the Grecian states²². In this province were comprised Peloponnesus, Attica, Boeotia, Phocis, and all that part of Greece lying to the south of Epirus and Thessaly. All to the north of that line, as far as the utmost verge of the Macedonian frontier, was the province of Macedon. These two provincial governments of Macedon and Achaia, including the ancient dominions of the Macedonian princes, together with the several states and republics of Greece—that once illustrious land! ennobled by a number of glorious achievements! the chosen seat of liberty, science, polity, and arts! were henceforward to be consigned to humiliation and servitude!

THE Roman writers, however, speak of Greece, and particularly of Athens, as still retaining, under all the disadvantages of this provincial establishment, that pre-eminence in literature, by which she was distinguished in her days of freedom and glory. Accordingly, for some ages after, we find the Roman youth resorting thither, in quest of that improvement, or at least of that reputation, which the arts and

²² Pausan. in Achaicis.

sciences.



sciences of Greece were supposed capable of bestowing. But nevertheless, rather to the fame of antient days, than to any merit she from this period possessed, is the estimation of Rome to be ascribed. The liberties and genius of Greece gradually declined, and at last expired together. For, though her philosophical schools for a while maintained a respectable name; though, at distant intervals, a few writers of distinguished merit made their appearance, especially in the antiquarian and historical lines, yet did the general turn of the Grecian people soon become frivolous, and, in resemblance of their fortunes, groveling and servile. Their walk of learning seldom produced any thing higher than the professional rhetorician or the captious disputant; and what abilities they possessed were meanly prostituted in humouring the follies, or in administering to the depravity of their Roman masters. By degrees, therefore, the very appellation of Greek, which once implied superior talents and the highest mental improvement, came to signify somewhat exceedingly abject; and under the Roman Caesars was frequently used, by the satirists²⁴, as a term of the utmost reproach. Even those literary productions, which in this decline of Greece do her most honour, when compared with what went before, can only be considered as the feeble rays of the evening sun, when contrasted with his meridian splendor. What praise soever we may be willing to allow them, we search in vain for that originality; that just observance of nature; that richness of invention; that nervous sense; that glow and dignity of sentiment; that power of expression, which

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its decline in
literature
after this
period.

²⁴ See Juvenal passim.



BOOK characterize her earlier poets, historians, philosophers, and
VIII. orators.

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Age of glory
of the Gre-
cian people;

causes of
their decay
and final
overthrow.

FROM the days of Cimon, when Greece had attained the summit of her glory, to her final subjection to the Roman power, about three hundred and twenty years had elapsed; and from the death of Alexander the Great, when the whole Persian monarchy confessed the Grecian dominion, about one hundred and sixty. It may then be matter of useful instruction to inquire, from what causes that total alteration was brought on, which, within this period of time, appears to have taken place in the Grecian character; and whence, a people, whose civil institutions, prowess, and extensive accomplishments, seemed to lead to universal empire, should have thus declined, and with so little struggle have sunk into dependence and insignificance.

Division in-
to small, and
independent
principa-
lities;

I. THERE was originally a principle of weakness and decay in the very constitution of the Grecian government. Greece, parcelled out into a number of small states, each enjoying an independent sovereignty, was incapable of that exertion of strength, which results from conspiring counsels, and the joint efforts of an embodied people. On the important day of Marathon, of all the Grecian states, only ten thousand Athenians, and one thousand Plataeans appeared in support of the common cause. And though afterwards, roused by the example of Athens, other Grecian powers armed against the Persians, yet was this the armament only of a few states; formed too by most of them on a partial and confined plan, rather for the preservation of their own particular territories, than in vindication of the general liberties, and the defence



defence of the country at large; so that, had not the artifice as well as the firmness of Themistocles been employed on this interesting occasion, it had been hardly possible to have saved Greece. The council of the Amphietyones was indeed a kind of national senate, and probably in its first institution was designed to be the center of unity of the several states, whose representatives composed this august assembly. But this tribunal was chiefly adapted to the infant times of Greece. As particular states advanced in power, it was often too feeble to control the refractory, and at length found itself, as in the case of the second sacred war (that fatal era, from which Greece dates her decline) under the necessity of calling in foreign assistance to render its decisions effectual.

II. FROM these numerous sovereignties there arose, besides, endless jealousies and contests; the weaker states still suspecting the stronger; and the stronger by their ambitious encroachments justifying but too much the suspicions of the weaker. Scarcely had Greece recovered from the terror of the Persian invasion, when Sparta, regardless of the noble part that Athens had lately acted, could not conceal her envy at seeing this rival city spring more powerful from her ruins, and endeavoured to perpetuate her desolation. Throughout all the Grecian commonwealths the same unhappy spirit of envy and dissention prevailed, which was constantly encouraged and fomented, by the policy of the several princes who sat after Xerxes on the Persian throne. Conscious of their inferiority in arms, they endeavoured to divide those whom they could not subdue, and their intrigues and treachery were

jealousies
and contests
thence arising.

but



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but too successfully employed. "Ten thousand archers" have "driven me out of Asia," said Agesilaus²³, when the orators of Athens and Thebes, pensioners to the Persian king, had stirred up a war against Sparta, which obliged him to abandon his Asiatic conquests, and hasten to the defence of his own kingdom. To the like practices the Macedonian kings owed whatever advantage they obtained over Greece: And the Romans pursued the same arts with still greater effect; until, exhausted by her own domestic feuds, Greece fell an easy prey to her oppressors.

Difference in
their forms
of govern-
ment.

III. THE flame of intestine animosity acquired more fierceness, and more destructive rapidity from the difference in the forms of government that subsisted in the several Grecian commonwealths. Throughout Greece the establishment was, at least in part, democratical; but in some places, as in Athens, the power was lodged in the hands of the people at large; in some, as in Sparta, it was delegated only to a few. Where the *many* had the power, they not only were suspicious of whatever seemed to threaten their own privileges, but wished to establish the dominion of the multitude in every state around them. And, in like manner, the *few*, not content with securing themselves at home against the encroachments of the *many*, aimed at the introduction of their own contracted form of government, into all the neighbouring cities. Private ambition had here many tempting opportunities: the seeds of dissention every where prevailed: in

²³ An archer was the impress on the Persian coin.

²⁴ See Plut. in Agesilao.

every



every city two parties were at all times prepared for civil broils; mutually jealous, and mutually credulous of every misrepresentation; and equally violent in executing their resolves, as precipitate in forming them. So that under the specious pretence, either of defending the cause of freedom, or of controlling the excesses of a licentious populace, interested and ambitious leaders had always numbers at their call. The powers of Asia, of Macedon, and of Rome, in their successive attempts on the liberties of Greece, practised the same kind of artifice; under the guise of friendly interposition, playing one party against the other, and thus betraying the true interests of the state, and gradually wasting it into debility and subjection. At one period of time, we see in Diodorus, the number of exiles, whom party-violence had driven out of their native cities, amounted to twenty thousand. In the days of Polybius, we find the same spirit of dissention still continued; and it was happy for the sufferers, when this atrocious spirit was contented with banishment alone.

IV. THE democratical form, which, as we have seen, prevailed under various modes throughout Greece, however friendly we may suppose it to liberty, was attended with inconveniences of considerable detriment to the national prosperity. It opened an ample field to the factious and the turbulent; to the pretended patriot and the venal orator: It frequently rendered the public councils passionate, insolent, capricious, and unstable: It banished the ablest chiefs: It gave birth to those cruel and reproachful edicts, which we meet with even in the Athenian annals, against the Aeginetae,

Difficulty of
preserving a
democracy in
its purity.



Book VIII. Sect. 2. Aeginetae, against the Samians, against the ten admirals: and, what is yet a stronger instance of the folly often prevalent in popular assemblies, it produced that absurd Athenian law²⁷, which diverted to the amusement of a giddy multitude those funds, which had been originally appropriated to the most important department of government, "the support of their naval strength." That, in a political form, of which we are apt to conceive great things, and which, it must be confessed, has often wrought the noblest achievements, these mischiefs should be found, arises from the very nature of that form. The *vital principle* of democracy, as a celebrated writer *justly* observes²⁸, is *virtue*. And therefore, whilst invigorated by this exalting principle, democracies have reached an height of glory, which other forms of government emulate in vain. But on this very account also have democracies been more rapid in their declension than other political constitutions. Great opulence, and extent of empire, those darling objects of human ambition, whose allurements are so seldom resisted by political wisdom, have been always fatal to them; because, so prone to corruption is the human heart, that it is hardly possible this *vital principle* should preserve its vigour, beneath the baneful influence of an opulent and wide-extended dominion. The sage founder of the Spartan laws saw this, and endeavoured to provide for the security of Sparta, by excluding the pursuit of wealth and of extensive empire. But the temptations of successful war, and the avidity of man, defeated the purposes

²⁷ It was made death to move for a repeal of this law.

²⁸ *Esprit des Loix*, L. iii. c. 3.

of



FROM THE ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

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of the lawgiver²⁹. In contempt of the barriers, which he had raised, avarice and the lust of conquest made their way into Sparta, and produced their wonted effects of corruption and dissolution. The truth of this observation appears yet more remarkably in the fate of Athens. The history of the Pagan world has not a more august scene to produce than what Athens exhibited, from the third year of the sixty-seventh Olympiad, the expulsion of the Pisistratidae, to the third year of the eighty-second, the death of Cimon. During this memorable period, she told the number of her heroes by that of her citizens; and every virtue, that can give strength and dignity to a state, was found among that illustrious people. But too soon there succeeded the intoxication of prosperity³⁰; and that very democracy which, whilst they continued virtuous, was a source of glory, now, as their degeneracy advanced, added to the public calamity. Corrupted by that excess of power which they enjoyed, and which made them supreme in the dispensation of rewards and punishments, in the disposal of honours, in the decision of the most important questions of government; corrupted by the adulation with which their leaders and orators generally addressed them, the people considered themselves as above controul; and, in full confidence of their own strength, and vain, at the same time, of the glory derived to them from the prowess of their ancestors, they looked down with contempt on other nations, and with fond credulity entertained every visionary scheme of conquest,

²⁹ See Polyb. L. vi. c. 46. 47.

³⁰ See Polyb. L. vi. c. 42.

4 N

with



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with which their flattering demagogues sought to amuse them. Athens had extended her establishments along the coasts of Thrace and of Asia, and over most of the adjacent islands; yet, as if this were little, both Sicily and Egypt became the objects of her ambition; and a city, that scarcely mustered twenty thousand citizens, is said to have conceived the mad project of attempting the empire of the world. Meanwhile, they had rendered their yoke insupportable even to their Grecian neighbours; their confederates they treated as vassals; and the contributions which they received from them, and which they were to have administered for the general good, they wantonly lavished on the pride and magnificence of their own city; in name the *protectors* of Greece, but in reality its *oppressors*. Amidst all this insolence and bold shew of enterprize, the Athenians nevertheless had nothing of their antient vigour remaining. Employed in the bustle of their popular assemblies, or in the ostentatious display of those trappings of sovereignty, with which the citizen of Athens was invested, they had substituted the clamour and chicanery of debate to military exertion; and while they were careful of their proficiency in intrigue and cabal, they were backward to maintain a superiority in arms. This debasement was manifested at Chaeronea; and, as if the reproach of that defeat had only served to encrease their cowardice and abjectness, they shewed it in a manner still more opprobrious at Lamia. Only two hundred Athenians, Pausanias³¹ tells us, had fallen there; and yet, as if cut off from all resource, they tamely opened their gates, and submitted, without reserve, to Anti-

³¹ In Achaicia.



pater. But indeed prosperity, the pride of dominion, the vacant and unwarlike ease of a municipal life, had produced a total change in the Athenian character. That people, whom the devastation of their territories, and their city in flames, had not discouraged from supporting the liberties of Greece against the powers of Asia, were now reduced to the most pusillanimous despondency, by the slightest reverse of fortune; and, strangers to the spirit of their ancestors, because strangers to their virtues, they resigned themselves to servitude with an abject timidity, scarcely to be believed of a republic, lately the haughtiest to be found in the annals of history.

V. BUT what seems to have had the largest share in bringing decay and humiliation on the Grecian people, was *the fatal prevalence of Atheistical tenets*, which, for above a century, had been spreading from the Epicurean school through every part of Greece. It was the wish of Fabricius²², when told by Cineas of the opinions which Epicurus was then propagating, “that they might be adopted “by the enemies of Rome!” The event did honour to the wisdom and foresight of this virtuous Roman. The baneful doctrine completed the ruin of Grecian manners. Naturally volatile, of a sceptical turn, and, from the arts of refinement and elegance which were familiar to them, prone to dissipation and pleasurable indulgences, the Greeks but too eagerly embraced a system, that levelled all religious restraints, and left them without a God to inspect human actions. The consequence was, what in the like case it will ever be. We have it

Fatal influence of irreligion.

²² See Plut. in Pyrrho.



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from Polybius¹¹, who was an eye-witness, that venality, fraud, treachery, an utter disregard of country, of the most sacred oaths, of all ties whatsoever, human and divine, crimes which indicate in the strongest manner the corruption of a nation, and are the surest presages of its ruin, soon became prevalent throughout most of the states of Greece. The Achaeans seem to have been the only exception. Possibly, as they were a plainer people, and less conversant in philosophical researches, the contagion had made less progress among them. Accordingly the Romans, who, from the vicious and enervated state of the other Grecian commonwealths, had obtained an easy conquest, met here with a vigour and strength of virtue, such as they little expected; and, amidst that general wreck of principle that marks those degenerate days, it was the glory of Achaia, to have a number of citizens who, steady to the interests of their country, treated the temptations held out by Rome, with their merited contempt, and beheld her warlike operations without dismay. To defeat this formidable opposition, the Romans contrived the expedient already related. Under the pretence of transmitting them to Rome to prove their innocence of a charge which the Romans themselves knew to be groundless, they seized on upwards of a thousand of the most respectable of the Achaean nobles, and sent them to perish in Italy. In the mean while, taking advantage of the distracted councils of a people who were now abandoned to the misrule of demagogues of equal turbulence and incapacity, they effected their long-concerted project, the final overthrow of the Achaean liberties.

¹¹ See Polyb. L. ii. c. 45. L. vi. c. 54. 55. L. xii. c. 1. L. xiii. de virtutibus et vitiis.



IT would have been, however, some recompence to Greece, for the loss of her independence, if she had found an effectual defence in that power, to which she was thus subjected; and if, under the protection of her new masters, she had seen her tranquillity re-established; but she had not even this consolation. Confounded in that mass of nations, which formed the enormous and unwieldy body of the Roman empire, she ceased to have any fortunes of her own; and at the same time, though, from her situation, it was forbidden to her to partake unmixed of whatever prosperity the Romans happened to enjoy, she shared largely in most of their calamities; in the distresses of the Mithridatic war; in the depredations of the Cilician pirates; in the bloody contests between Caesar and Pompey; between the republican party of Brutus, and the avengers of Caesar's death; between Octavius and Mark Antony; in the various oppressions, of which the despotism of the emperors was afterwards productive; and, at length, in that general devastation which overspread this mighty state from the repeated incursions of barbarian nations. Not to mention, how severely the private vices of the Romans themselves were often felt by this unhappy country, in the exactions and insults which she had often to suffer from her despotic governors; the common fate of all the provinces under the yoke of Rome. Until, from these several causes, Greece finally was left, as she is at this day, with hardly a trace of her former glories.

A CURSORY view of what is most memorable in these latter events shall close this part of our history.

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Abject state
of Greece
after its sub-
jection to the
Roman power.

B. O. O. K.



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S E C T I O N III.

C O N T E N T S.

Greece threatened by the Cimbri—joins Mithridates.—Character and views of that prince.—Siege and ruin of Athens by Sylla.—Sylla overthrows the armies of Mithridates—close of the fortunes of Mithridates.—Greece ravaged by the Cilician corsairs—involvement in the civil wars between Caesar and Pompey; between the republican party and the avengers of Caesar's death; between Octavius and Mark Antony.—Abject condition of Greece under the Roman Emperors.—Irruption of the Goths.—Reigns of Constantine—Constantius—Julian—Jovian—Valentinian—Valens—Gratian—Theodosius—Arcadius, and Honorius.—Overthrow of the Roman empire in the West.—Ruin of Greece by the Barbarians.—Decline and fall of the empire of Constantinople.—Present state of Greece.

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Greece
threatened
by the Cim-
bri,

GREECE, debilitated and exhausted, and still bleeding from the wounds of Rome, beheld, with all the terror of conscious weakness, the Cimbri^a hovering on her northern

^a Liv. Epitom. L. lxiij.

boundaries.



boundaries. To complete her misfortunes, this impending storm of war had scarcely blown over, when the ambitious schemes of Mithridates of Pontus exposed her to new dangers, and involved her in fresh calamities.

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THIS extraordinary prince, the most powerful of his time, and the most able and enterprising who had ever taken up arms against Rome, demands particular notice². He was the eighth in descent from that Mithridates who, fleeing from the presence of Antigonus to the Euxine sea, had laid the foundation of the kingdom of Pontus. The voice of flattery gave him an origin still more illustrious, tracing his ancestry down from the antient line of the princes of the house of Cyrus. A minor at the time of his father's death, who had perished by domestic treason, and himself exposed to a similar fate, he was driven to seek for safety in the forests; where, under the pretence of pursuing the chase, he changed his haunts night after night, taking his repose on the ground, like the inhabitants of the wild; and never, during seven years, entering into any city, nor venturing under the cover of a roof. By this means he acquired a hardiness of body, that was proof against every extreme of weather, and not to be subdued by any toil. The danger of his situation suggested an additional precaution: he fortified himself with a certain medicine, of which he is said to have been the inventor, and which is reported to have been an infallible antidote against the effects of the most powerful poison.

Mithridates;

his early fortunes:

² See Appian de Bello Mithridat: Plutarch. in Syllâ, Lucullo, Pompeio.

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His father had been in friendship with the Romans, and had done them important services in their war against Antiochus, the last of the Pergamenian kings. The son was too formidable to be admitted to the same friendly intercourse. The Romans viewed him with jealousy, and resolved to accomplish his humiliation. With this view, the senate judged it expedient to circumscribe his sovereignty within narrower limits. Provoked at the presumption of this arbitrary attempt, Mithridates conceived the bold design of overthrowing the Roman empire in Asia; a great part of which he soon united under his own banners. Three Roman generals marched against him; the proconsul Lucius Cassius, Quintus Oppius, and Manius Aquilius, a man of consular dignity, who had been honoured with a triumph, and was at this time at the head of the Roman commissioners for the settlement of Asia. Mithridates defeated them all, and having gotten the three commanders into his hands, regardless of their quality, exposed them to ridicule and scorn, producing them by way of spectacle through the Asiatic cities. Aquilius particularly, whom he charged with being the author of the war, was treated with the utmost contumely. He loaded him with chains, and mounting him on an ass, compelled him, as he passed along, to inform the gazing multitude of his name, and his rank in the Roman armies³. To mark yet farther the execration

attempts to
overthrow
the Roman
empire in
Asia.

³ Mithridates probably considered this as an act of justice. Manius Aquilius was in fact a person who merited infamy: he had triumphed at the close of the Pergamenian war, though, in the conduct of it he had done little service; Perpenna having brought that war nearly to a conclusion; but, he dying, Aquilius stepped into the command, and claimed the merit of what another had achieved. A few of the Asiatic cities still remaining to be reduced, he, in violation of the laws of war, treacherously



execration in which he held the Roman name, he issued orders to the Asiatics in the several provinces throughout his dominions, on an appointed day to massacre every Roman and Italian they could find among them, without regard to age, sex, or condition; the debtor to have half the fortune of the creditor, whom he should murder, and the slave, who had slain his master, his liberty; and forbidding them, under the pain of death, to save any of their lives, or, when dead, to give them burial. The atrocity of these orders, and, still more, the horrid zeal with which they were executed, strongly evince how odious the Romans must have been to the Asiatic nations; eighty thousand, by the lowest accounts, having perished in this massacre; neither the feelings of humanity, the claims of gratitude, the ties of friendship, nor the reverence of religion, shielding those unhappy victims from the savage fury of unrelenting vengeance; even those who fled for refuge to the temples, being torn from them, or slaughtered at the altars. The death of Manius Aquilius closed this scene of horror; Mithridates causing molten gold to be poured down his throat, in reproach of Roman avarice.

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his sanguinary orders.

Massacre of the Romans and Italians throughout Asia.

treacherously poisoned the springs, from whence they were supplied with water, and thus compelled them to surrender. We may judge, accordingly, how the Asiatics, who had suffered so much from his perfidiousness, must have enjoyed his humiliation.

See Florus, L. ii. c. 20.

* Liv. Epitom. L. lxxviii. Appian. ub. sup.

† An hundred and fifty thousand, says Plutarch (in Sylla).



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Mithridates
forms an al-
liance with
the Grecian
states.

THE object of Mithridates was now to attempt an alliance with the states of Greece; with their assistance to pursue his plan of hostilities in the neighbourhood of Italy; and, should circumstances favour him, to carry the war into the heart of the Roman empire. The conjuncture was favourable to his designs. The Romans, distressed at home, first by the Italian insurgents or the confederate war, and afterwards by the dissensions which Marius and Sylla had excited, seemed to have withdrawn their attention from Greece. These circumstances, with the powerful arguments that Mithridates had to offer, "of the exploits already achieved by him," and "of his avowed enmity to Rome," could not fail of establishing an interest with a people, in their happiest days impatient and changeable, and at this time sharpened to a keener sense of the oppressions they endured, by the very remembrance of the liberties which they had enjoyed. The Athenians even prevented his wishes. Exasperated by certain fines, which the Romans had lately imposed on them, they had sent an embassy to the king of Pontus, to implore his protection. Nothing could coincide more opportunely with his views. A considerable body of land-forces, under the command of his son Ariarathes', and another under that of Archelaus, with a large naval armament, were immediately ordered to their assistance. At the same time that his troops under Archelaus took possession of Athens, his fleet was employed, with the most rapid success, in reducing the numerous islands that cover the Aegean sea; and Ariarathes extended his conquests through Thrace and Macedon. In Greece, the Roman commander Brutius Sura opposed Archelaus at first with vi-

' Appian calls him Arcathias.

gour,



gour, and in one engagement obliged him to retreat to his ships. But this check produced nothing decisive. And the whole province of Achaia, from Thessaly to the Cretan sea, had soon acknowledged Mithridates; the little city of Thespiæ having been, it is said, the only place, whose resistance rendered a siege necessary.

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MEAN while Sylla, having expelled the Marian faction, prepared to punish the Grecian revolt. His very name impressed terror and dismay. As soon as his approach was known, the Grecian cities, Athens alone excepted, conscious of guilt, sent to deprecate his wrath, and to tender their submission. The other more important wars, to which his ambition was exciting him, probably saved them. Disdaining to stoop to any mean game, he marched with rapidity to Athens, where the chief of the Mithridatic force seemed to be collected. His aim was, to extinguish at once the war in Greece, by storming Athens. But this he found a task more difficult than he expected.

Sylla enters
Greece;

marches
against
Athens.

ATHENS was divided into two parts, the upper town, and the lower. The upper, comprehending the city properly so called, together with the Acropolis or Athenian citadel, was inclosed within one common wall of considerable strength. The lower, distant about five miles from the upper, was the great sea-port of Athens, generally known by the name of the Piræus; famed for its noble arsenal, for its docks, and the variety and extent of its buildings for naval purposes; for the number of seamen and artificers with which it was crowded; and above all, for its harbour, the work of Themistocles, said to have been large enough to afford

State of
Athens:



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shelter to a thousand ships^a, and opening its capacious bosom to the trade, not only of the adjacent islands, but to that of Asia and Egypt. Around it was a fortification of stone, raised by Pericles, sixty feet in height, and of proportional thickness, remarkable for the massy size of the stones with which it was constructed, and yet more so for the compactness and solidity of their junctures. From the Piraeus to Athens there was a road, secured on each side by a strong wall, which formed a communication between the port and the city.

defended by
Aristion,

IN the upper town Aristion possessed the command; a factious demagogue, who had risen to power by an abject compliance with the follies and vices of the multitude; and who by profession was an Epicurean philosopher, but, like many of that dangerous sect, concealed under this philosophic disguise the blackest flagitiousness of mind. By intrigue he had been appointed ambassador to Mithridates, into whose favour he had insinuated himself by the servility of his deportment, and by betraying to him the interests of his country. On his return, he had amused the Athenians with assurances, that the great views of Mithridates were pointed solely to the humiliation of Rome, with the restoration of the popular government,

^a So says Pliny, L. vii. c. 37. Strabo, probably more exact, says four hundred. Spon (Voyage de la Grece, tom. ii.) supposes, that in its present state it could hardly be capable of receiving fifty of our large ships. See Chandler's Travels in Greece, chap. 5. for a full account of this famed harbour. From a marble lion, of admirable workmanship, ten feet high, which was placed at the inmost extremity of this harbour, it has been known by the name of Porto Draco, or Porto Liono. The lion has been carried away by the Venetians, and is now to be seen before the arsenal at Venice.

and



and all the ancient liberties of Greece. Having, by these arts, obtained by degrees the unlimited confidence of the multitude, he soon usurped the sovereign authority, and used it like a tyrant, exercising the severe scourge of arbitrary sway on the very people who had trusted him with power; murdering or banishing, under pretence of having discovered their connections with Rome, every man whose wealth could tempt his avarice, or whose station or virtues could alarm his fears. Urged on therefore by his crimes, Aristion, though not truly brave, which a villain never is, was desperate; and had embraced the resolution to suffer every extremity, rather than yield to a foe, from whom, he well knew, he had no mercy to expect.

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IN the lower town, Archelaus had the direction of the military operations, a brave and experienced officer, who was attentive to improve every advantage of his situation. Beside a numerous garrison, he had a strong fleet at his disposal, which enabled him to command from abroad every necessary supply. And, in addition to these advantages, there was an army of above an hundred thousand men in Macedon, ready to march to his assistance.

and Arche-
laus.

SYLLA, on the contrary, after some fruitless attempts to carry the place by storm, saw himself beset with difficulties. He had brought with him only five legions and a few cohorts, in all about thirty thousand men; a force far inferior to that of the enemy. Besides, he had neither the machines necessary for a siege, nor military stores of any kind, nor money to purchase them. But in his own daring mind he found resources for every want. He sent Lucullus into Egypt for naval succours. He prevailed on the inhabitants of Aetolia

Sylla's diffi-
culties.

and



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and resources.

and Thessaly, probably by way of atoning for their late defection, to send him a reinforcement of men, and a supply of arms and provisions. He cut down all the sacred groves round Athens, and spared not those of the Lycaeum and Academy in the Athenian suburbs, in order to procure timber for his engines; and he seized on the holy treasures at Epidaurus, Olympia, and Delphi. His answer to Caphis, a certain Phocian, whom he dispatched on this errand to the Delphic temple, is memorable; and shews, that this stern Roman was as little embarrassed by scruples of religion, as by the feelings of humanity. Just as Caphis was preparing to seize the sacred offerings, the priests contrived that the lyre of Apollo should be heard to sound from the inmost sanctuary; Caphis, struck with a religious horror, immediately desisted, and sent the Roman commander an account of the tremendous prodigy. Sylla replied jestingly, "that he was surpris'd Caphis did not know, that music was the expression, not of anger but of joy. And that he might therefore boldly take the treasures, since Apollo gave them with such good will."

He is baffled
in his several
attempts;

WITH all these aids, however, Sylla had not much to boast of. He attempted to scale the walls, and was repulsed. His warlike engines were set on fire, and destroyed in a sally of the besieged. He battered their works in vain, while a new wall instantly appeared behind every breach that had been made. He tried to proceed by mining; but the Athenians countermined his works, and slew or put to flight his miners. Thus baffled in every attempt, and winter coming on, he resolved to change the siege into a blockade, in hopes of re-

• Plut. in Sylla.

ducing



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ducing the place by famine. He had already thrown down part of the long walls, which joined the Piraeus to Athens, and had made a lodgement on the very road, which served as a communication between them, so that the former method of conveying provisions from the port to the city, was rendered almost impracticable. Difficulties, however, he still had to combat; and these arose chiefly from Archelaus, who, active and enterprising, took every opportunity, and often with success, to attack the Roman lines, and to throw relief into Athens; but the treachery of two Athenians belonging to the Piraean garrison, at length enabled Sylla to prevent even these precarious and hazardous supplies. Expert at the sling, they discharged a number of leaden bullets into the Roman camp, day after day, inscribed with notices of whatever Archelaus was preparing to do——“to-morrow we shall make a sally”——“on a part of your lines is the attack to be”——“at such an hour the convoy sets out”——and Sylla took his measures accordingly.

forms the
plan of re-
ducing the
place by fa-
mine.

DEPRIVED in this manner of every resource, Athens soon began to feel the utmost severity of want. A bushel of wheat was sold for a thousand drachmas¹⁰, the people feeding not only on the herbs and roots that grew spontaneously in the citadel, but on sodden leather and oil-bags, some even on human carcases, while the tyrant indulged in plenty and riot; and when applied to by the priests and chief men of Athens, who conjured him to compassionate the public misery, and treat with the Romans, he commanded his guards to answer them with a shower of arrows, and drive them from his

Distress of
Athens:

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¹⁰ £. 32 5. 10.

presence,



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taken by
storm.

presence. Sylla had information of all these proceedings; and rightly judging, that now was the favourable moment, determined once more to try whether storming might not succeed. A part of the wall having been observed to be lower than the rest, there he directed the attack to be made; and taking the opportunity of the dead hour of the night, he carried his point with little difficulty; the inhabitants, from surprise, or from their present feeble condition, or perhaps from the disaffection of many to a service, which terror alone had made them submit to, scarcely attempting opposition. These considerations, the last especially, from a more merciful conqueror, might have obtained some degree of favour for Athens in this hour of its misery. But of a temper naturally rigid and vindictive, and by long practice made familiar with deeds of blood, Sylla had become a perfect stranger to all the tender feelings of humanity. He had besides been irritated by the obstinate resistance he had met with; and still more, if we are to believe Plutarch", by certain personal insults he had received from Aristion, who, during the siege, fearless of the issue, had wantonly insulted the Roman general as he passed under the walls; and Sylla possessed not that greatness of mind which forgives or contemns such indignities.

Vindictive
spirit of
Sylla.

EAGER therefore for revenge, he abandoned to his soldiers the plunder of the city, with express orders, that all within the walls, whether citizens or soldiers, male or female, young or aged, should be indiscriminately put to the sword. The

" Ubi sup.

scene



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scene that followed is one of the most dreadful that is recorded in the Grecian annals. Goaded on by the fierceness of Sylla, and, not less strongly perhaps, by their own resentments and avarice, the soldiery rushed furiously against this emaciated, dispirited, defenceless multitude; the darkness of the midnight hour, the sound of trumpets, the blowing of horns, the clang of arms, the shouts of the conquerors, and the screams of despair, all contributing to the horrors of this inhuman massacre. Unchecked by any resistance, slaughter had soon made its way from quarter to quarter; many of the miserable inhabitants, worn out with want, offering themselves to the stroke of death; and some, even before the sword of the enemy reached them, unwilling to outlive the liberties, or the existence of their country, or wishing to prevent the violence of the brutal soldier, falling by their own hands. The number of the slain, according to Plutarch, was so great, that it exceeded all computation, and was only to be judged of from the quantity of blood, which is said to have poured in torrents through the gates of the city.

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SATED at length with carnage, Sylla yielded to the importunities of those about him, and with ill-feigned mercy, consented to spare what remained of this wretched people. He granted their lives, he said, from the high respect he bore to their illustrious ancestors, "forgiving the *many* on account of the *few*, the *living* for the sake of the *dead*."

his ill-feigned
mercy.

AMIDST the confusion of the night, Aristion and his minions had escaped into the citadel; but in a few days the want

Fate of Aristion.

¹² Plut. in Sylla.



BOOK VIII. Sect. 3. of water obliged them to surrender: the tyrant was put to death by the command of Sylla, and together with him, according to Appian²², all who had shared in his councils.

The Piræus taken.

SOON after the taking of Athens, the Piræus was evacuated; Archelaus, who saw that it was no longer defensible, now that the higher grounds were in the possession of the enemy, drawing off his troops, and contenting himself with blocking up the mouth of the harbour with his fleet. Here therefore human victims were wanting to satisfy the exterminating spirit of the conqueror; and instead of these, the magnificent structures, and various decorations, with which Athenian pride and genius had during three hundred years been adorning this favourite port, supplied fresh objects to his fury. He set fire to the place, and then demolished whatever the flames had not destroyed. In the sacking of the upper city, a considerable part of it had been levelled with the ground. But here Sylla reduced the whole to one dismal mass of ruins, not a single edifice escaping from his more than gothic barbarity.

Destruction of Athens.

THIS was the most complete destruction that Athens had ever experienced since the Persian invasion! and it was with difficulty, and by slow degrees that she ever rose again to consideration. When the devastations of war had ceased, the few Athenian families that survived returned to their ruined city; and both public and private munificence were employed from time to time in repairing her breaches. But still many

²² De bello Mithrid.

monuments



monuments of Sylla's vengeance remained long; and it was not till the days of the emperor Hadrian, the most bountiful of her latter benefactors, that she began to resume somewhat of her former splendor.

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THE destruction of Athens was, however, but a part of what Greece had to suffer from the hands of Sylla. He had scarcely taken possession of that city, when Taxiles, who had succeeded to the command of the army of Mithridates, on the death of Ariarathes, the king's son¹⁴, and now, by repeated supplies, had increased his forces to an hundred and twenty thousand men, marched against him from Macedon; and having been joined by Archelaus, advanced into Boeotia. Sylla's numbers, with all the reinforcements he could procure, were two-thirds short of those of the enemy. To intrench himself within the Athenian ruins, where it had been difficult for the Asiatics to force him, seemed his only resource. But the country of Attica being now a waste, and his troops being in danger of perishing by famine should he attempt to remain in his present position, he determined to advance into the plain, and boldly trust the event to Roman courage. A particular account of the action that followed, belongs to another history. It is sufficient to say, that, the two armies having joined battle at Chaeronea, Sylla obtained a complete victory, with the possession of the enemies camp, while an

Sylla defeats
the armies of
Mithridates;

¹⁴ From the private papers of Mithridates, which Pompey (Plutarch in Pompeio) found in the castle of Caenon, it appeared, that the young prince had fallen a victim to *eastern jealousy*; he was taken off by poison by his father's orders; whose envy and suspicions were probably both awakened by the martial reputation he had acquired in Macedon.



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hundred and ten thousand of their men were left dead upon the field. Mithridates, unappalled by misfortunes, and fruitful in resources, immediately dispatched Dorylaeus at the head of an army of eighty thousand men, to oppose Sylla. They engaged at Orchomenos in Boeotia; where, notwithstanding the most spirited exertion on the part of the Asiatics, which at one time had nearly proved fatal to the Romans¹⁵, Sylla proved again victorious. History speaks highly of his valour as well as conduct on both these occasions. It is suspected, however, that another cause contributed much to his success. Archelaus is said to have been drawn into a treasonable correspondence with Sylla, and to have sold his master. Of this Mithridates himself, in a letter to Artabanus, king of the Parthians¹⁶, appears to have entertained strong suspicions. It is certain, that Sylla ever after treated Archelaus with extraordinary regard, presented him with a large tract of land¹⁷, in the island of Euboea, and conferred on him the title of the FRIEND AND ALLY OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE; favours, which he would never have bestowed, had they not been purchased by important services.

executes
vengeance on
the Boeotians.

THE first use that Sylla made of his victories, was, to execute vengeance on the Boeotians. This unhappy people, whose country had been the scene of the late battles, had

¹⁵ The Romans were retreating in confusion, when Sylla, frantic at the sight, leaped off his horse, seized one of the ensigns, and rushing in among the fugitives, "here," cried he, "shall I die with honour: and you, Romans, when asked, where you betrayed your general, remember to tell, it was at Orchomenos." Shame, and a sense of honour, stopped their flight, and turned the fortune of the day. Plut. in Sylla.

¹⁶ Fragm. Sallust. L. iv.

¹⁷ Ten thousand acres.

already



already suffered severely by the common desolations of war, and the insolence and rapine of the Asiatics¹⁸ as well as Romans. Sylla's resentment was not so easily to be appeased. Beside the guilt of the first defection, in which they shared with the rest of Greece, they were charged, and probably not without reason, with having given assistance to both the Asiatic armies. In revenge, he abandoned Boeotia to massacre and devastation; many of the cities¹⁹ were laid in ruins²⁰, and the inhabitants condemned to indiscriminate slaughter. To complete the whole, he deprived the Thebans of half their territory, consecrating it to the Pythian Apollo and the Olympian Jupiter, "to make compensation," said the pious ravager, "to those gods for the treasures that he had taken from them."

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As to Mithridates, though Greece had no connection with his subsequent fortunes, yet here the following short sketch of them may not improperly be placed. However humbled by repeated overthrows, he still rose superior to every disaster; continuing, through a long series of wars, of victories, of defeats, of negotiations, and of conventions, the irreconcilable-

Latter fortunes of Mithridates;

¹⁸ A short time before the battle of Chaeronea, the barbarians, though seemingly in friendship with the Boeotians, had in their excursions sacked two Boeotian cities, Panopea and Lebadea, and pillaged the oracular temple, for which the latter was famed. Plut. in Syllâ.

¹⁹ Three of them; Anthedon, Larymna, and Alaeæ, are particularly mentioned.

²⁰ We have from Plutarch (in Syllâ) the following anecdote, from which we may judge, with what an unfeeling severity these wretched cities had been treated. Syllâ one day in his walks meeting with some fishermen, who presented him with a curious dish of fish, inquired, whence they were; when hearing they were Alaeans, "what," said he, "are any of the Alaeans alive!"

able-



B O O K VIII. Sect. 3. able enemy of Rome. Though opposed at different periods by three of the greatest generals of his time, Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey, yet he was never totally subdued. At last, when seemingly bereaved of all his hopes, and driven into a remote and inhospitable corner of his dominions, we see him with astonishment forming the bold design of an irruption into Italy, by the very road, which some ages after the northern bands attempted and prosecuted with such fatal success. At the time he conceived this daring plan, he was drawing near his seventieth year; and yet, even thus circumstanced, Rome had probably found him a second Hannibal, had not the revolt of his son Pharnaces disconcerted his councils, and put an end to all his schemes. Of all his sons he held him dearest, considered him as the last support of his royal house, and had appointed him his successor; as from him, amidst the various treasons, which he had experienced from the rest of his children, he had always met with attachment and fidelity. Overwhelmed by this unexpected blow, the hoary monarch, in a fit of despair, at once put a period to his own misfortunes, and to the fears of Rome. How formidable he must have been to the Romans, we may judge from the intemperate joy they indulged upon receiving the tidings of his death, "as if," says Plutarch, "ten thousand of their enemies had been slain in Mithridates".

his death.

Rise and progress of the Cilician corsairs;

To the calamities of the Mithridatic war there soon succeeded, what proved nearly as fatal to Greece, the depredations of the Cilician corsairs. These lawless rovers had their original

Plutarch. in Pomp.

settlement



settlement among the rocks and fastnesses of the Cilician coast²², where, enriched by numerous prizes, which the adjacent seas and islands afforded them, and taking advantage of the contests or the weakness of the Asiatic princes around, in whose service they were occasionally employed, they acquired a degree of strength, which rendered them at length the terror of all the neighbouring states. In this situation Mithridates found them, when that enterprising prince was meditating the empire of Asia. He saw at once the important advantage to be derived from the intrepidity and naval experience of these ravagers, and disdained not to enrol them among his confederates. Emboldened by this alliance, they now adventured on expeditions more distant and hazardous, and had soon extended their excursions from the pillars of Hercules to the shores of Egypt; whilst the Romans, embarrassed on every side by intestine commotions, and the precarious condition of many of their most valuable provinces, marked the gathering storm, without being able to guard against it.

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ELATED and assisted by incidents so alluring and favourable, these sons of rapine rose to a degree of power, that seemed to promise nothing less than the sovereignty of the Mediterranean. Not contented with attacking ships, they assailed towns and islands. They had in various parts their arsenals, their ports, their watch-towers, all strongly fortified. The number of their gallees amounted to a thousand, which were most completely equipped; and the cities, of which they were in possession, were not fewer than four hundred. Nor was

their power
and success;

²² See Strab. L. xiv. p. 459. Flor. L. iii. c. 6.



B o o k . there one place almost of note throughout the whole Me-
VIII. diterranean sea, that had not paid them contributions, or
Sect. 3. suffered from their depredations. Even the legions of Italy
 could not secure her from these piratical invaders. They in-
 sulted her coasts; they even ventured upon inland incur-
 sions, plundering villas, and carrying off both plunder and
 people; so that within a certain distance of the sea-side there
 was no longer any travelling with safety.

they ravage
Greece;

To these predatory invasions Greece, by her situation, was necessarily much exposed. The multitude of islands which surrounded her, and the great extent of coast open to the Aegean, the Cretan, and the Ionian seas, abounding with creeks and harbours, and presenting to the view flourishing cities, rich pasturages, and various scenes of rural wealth, which overspread this beautiful country, were objects too inviting to be passed over without a visit from these rapacious spoilers. Accordingly, few countries appear to have suffered more. They plundered her ships; they pillaged her towns; they laid waste her territory. And on the Peloponnesian coast with such success were their depredations carried on, that the promontory of Malea, the south-east point of this part of Greece, received from them the name of the *golden promontory*²³. They did not spare even the temples of the gods. Plutarch reckons seven of the most revered temples of Greece, which, until that period, the rapacious hand of the invader had never dared to violate. But these now were laid in ruins; amongst which number we find the famous temple of Juno at Argos, and that of Aesculapius at Epidaurus.

5

²³ Florus, *ubi sup.*

DURING



DURING a period of near forty years, these enemies of mankind had thus continued their outrages, when the Romans, now in some measure relieved from their late embarrassments, resolved to employ every effort for their extirpation. The arms of Pompey, to whom the conduct of the war was committed, were completely successful. He destroyed their fleets, pursued them to their most secret haunts, and dispossessed them of all their fortresses. Having at last reduced them to unconditional submission, he dispersed them in different countries, appointing them inland settlements, that, having no prospect of the sea, they might not again be tempted to renew their naval depredations. As to Greece, from a remarkable circumstance, recorded by Plutarch on this occasion, we may judge what at this period was her deplorable state of depopulation, in consequence of these calamities. It was found expedient, in order to re-people the country, to transplant a considerable body of these pirates into Peloponnesus. Pompey assigned them the territory of the Dymeans, lately one of the principal tribes of the Achaean confederacy; this whole district, as large, and formerly as fruitful as any in Achaia, being now, to use Plutarch's words, *widowed of inhabitants*²⁴.

are extirpated by Pompey.

Deplorable state of Greece.

THE guilty scenes, that soon after followed, are well known; when ambition finished what corruption had begun; and when the ruin of the Roman liberties, which rapacity, venality, and dissoluteness had been preparing, was completely effected by the bold and ardent spirit of Caesar, the dissipation of Antony, and the calm time-watching hypocrisy of Octavius.

The Romans lose their liberties.

²⁴ Χρηϊθουσαν ἀνδρων. In Pompeio.



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The civil
wars of the
Romans fatal
to Greece.

The sword of civil discord had not long been unsheathed, when Italy poured the whole war into this unfortunate land; and by the contending factions of Rome were the plains of Pharfalia drenched in blood. Upon Caesar's death, the contest was renewed; and Greece became again the field, in which the prize of empire was to be disputed. The jealousies of Octavius and Antony produced a third war; and still was Greece, as before, the scene of action; on the coast of Epire being fought the battle that gave to Octavius the world.

WITHOUT the aid of history, the mind may easily conceive what must have been the desolations²⁵ of a country, the theatre of all these hostile operations, compelled to take an active part in civil broils, and thinned of its people by wars, not its own; whilst a multitude of foreign bands, many of them fierce barbarians, from Gaul, from Thrace, from Africa, from the forests of Germany, and from the wilds of Caucasus, invited thither by the hopes of spoil, completed the distress. Yet even these calamities, inseparable perhaps from convulsions such as these, and which, it might be expected,

²⁵ When Antony was preparing to fight Octavius, Plutarch (in Antonio) informs us, the reapers and ass-drivers, even the very boys, throughout Greece, were forced away to man Antony's fleet. Plutarch's great grandfather, Nicarchus, was at this time at Chaeronea, his place of residence; and he used to relate, that the inhabitants of this part of the country, not having horses, were compelled to carry the corn on their own backs to the sea-coast, as far as Anticyra on the Corinthian gulph, and were driven by the soldiers with stripes, like beasts of burthen. And after the battle of Actium, in such extreme indigence were the cities of Greece, having been plundered of all they had, that Caesar, though highly displeased with them for their attachment to Antony, was induced by their distress, to order the corn, which had been provided for the use of the war, to be distributed among them.

would



would have terminated with the cessation of hostilities, Greece found to her sorrow only the commencement of her sufferings. The war being ended, whoever had not been the victor's friends, were now considered as his foes; vengeance and rapaciousness, easily found out pretences against all, from whom plunder might be expected; and the pillage of cities, and the confiscation of territories, were as the right and the reward of the conqueror. Caesar himself, the most clement tyrant that ever rose to power by the sword, was not altogether innocent of these vindictive executions. The Athenians had declared against him; and their whole country, now beginning to recover from Sylla's desolations, he again reduced to a ruinous waste. The people of Sicyon, who together with the rest of Peloponnesus, had been active in the interests of Pompey, he despoiled of the Corinthian territory, which had formerly been assigned to them; and, probably to humble this part of Greece, he raised Corinth from its ruins, colonizing it with a body of his veterans, and a number of enfranchised slaves from Italy²⁶.

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WHEN, upon the fall of Antony, Octavius or rather Augustus, for so had flattery now named him, saw himself in the uncontrolled possession of sovereign power, the suppression of the spirit of liberty, wherever in the course of the late contests any exertion of it had appeared, became his principal object. Greece was not forgotten. Several of her states had not only enlisted under Pompey's banners, but had afterwards espoused the cause of the conspirators, and latterly that of

State of
Greece un-
der Augustus;

²⁶ See Plutarch, in *Caesare*. Pausan. in *Corinth*. Strabo. *Casaub.* L. ix. p. 263.



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Antony. The Athenians had even celebrated the death of Caesar as the aera of the re-establishment of freedom, and had placed the statues of Brutus and Cassius next to those of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Augustus made it his study to humble these *insolent* republicans. He abridged the few privileges that remained to the Athenians, and deprived them of Aegina. The Messenians he reduced to a state of vassalage; and he plundered the Arcadians of their very statues and the monuments of their antiquity. He observed a similar policy towards every other Grecian state. And though the Lacedaemonians had declared in his favour, he thought it expedient, in order to reduce their power, to dismember from them twenty-four cities of Laconia, declaring them to be thenceforward independent, and distinguishing them by the name of *Eleutherolacons*, or free Laconians²⁷.

FROM the days of Augustus the iron sceptre of despotism has been extended over this unhappy land.

Under the
succeeding
emperors.

UNDER the first Roman emperors, indeed, Greece is said to have scarcely felt the severity of her lot; and her own writers who lived in these times, Strabo²⁸ and Pausanias²⁹,

²⁷ See Pausan. in Corinthiac. Laconic. et Messeniaticis.

²⁸ Μέχρι τῶν (says Strabo, L. ix. p. 274, speaking of Athens) ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ ἵσταντο καὶ τιμῇ κατὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. Strabo tells us he lived under Augustus and Tiberius, during whose reigns, says he, Rome and her subject provinces enjoyed a prosperity such as they had hitherto never known. See Strab. L. vi. in fin. May not the testimony of such a witness be questioned?

²⁹ See Pausan. in Atticis, Eliacis, Achaicis.

speak



speak largely of the prosperity she derived from the Roman government. It is not difficult to account for this partiality. The latter days of Grecian liberty had been times of confusion and intestine misery. From the commencement of the war of the Triumvirs, Greece had been one continued scene of devastation and bloodshed. In the establishment therefore of the imperial power, which extinguished all these contests, this unhappy country found relief; and without regret gave up a freedom, long since little more than nominal, in exchange for domestic peace and protection from foreign invasion. It is likewise to be observed, that the crimes of the earlier Roman tyrants were generally confined to Italy, where the objects of their desires or of their jealousy were mostly found; and the provinces, whether from their supposed insignificance, or from the policy of their Roman masters, were often permitted to enjoy a security, which was denied to the first families of Rome. "I will have my sheep shorn, not flayed," said the unfeeling but subtle Tiberius to a certain governor of Egypt, who, with the view of recommending himself to his favour, had laboured to augment the imperial revenues by merciless exactions³⁰. He would *enjoy*; but, attentive to his own interest, he was unwilling to *exhaust*. The legionary armies, besides, afterwards the formidable controllers of the Roman world, seemed as yet unconscious of their own strength, and disdained not to receive orders, which they were soon to impose. In addition to these considerations, there is much reason to suspect, that this very representation of the prosperity of Greece under

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Testimony of
 the Greek
 writers not
 to be relied
 on.

³⁰ Dion. Cassius. Hanov. 1606. LVII. 608.



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the Roman Government was in a great measure the language of servitude, in order to court the favour of these lords of nations; and that Greece was far from possessing "that share of happiness, which some of her writers would persuade us she enjoyed. What strengthens the suspicion is the servile adulation, which Greece appears to have paid even to a Nero. Never did a more flagitious tyrant disgrace the imperial purple. And yet has Greece inrolled him among her deliverers. Vain of his musical and dramatic excellence, he had passed over thither, to exhibit himself on the Greek stage, and to dispute the wreath of victory with the Grecian performers, who had the reputation of being the most excellent then existing. His success in the course of this whimsical expedition equalled his utmost vanity. Wherever he appeared, and in whatsoever character, (and he attempted every character, high or low, male or female) the judges with one voice, as may well be supposed, when the lord of legions was the performer, proclaimed him victor. At the celebration of the Isthmian games, which soon after followed, he expressed his gratitude by publicly declaring Greece free and independent. This was a grant of little value to a people, who had neither

Greece re-
stored to free-
dom by Nero:

"It is not to be supposed, that a detail (which there were so many powerful reasons for suppressing) should have reached us, of all the sufferings of Greece under the imperial despots of Rome; but among Pliny's letters, there is one (viii. 24.) to his friend Maximus, upon his being appointed to the government of Achaia, still extant, where, from many expressions, and the earnest charge he gives him, "to remember the respect due to this once-illustrious people, whom," says he, "to despoil of that little shadow and name of liberty, now left to them, it were hard, "it were cruel, it were barbarous!" one is apt to conclude, that they had not been always treated with a gentle hand. Pliny's representations to his friend seem to form a kind of contrast between what Greece had experienced from former governors, and what Pliny required of Maximus.

the



the virtue to enjoy nor the power to preserve it; and it tended only to renew among them the fatal contests of their popular assemblies. It was a grant also, which Nero himself violated with the same levity with which it was bestowed: having, at the very time he announced freedom to them, seized every relic of Grecian splendor which could be found; and having plundered the very temples of all the valuable statues which had hitherto escaped the hand of the spoiler³². For this piece of mockery Pausanias³³ nevertheless is lavish in Nero's praise; as if *the restoration of Grecian liberty* had been really his intention; and he considers it as a mark of "innate greatness of mind" in that emperor, "to have been, with all his crimes, capable of so generous a purpose." Certainly little of the spirit of antient Greece was remaining when the pen of her historian could thus attempt to dignify the capricious follies of a madman.

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This restoration an event of little importance.

This pretended restoration of freedom ended, as it was easy to foresee it would. With the revival of the municipal rights of the Grecian tribes their contentions revived also; such at least is the Roman account. In order therefore to re-establish tranquillity in Greece, Vespasian declared it necessary to reduce it again to servitude³⁴.

Greece is again reduced into servitude by Vespasian.

In reviewing the list of the succeeding emperors, it is painful to reflect, how few of their names³⁵ deserve to be recorded

Characters of the succeeding emperors.

³² Pausan. in Bœotia. Dion Chrysostom. Orat. xxxi.

³³ In Achaicis.

³⁴ Pausan. ibid. Suetonius in T. Vespasiano.

³⁵ The two illustrious Antonines, a Trajan, a Titus, a Nerva, perhaps are all that can be mentioned with approbation.

with



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rors, and in
what manner
Greece was
affected by
them.

with honour, in comparison of those who in cruelty, and in dissoluteness, were the scourges, and, still more, the reproach of human kind. To add to the severity of the oppression, these tyrants seldom rose to the seat of dominion by peaceable succession, but generally made their way to it by military force; so that the defeat of the unsuccessful candidate, and the subsequent deposition of the successful one, proved fatal to all who, however innocent of their crimes, were even suspected of having had any connection with their fortunes. When Geta fell by the hand of Caracalla, "it was computed, that under the vague appellation of the friends of Geta, above twenty thousand persons of both sexes suffered death. His guards and freedmen, the ministers of his serious business, and the companions of his looser hours, those, who by his interest had been promoted to any command in the army, or in the provinces, with the long-connected train of their dependents, were included in the proscription, which endeavoured to reach every one who had maintained the smallest correspondence with Geta, who lamented his death, or who even mentioned his name³⁶." Marked in like manner with blood and devastation was every revolution, that placed a new family on the imperial throne; the removal of even the most guilty

³⁶ See Gibbon's Decline of the Roman Empire, Ch. VI.

With particular pleasure I take the opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to the elegant work, from which the above quotation is borrowed. I have had frequent recourse to it in this part of my history. If I have attempted to place some matters in a different light from that in which this ingenious writer seems to have considered them, I shall hope, from the liberality of sentiment which his writings assure me he possesses, that he will not disapprove of a freedom of inquiry, always serviceable to the cause of truth.

tyrant



tyrant becoming a public calamity, from the sanguinary and extensive mischiefs of which it was productive. Not only party-rage armed the military ruffian; private animosity also availed itself of the opportunity, and under the semblance of loyal zeal executed its selfish and vindictive purposes. What vengeance did not perpetrate, avarice executed; the plundering of every wealthy individual being frequently the only resource that remained to the tyrant of the day to satisfy the demands of the clamorous soldiery, whose sedition had raised him to the purple. Not less than thirteen of these revolutions within the space of seventy years, from the death of Commodus to the accession of Decius, have disgraced the Roman annals, and now excite a mixed sensation of pity and detestation in the human breast.

AMIDST that variety of misery, which Greece, in common with the other Roman provinces, had to suffer from this fierce line of tyrants, she had hitherto however been safe from the inroads of those barbarian tribes, which for a considerable time had insulted the Roman frontier; and at a distance from the scene of hostilities she paid little attention to dangers, which she fondly thought were never to reach her. The reigns of Decius, of the unhappy Valentinian and his son Gallienus, shewed her the vanity of her security. The Goths, a new race of adventurers, hitherto almost unknown to the Romans even by name, had issued from the northern extremities of Germany, and after various fortunes had proceeded to the Danube; the several tribes of barbarians that lay on their way, having either fled before them, or, by joining the invaders, added strength to the increasing hive. Against this irruption of ravagers, the feeble efforts of an

The Goths
invade
Greece.

4 R

exhausted



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exhausted empire could avail little. Decius, a prince worthy of happier times, attempted to oppose their progress; but, together with his son, his associate in the empire, he unfortunately perished in the attempt; and but few years had elapsed since their first appearance, when almost every province, from the banks of the upper Danube to the shores of the Euxine sea; and along the Asiatic coasts, from the mouth of the Phasis to the opening of the Hellespont, had felt their violence, or been forced meanly to purchase with gold a temporary and precarious forbearance. They now entered the Archipelago, and plundered most of the islands. They advanced into Attica; and getting possession of the once-famed Piræan port, they spread themselves over the whole country. Greece, after all her sufferings, still possessed many valuable remains; and could yet display various monuments of the magnificence and arts of ancient times. From a civilized conqueror, these noble memorials of human genius would have challenged some degree of respect; but they now served only to provoke the indignation and scorn of barbarians accustomed to live in the open field, to whom the dwelling in houses was imprisonment, and the knowledge of letters the badge of servitude. Hence the whole of this devoted country, from the eastern point of Sunium to the farthest verge of Epire, presented one continued scene of desolation. Finding it necessary at length to retire from the desert, they prepared to pass over into Italy, where the dastardly Gallienus completed the disgraces of the Roman name. The defence of the empire rested on him; and he had actually assembled a powerful force, under pretence of covering the Italian coasts from the insults of these plunderers. But subdued by his fears, he declined opposing them in battle, and submitted to accept of peace on terms at once pregnant



pregnant with ignominy and with danger, "the receiving of
"a considerable body of them among his troops," and "the
"investing one of their chieftains with consular honours."

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The remainder of these bold invaders filed off to the northward laden with the spoils of Asia and of Europe; returning home unopposed, to display to their countrymen what splendid rewards awaited the daring adventurer.

UNDER the succeeding emperors, from the warlike Claudius to the bloody Dioclesian, Greece, though her coasts were still exposed to the tumultuary descents of barbarian rovers, began to enjoy better days, and had little more to complain of than her share in the general humiliation, the common fate of every people in subjection to the yoke of Rome.

Greece enjoys a temporary relief.

THE accession of the great Constantine seemed to promise to the Grecian annals a new aera of glory. Sole master of the Roman world by the removal of his imperial rivals, he saw himself relieved from the consequences of that jealousy ever incident to a divided empire, and which had often drenched the Roman provinces in blood. Of the barbarians, many of the most formidable had either felt and dreaded his strength in war; or, having acquired an establishment in the countries, which the fears of Rome had formerly assigned to them, had formed an acquaintance with the arts of peace, and assisted in cultivating the lands they once had ravaged. The emperor himself, intelligent, enterprising, resolute, and vigorous, appeared to have both the desire and the ability to advance the prosperity of his people. The confines of Greece, also, he had made choice of for his place of residence, and the

The accession of Constantine;

why favourable to Greece.



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Establish-
ment of
Christianity;

why hither-
to impeded.

shores of the Thracian Bosphorus, where the Grecian colony of the Byzantines had been seated, were now to give a new capital to the world. Amidst these interesting events, a revolution still more important took place; the gloomy shades of paganism fled before the light of the Gospel, and instead of the absurd and frequently impure fictions which had hitherto disgraced the religion of Greece, there succeeded the beneficent and exalting doctrines of Christianity.

THE disciples of Christ, from their earliest appearance, had to encounter the most obstinate contradiction, first from the Jewish zealots, and afterwards from the pagan votaries; and ten³⁷ persecutions had tried and attested the sincerity and undaunted firmness of the professors of the Gospel. Their virtues, their fervent piety, their resolute spirit superior to reproach, to tortures, to death, had often made a deep impression on their enemies; and even of those, who had been the most inveterate persecutors of the Christian faith, many had become its most zealous preachers. Some of the emperors themselves are said to have beheld with admiration these uncommon exertions of the human mind; and to have entertained a strong suspicion, if nothing more, "that a faith so active, so generous, so much superior to every worldly concern, must have had a divine origin." Still however the ancient superstition, supported by the deep-rooted bigotry of the multitude; by the illusive pageantry of pompous rites, by the captivating decorations of painting and sculpture, with which the temples of Greece especially abounded, (where the beings of fiction seemed to start into life, and fa-

³⁷ Sulpic. Severus (L. ii. c. 48.) says nine only.

ble



ble assumed a kind of reality) But, above all, by the intrigues of an interested, subtle, and numerous priesthood, paganism still kept its ground; and its most strenuous advocates bore witness in behalf of Christianity, by their alarms at every appearance of its success, and the earnest endeavours they employed for its suppression.

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SUCH, during near three hundred years, had been the state of the Christian church, when the great Constantine, in obedience to an heavenly vision, according to some writers, or, according to others, instructed by his mother Helena, who, in full persuasion of the truth of Christianity, had taught him from his early years to hold the gospel in reverence, avowed himself the disciple of Christ, renounced the worship of the gods of paganism, and invited the various nations, who lived beneath his imperial sway, to embrace with him *a religion*, whose DIVINE OBJECT, whose PRECEPTS, and whose PROMISES, presented to the mind whatever can alleviate, purify, and enliven, the hope of man; whatever can either adorn and bless private life, or give increase and security to public happiness.

Constan-
tine's con-
version.

EVERY circumstance here seemed to announce to Greece a prosperity which, in the times that follow, we look for in vain. It may be of use to trace the causes, to which the disappointment is principally to be ascribed.

Greece dis-
appointed of
the advan-
tages expect-
ed from it,
and the
causes of this.

I. THE crowd of pagan worshippers, firmly attached, from the strong dominion of ignorance, domestic example, and habit, to the altars of their country, saw with a kind of religious horror the triumphs of Christianity; and employed every



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Opposition
to Christian-
ity,

every device²⁸, that priestly craft or popular superstition could suggest, to obstruct its establishment. Paganism had always abounded with prodigies. These were now the arms employed in defence of her cause. Spectres were seen; the order of nature was inverted by monstrous births; the hallowed grove resounded with nocturnal voices; all omens of tremendous import, menacing the empire with the vengeance of its deserted gods. At the same time, every public disaster became a convenient instrument, to impress new terror on the credulous multitude. Was any part of the Roman dominions desolated by earthquakes, laid waste by tempests, or afflicted with contagious disease? it was the indignation of Aesculapius, the vindictive arm of Apollo, the wrath of Neptune, the anger of the capitoline Jove, that had sent forth the judgment. Or did the barbarians spread again the waste of war, and had discomfiture disgraced the imperial banners? it was the goddess of victory who abandoned a people, by whose daring hands her statue, once the pride of Rome, had been overthrown. Or did intemperate seasons blast the hopes of the husbandman? the goddess of harvests was the cause, who, defrauded of her due honours, had resented the impious violation.

by the so-
phists,

WITH the same active zeal, and with still greater art, the Grecian sophists joined in the opposition. These sophists, the boasted successors of the Grecian sages of antiquity, ashamed of the legendary tales of paganism, and not honest enough to confess with the excellent Socrates, the

²⁸ See Montesquieu *Grand. et Decad. des Romains*, c. 19. See also Libanius & Ammian, Marcellin. passim.

weakness



weakness of human reason, had adopted the subtle but illiberal plan of disguising what they could not support. With them the whole pagan theogony became the mysterious repository of wisdom. Beneath the rough covering of the most uncouth fable some valuable truths, they pretended, lay concealed; and the several pagan divinities were, according to their interpretation, to be considered as subordinate ministers of the Sovereign of the universe, or as allegorical personages, emblems of his operations or his attributes.

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THE attempt was specious. Ancient wisdom had frequently been employed in reducing many of the fables of heathen story to the allegorical rank, which seems primarily to have belonged to them; and in withdrawing the reverence of the pagan world from those beings of fiction, whom the simplicity of the timorous and superstitious villager, or the artifice of some designing impostor, had erected into gods.

speciously
carried on;

FAIR different were the views of the sophists. By clearing away the various absurdities, which enveloped and obscured the pagan system, their purpose was to give it a more plausible appearance, and a permanent establishment. For, whilst they paid their offerings at the shrine of every fabulous god, and required of their disciples a strict compliance with every idolatrous and absurd rite of the pagan worship, it was their artful boast, that to the SUPREME ORIGIN OF ALL GOOD their piety was ascending gradually, and in HIM was ultimately to terminate.

their dis-
plicity,

IN support of this last refuge of paganism (to which probably it had been driven by the bold attacks of the Christian converts)

and success;



converts) all the various aids that Grecian literature could furnish, and the keenest weapons that sophistry had to wield, were incessantly employed³⁹; with what success, the length of time during which the schools of the sophists continued to flourish, bears ample testimony. Sixty years elapsed from the issuing of Constantine's edict in favour of Christianity, before these sons of fallacy had sunk into the neglect and obscurity, which they had long deserved.

The Grecian converts too fond of abstruse disputation.

II. THESE however were not the enemies, from whom the churches of Greece had most to fear. In these days of Grecian degeneracy, versatility of genius, an acute and ready wit, a restless inquisitiveness, a fondness for argument and cavil, formed the principal lines of the Grecian character. This was more conspicuously the characteristic of the Athenians. As long as their democracy had subsisted, political contests, and the bustle of popular assemblies had been their favourite occupation; after its dissolution the captious disputations of the sophists, to whose direction the several schools of philosophy in Athens were now entrusted, became their chosen amusement. Many of the Greeks therefore, who embraced the Gospel, brought with them into the Christian church the practice of disputation, with a strong habitual fondness for curious disquisition and subtle argument. Not satisfied to abide within the boundaries, which the Almighty seems to have prescribed to man here below, their bold fancy attempted to explore the regions of the invisible world; and to pry into, to unfold, and to judge, the secret counsels of Infinite Wisdom.

³⁹ See Julian. *Epist. ad Athen. et Epist. passim.* Ammian. *Marc. L. xxi. c. 1, &c.* Liban. *Or. Eutrop. in Maxim.*



Points the most abstruse, and probably not meant for human discussion, were brought into debate. The pride of science begot contention, obstinacy, and mutual hatred. The haughty disputant levelled his anathemas at those who presumed to question his decisions; and his opponents, not less absurd, by way of vindication, retorted on him the condemnation he had dared to pronounce. Doctrine was set up against doctrine; tribunal against tribunal; and at the very time it was uncertain, and perhaps even of no importance, which of the two parties was in possession of the truth, the cause of the highest importance to the happiness of mankind, the cause of real religion, of brotherly affection and mercy, was deeply injured by both ⁴⁰.

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III. LOVE of fame, the imperious pride of the decisive dogmatist, and impatience at being vanquished in the field of argument, had almost in the earliest periods disturbed the peace of the Grecian church: considerations still more sordid soon contributed to provoke new contests, and to spread the flame of animosity. Constantine chose to signalize his zeal for the Christian establishment by the favour he shewed to its ministers. The ample revenues and sumptuous offerings, with which the mistaken piety of the early ages had enriched the temples of paganism, and the magnificent and ostentatious display employed in the celebration of its festive solemnities, were known to have contributed principally to the veneration of its votaries. Constantine would have thought he had been wanting in what he owed to the true God, had he assigned a less respectable situation to those who were

The emperor's munificence to the church;

⁴⁰ See Euf. de vitâ Constant. L. iii. c. 4, 5. Sulp. Sev. L. iii. c. 50. & sqq. See also Fleury Hist. Eccl. L. x. xi, xii. &c.



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more immediately engaged in his service. Emoluments and honours were therefore liberally, perhaps profusely, bestowed⁴¹. The noble and wealthy emulated the example⁴²; till, by a natural progression, to add to the sacred patrimony was accounted the surest pledge the disciple of the church could give of his piety, or of his repentance.

attended
with dangerous
consequences.

THE days of tribulation had been days of glory to the Christian church⁴³; she was dishonoured by splendor and opulence. The experience of many generations has sufficiently informed us, that the human heart, even within the sanctuary of religion, is not exempted from frailty; it found here numberless temptations to avarice, to ambition, to insolence, and but too often confessed their fatal influence. With many, the station more than the duties of the churchman became the object of pursuit. Religious debates multiplied, and were maintained with additional acrimony, when an episcopal throne, and princely treasures were to be the rewards of victory. And within less than forty years after the death of Constantine, the prudence of a Christian emperor, Valentinian⁴⁴, was exerted to consult the real interests of religion, by prescribing limits to the property of the church.

IV. THE

⁴¹ Euseb. de vit. Constant. L. iii. c. 15. & L. iv. c. 1.

⁴² For an account of the liberalities of Helena, the emperor's mother, see Euseb. L. iii. c. 44, 45.

⁴³ See Sulp. Sev. L. ii. c. 47.

⁴⁴ By an edict of his (Cod. Theod. L. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 20) addressed to Damasus bishop of Rome in 370, and published in the several churches on the 3d of the kalends of August, the director was no longer permitted to receive from his
spiritual



IV. THE unbounded munificence of the first Christian emperors had brought reproach on the church; and the excess of their zeal in behalf of the purity of her doctrine proved nearly as dangerous. Constantine himself had led the way. Too fond of taking an active share in religious controversy, he frequently encouraged and fostered those contentions, which he ought to have repressed or terminated⁴⁵. Instead of extending a parental, and perhaps conciliatory, tenderness to all those of his subjects whose opinions were their only crimes, he set up party against party, and by lending the sanction of his imperial name to whatever tenets he happened to honour with his approbation, often gave strength and continuance to passions and enmities, which it was in his power at least to have soothed, and perhaps to have extinguished. Constantine went too far; his successors proceeded farther; and the disciple of the gospel has it to lament⁴⁶, that under Constantius⁴⁷, Valens, Gratian, Theodosius, Justinian, &c. &c. the church, emboldened by the imperial protection, frequently exerted against the unhappy recusant the same merciless violence, which she herself had so justly complained of, when the scourge of power was exercised by pagan authority.

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His zeal in
behalf of her
doctrines;

improperly
exerted.

V. EVEN

spiritual daughter any gift, legacy, or inheritance: every testament contrary to this edict was to be null and void. See Fleury Hist. Eccl. L. xvi. Mr. Gibbon (ch. xxv.) thinks, that by a subsequent regulation, all ecclesiastical persons were rendered incapable of receiving testamentary gifts.

⁴⁵ See Euseb. de vit. Constant. L. iii. c. 64, & 65.

⁴⁶ See Sulp. Sev. L. ii. c. 64, 65. See also Fleury, L. xiii. xiv. xv. & sqq.

⁴⁷ The words of l'Abbé Fleury are worthy of notice. Il troubla, says he, speaking of Constantius, la Religion Chretienne, simple d'elle meme, par une superstition



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The vicinity
of Constanti-
nople not fa-
vourable to
Greece.

V. EVEN the neighbourhood of Constantine's imperial city, whose rising glories Greece beheld with conscious pride, and fond expectation, afforded little increase to the Grecian happiness. The opulence and pomp of Rome had been removed thither; but so had her vices. And all that Greece appears to have derived from the splendid vicinity of Constantinople was nothing more than what provinces bordering on a great city have generally to boast of, the fatal pre-eminence⁴⁸ of being exhausted to support her magnificence, and of being corrupted by her example.

Constantine
dies;

disposal of
his domini-
ons,

and the evils
that follow-
ed;

THE act, that closed the life of Constantine was as injurious to the public prosperity as any that history has charged him with. His dominions he divided⁴⁹ among his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans, and his two nephews, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus⁵⁰; bequeathing to the Roman world the melancholy legacy of intestine wars and desolated provinces. Scarcely was the celebration of his obsequies ended, when Dalmatius and Hannibalianus perished in a military insurrection, excited by the creatures, and probably

stitution de vielle; et s'appliquant plus a l'examiner curieusement qu'a la regler serieusement, il excita plusieurs divisions, qu'il fomenta ensuite par des disputes de mots. Hist. Eccles. L. xiv. p. 575.

⁴⁸ See Gibbon's Decline of the Roman Empire, Ch. xvii. p. 19. oct.

⁴⁹ See Gibbon, Ch. xviii.

⁵⁰ Constantine had Spain, Gaul, and the British isles; Constantius Asia, with Egypt, and all the eastern provinces; Constans Italy, Africa, Sicily, and Illyricum; Dalmatius Thrace, and all Greece; Hannibalianus Cappadocia, Armenia, and Pontus. Aurel. Victor. 7 Epist. Eutropius (L. x. c. 9.) makes no mention of Hannibalianus. Socrates also (L. ii. c. 25.) mentions only Dalmatius.

by



by the arts³¹, of Constantius. The crime of these two young princes evidently was, that a part of the imperial dominions had been assigned to them; beside this, Dalmatius stood also charged with having inherited a large share of the late emperor's abilities. Such guilt was not to be expiated but with their blood. Seven other princes of the imperial house, uncles or cousins to the suspicious Constantius, shared their unhappy fate, together with all their friends, officers, and dependents; some of whom had been high in the favour and confidence of Constantine himself. Two princes more, Gallus and Julian, cousins likewise to Constantius, would have suffered in the massacre, had not the policy of the tyrant saved them. Julian, a child only six years old, was too inconsiderable to be the object of his kinsman's jealousy: Gallus was aged twelve, but his infirm state of health afforded to Constantius the pleasing hope, that nature would soon relieve him from the necessity of employing against him the hand of the assassin.

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THE three sons of Constantine had now the whole extent of the Roman empire to divide among them. But each aspired to the whole. Constantine, the eldest, fell by the sword in attempting to despoil his brother Constans of his dominions. Constans himself, a prince, if history may be trusted, of the most despicable character, derived but little advantage from a victory, in which neither his prowess nor his conduct had any part. Magnentius, one of his chief

unfortunate
end of two
of his sons.

³¹ *Constantio*, says Eutropius (ub. supra) speaking of the death of Dalmatius, *snente potius quàm jubente*. Socrates (loc. praedicto) speaks still plainer, ου κελύοντος Κωνσταντίου τὴν φάγαν, ἀλλὰ μὴ κωλύοντος.

officers,



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Constantius
reigns alone;

revenge the
death of his
brother Con-
stans;

his treatment
of Gallus
and Julian;

officers, tempted by his incapacity and dissoluteness, conspired against him, put him to death, and boldly assumed the imperial purple, in those days of military despotism the customary reward of the successful traitor. Of the sons of Constantine the Great, Constantius alone now remained. Called forth by his brother's wrongs, and probably incited still more powerfully by the voice of ambition, he hastened from the eastern provinces, over which he reigned, to chastise the guilty usurper. He found in this enterprise more difficulty than his flattering courtiers had taught him to expect. And it was not until after a destructive war of three years, which in two bloody fields⁵² swept away the flower of the Roman legions, that vengeance at length overtook the perfidious Magnentius⁵³.

DURING the intestine commotions of the western empire from the ambitious attempts of the younger Constantine, and the feeble administration of the dissolute Constans, Constantius had been engaged in a doubtful and unprosperous war against his Persian neighbours. Amidst the confusion of these busy times, Gallus and Julian had been suffered to live. And the cautious despot had contented himself with concealing them from public notice in a lonely castle of Cappadocia,

⁵² At Murfa in Pannonia, now Essek in Hungary, and at Mons Seleni, in the Cottian Alps.

⁵³ During the revolt of Magnentius, Vetranio had assumed the purple in Illyricum, as colleague to Magnentius, but had afterwards abdicated in favour of Constantius. Nepotian also, the nephew of Constantine by the princess Eutropia, had been saluted emperor at Rome, in opposition to Magnentius, but perished, after a reign of twenty-eight days. Eutrop. L. x. c. 11.



formerly the place of residence of the Cappadocian kings. Upon the murder of Constans, and the erection of the standard of rebellion by Magnentius, the whole weight of the empire at this season of anxiety rested on Constantius. He felt the burden, and venturing to seek relief in the assistance of Gallus, removed him from a prison to his court; and, under the title of Caesar, associated him to the honours and toils of the imperial station; leaving him to provide for the security of the Asiatic provinces, whilst he himself advanced against the rebel. After the overthrow of Magnentius, and the re-establishment of the public tranquillity, Constantius found himself at leisure to examine more attentively into the conduct of Gallus, since his elevation. Gallus had faults, and he had enemies. The eunuchs, at this time the despicable and insolent rulers of a luxurious court, deadly foes to whomsoever they could not govern, had placed their emissaries around him, who marked with jealous observation all his moments of pride or of passion. It was discovered, that Gallus affected an independence, which the emperor and his ministers did not mean to allow him. And some unjustifiable acts of violence committed at Antioch against certain confidential servants of the emperor, with the connivance, if not by the orders of Gallus, had thrown a deeper shade on the errors of which he had been guilty. Credulous nevertheless of what was artfully suggested to him, that it was his interest to have an interview with Constantius, and that his presence would dissipate every complaint, he was prevailed on to intrust himself to this insidious court, and in a few days after his arrival in Pannonia, on his way, as he thought, to Milan, where the emperor then resided, he was, on a sudden carried.

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confers on
Gallus the
title of Cae-
sar;

is jealous of
him.

Death of
Gallus.



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Julian's dan-
gerous situa-
tion ;

is brought to
court ;

created Cae-
sar ; appoint-
ed to the go-
vernment of
Gaul ;

Constantius
jealous of
him.

carried away under a strong guard to Istria, and there beheaded privately without even the formality of a trial⁵⁴.

JULIAN still survived. For some time his fate hung in suspense. And it was a question, whether the enjoyment of life could safely be permitted to a prince, who had so many domestic and personal injuries to revenge. To the generous interposition of the empress Eusebia, wife to Constantius, he owed his preservation. Her lenient counsels, enforced by the multiplicity of cares with which the emperor found himself oppressed, did even more. Softened by her representations, Constantius at last consented to admit his young kinsman into his presence, to invest him with the same imperial honours that Gallus had been graced with, and to appoint him to the important service of defending the frontier of the Gallic province against the warlike tribes of Germany⁵⁵. Julian executed his trust with spirit and success. Repeated accounts assured the emperor of the abilities and achievements of the governor of Gaul. He became alarmed. At the head of a victorious army, by whom he was adored, the Caesar might be tempted to forget what he owed to the emperor ; and the sword of Julian, which was to have guarded the throne, might be employed to invade it. It was resolved to secure his allegiance, by depriving him of the means of revolt. The Persian bands still infested the eastern borders of the empire, and often made inroads into the adjacent provinces. Orders were issued, that the strength of the Gallic legions should

⁵⁴ See Ammian. Marcellin. L. xiv. c. 1, 7, 9, 11.

⁵⁵ See Ammian. Marcellin. L. xx. c. 4. Eutrop. L. x. c. 14, 15. Abbé de la Bleterie. Vie de Julien ; and Gibbon's Dec. of Rom. Emp. c. xxii.



immediately be dispatched to protect the Asiatic frontier. The tidings spread a general consternation. These legions were mostly composed of provincials, fondly attached to their native soil; and who, in violation of a promise said to have been solemnly pledged to them, now saw themselves torn away from their families and homes, probably never to revisit them more. Julian, with much pretended zeal for the honour of the emperor, and a seeming firmness in requiring obedience to the imperial orders, appeared however to share deeply in their affliction; and having on the eve of their departure convened them together, that he might take his last farewell of the beloved companions of his toils and of his victories, after a grateful recital of their gallant actions, affectionately lamented a distress, *which, bound as he was to obey, it was not in his power to relieve.* The hint was greedily caught up. "The Caesar, once emperor, might prescribe the orders, instead of receiving them," was the cry of numbers of the friends of Julian, who doubtless had been duly instructed; and "Long live our emperor Julian!" instantly resounded from all the ranks.

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Julian's artful management;

is proclaimed emperor by his army;

It is scarcely possible to avoid remarking how much of the artifice⁹⁶ of the sophist, Julian's conduct betrays on this occasion. An apparent amazement at what he must have expected, and what probably his own dark arts had been labouring to accomplish, was first of all assumed; he next answered their acclamations with all the semblance of the most poig-

⁹⁶ See his dream in Ammian. Marcellin. L. xx. c. 5. and his own account of another dream (Epist. 17.) to which, he confesses, he gave credit.



BOOK VIII. Sect. 3. **nant concern; he expostulated; he conjured; he menaced; he bewailed; he even fled from their solicitations, and shut himself up during the whole ensuing night; confirming them the more effectually, by this appearance of unambitious reluctance, in the very choice he affected to resist. The farce concluded with his *submissive* acceptance of their splendid offer, and his promising to reward their sedition with a suitable gratification; the plunder of the public treasure being, in these days of corruption, the usual recompence, which the gratitude of the new emperor bestowed on the instruments of his fortune.**

prepares to march against Constantius; **THE** army of Gaul had created an emperor. Their next object was to support him. And these very legions who, rather than encounter the inconveniences of a distant service, had plunged into rebellion, were now impatient to brave every danger of an Asiatic expedition, under the banners of their favourite Julian. But the death of Constantius saved the new emperor from the guilt of civil bloodshed; he died at Mopsucrene³⁷ in Cilicia, on his way to dispute the empire of the world.

Constantius dies.

Julian makes war on the Persians, and falls in battle: **JULIAN** did not long survive him. Ambitious of distinguishing himself in a war, which hitherto had generally baffled the Roman arms, he formed the plan of humbling the Persian king. Some inconsiderable advantages obtained at the beginning encouraged him to penetrate into a country with which he was ill acquainted. A defeat was the con-

³⁷ The fountain of Mopsus. An oracle had formerly been there.

sequence



sequence of his imprudence; and in the confusion of discomfiture, he was pierced by an arrow from an unknown, and probably an ignoble hand.

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FEW princes have been more variously spoken of than Julian, few more the object of exaggerated praise and reproach: dignified by some writers with all the attributes of the hero, he is held forth by others to universal execration. From both parties a more temperate decision ought doubtless to have come, and would perhaps have approached nearer to the truth. In his private life he seems to have been deserving of praise; his manners were unstained with licentious pleasures; his meals, his sleep, were the frugal, slight refreshments of the philosopher; and his leisure hours, instead of being wasted in dissipation and frivolous amusements, were generally employed in the pursuit of knowledge, though in the road to it he was unhappily mistaken. As a *soldier*, the character he bears is high; not to be deterred by difficulty, nor discouraged by hardship; firm in the hour of battle, and always among the foremost in the path to glory. As a general, his abilities may be called in question. In his Gallic campaigns, he was supposed to have acquitted himself with honour; in the Persian war, where we have a more distinct view of him, he appears to have been injudicious, rash, presumptuous; and in the action in which he fell, he discovered himself to have been animated with a valour that bordered on insanity.

his character
in private
life;

as a soldier;

as a general;

BUT what seems chiefly to have engaged philosophic attention in the history of Julian, is his character as a religious. He had been educated in the Christian faith from his early years; had professed himself a Christian; and had grown

as a religious;



B o o k up to manhood in that profession. Yet no sooner were his
VIII. fears from Constantius removed, than he threw off the mask,
Sect. 3. abjured the faith of his former days, avowed himself the de-
 termined enemy of the religion of Christ, and, with all the
 virulence of an enraged, but crafty adversary, laboured for
 its extirpation to the last gasp of his life. What appears
 still more extraordinary; an infidel with relation to the Gospel,
 he became the zealous believer of the whole Grecian mytho-
 logy; adopted its gods, its legends, and its sacrifices. Even
 its divinations, one of the most dangerous illusions that ever
 debased the human mind, of which, in the gloom of the dark
 ages, heathen priestcraft had frequently made fatal use, and
 which in a more enlightened age had been reprobated by
 the wisest of the pagan world, he restored, and protected
 with all the credulity of the most abject and uninformed
 bigot; importuning the altars of every divinity with
 anxious inquiries, and oftentimes with his own eyes, and
 an unfeeling curiosity, seeking his future destiny in the
 panting entrails of the innocent victim. Could it be from
 principle, that he renounced Christianity? If it was, how
 could the sceptic, who found it difficult to believe what the
 Gospel teaches, thus relax from the sturdiness of unbelief,
 and embrace with so easy a faith, all the absurdities of pagan
 fable? Or shall we say, with certain insidious advocates, that
 whatever might be his profession, Christianity or Paganism,
 the liberal-minded Julian was of both equally an unbeliever;
 a Christian by constraint, a Pagan from policy?

THE various revolutions of fortune which he experienced
 may perhaps, when more attentively considered, throw some
 light on this dark part of Julian's history.

HE



HE was a child, when the arm of violence deprived him of his father, and robbed him of his liberty. To the stern officers of a jealous tyrant was his education of course intrusted; and under the impressions of terror, natural in such a situation, he received the rudiments of Christianity. The truths of the Gospel, conveyed to the young disciple by instructors of this kind, instead of conciliating his affections, had all the stubborn prepossessions of dislike, of suspicion, of resentment, to contend with. These prepossessions, deeply rooted in the heart, grew up with his years, and strengthened with his strength. When he was first permitted to approach the imperial court, new and more powerful prejudices took place in his breast. He saw in Constantius the merciless assassin of his family. And Constantius was a *Christian*. The croud of eunuchs, and fawning sycophants with which the throne was surrounded, the counsellors or ministers of the tyrant's crimes, and who in their treatment of Julian measured the respect they were to shew to him by the degree of regard paid him by Constantius, were also *Christians*. How many objections to the religion they professed must have arisen here in the susceptible mind of Julian, irritated by past wrongs, and inflamed by present contempt! And is it a matter of wonder, that he should have been led to confound a *religion*, which they disgraced, with the *principles* which seemed to actuate their conduct?

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what induced him to leave the Christian Church,

THE votaries of paganism were still numerous; and, though humbled, were powerful. Suspicious of Constantius and his ministers, they exulted in the thought, that in Julian their party might find a friend and protector. They marked, and strengthened, the impressions he had received. They

and to embrace paganism.

courted.



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courted his confidence. The most plausible and seducing of their sophists were employed to insinuate themselves into his intimacy. Julian's attachment to Christianity, if he had any remaining, was slight and wavering. A total rejection of all religion is a state ill suited to the human mind. Even the boldest pretender to infidelity will have his scruples, his moments of irresolution, diffidence, and anxiety. Julian felt, that a religion was wanting to him; this the heathen sophists were ready to supply. They offered him a religion, the religion said they, of his forefathers, under whose propitious auspices Greece had reached the summit of human glory, and Rome had triumphed over a subjected world; a religion now purified by philosophy, and set free from those absurd disguises that a pious ignorance had cast over it. A multiplicity of gods, indeed, crowded their temples, but in doing honour to these, they were in fact paying homage to the perfections of the Supreme Father of the universe, of which these emblematical personages were representations; or expressing their gratitude to those intermediate intelligences appointed by the great First Cause to minister unto man. Neither were these intelligences the airy creation of an enthusiastic fancy; their existence had been ascertained by the strongest proofs, by the oracles, the dreams, the monitory omens, which they had repeatedly addressed to faithful votaries. They had even been known to assume a visible form, and personally to instruct or protect the humble suppliant in his hour of difficulty. And the all-powerful evocations and holy rites, of which the guardian of the sacred mysteries was in possession, could summon them from their aerial or subterranean abodes, and force them to reveal the dark secrets of futurity.



To this artful representation Julian listened with pleasure. His mind seems to have been predisposed to meet it with approbation. Homer was his favourite⁵⁸, and there appeared a wonderful agreement between the poet's mythology and the sophist's system. Probably, the *one* was a transcript of the *other*. What rendered these tales of deceit the more captivating to Julian was a species of flattery well adapted to his hopes. They persuaded him that the oracular voice of all the gods, and the promise of every victim, announced to him the speedy possession of the imperial throne⁵⁹. Julian was not ungrateful. He steadily adhered to the altars of those gods, of whose veracity he had received such a *convincing* proof; and here perhaps it is not unjust to rank him among the most superstitious of the pagan zealots.

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It is the reproach of Athens, that she had a principal share in misleading the mind of Julian. Some time before he was invested with the honours of the Caesar, he obtained permission from Constantius to pursue his studies in that city. His passionate attachment to paganism has its date from that period; before, the friend of that religion, here he became a bigot to it. Those pretended philosophers, also, who were afterwards most assiduous in fastening their bandage of illu-

The people
of Athens
active in mis-
leading Ju-
lian's mind.

⁵⁸ He appears to have had most of his works by heart.

⁵⁹ The dreams, and visions, which Julian's historians (Zosimus, L. iii. p. 155. Ammianus, L. xx c. 5. Libanius passim) tell us he had, and which he himself avowed (Epist. xvii. ad Oribasium) speak him, if not an artful impostor, certainly a confirmed enthusiast. The latter probably is the truth. And in a mind so disposed, the fond persuasion, that he was the peculiar care of the gods, and by them destined to the empire of the world, might easily find admittance.

tion



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sion on this unhappy prince, were mostly from the Athenian school, in those days the great store-house of heathen superstition. In a succeeding reign we have a strong proof of the powerful dominion of superstition over that infatuated people. They petitioned the emperor Valentinian to permit the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries; which, upon the re-establishment of Christianity, had been suppressed; and to restore to Athens a solemnity on which depended her glory and happiness. So little had the city of Socrates profited by a LIGHT, which that venerable sage would have beheld with rapture!

Summary of
Julian's character.

FROM this delineation of Julian's character, however we may be induced to pronounce less severely against him, and to behold him even with compassionate indulgence, as a *deserter of the Gospel*, yet either as an *hero*, or a *philosopher*, the candid historian can afford him little praise. The oppressions of Constantius, and the manners of a servile court, may have driven him from the Christian church; but vanity, credulity, the curiosity of an ambitious mind, fixed him a pagan. How he has deserved the exalted name, which certain writers have been pleased to bestow on him, it is not for us to determine. Some perhaps will be apt to suspect, that his panegyrist would have been fewer, had he not inlisted among the enemies of Christianity.

The family
of Constantine
extinct.

IN Julian ended the house of Constantine. From the death of the latter to that of Julian, about twenty-six years had elapsed*. At the time of Constantine's death the imperial

* Constantine died in the year of Christ 337, Julian in 363.

family



family was in the most flourishing condition; history numbers no less than thirteen princes, brothers, sons, nephews, to the deceased emperor, the ornament and strength of the imperial house. In this short period of time they had all perished, two only by the stroke of sickness, and one in war against a foreign foe, all the rest by the sword of discord or domestic treachery. Such, in those ages of arbitrary power, was the precarious tenure even of imperial greatness.

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THE emperors, who succeeded Julian, restored the religion of the Gospel, but without being able to re-establish the public prosperity; of which a general profligacy of manners, and the fierce despotism of a military government, had been long before preparing the ruin. To these internal evils were added the terrors of hostile invasion. An enemy, provoked by a wanton war, and now flushed with victory, threatened the eastern boundaries. And Jovian, whom Julian's army had called to the vacant throne, signalized his accession by yielding to the Persian monarch a considerable territory, to atone for his predecessor's rash attempt. Similar dangers surrounded the empire on every side. In Britain, the Roman rampart opposed but a feeble and impotent barrier to the impetuous valour of the warriors of the north, and even the legionary troops had been found unable to withstand the onset of the Caledonian ravagers. In Gaul, the defenceless condition of the frontier, most of whose bravest protectors had followed the banners of Julian, had encouraged the German tribes to renew their hostilities. Africa was in rebellion; and, among the barbarian tribes of the Danube, there were strong indications of a spirit of commotion.

Successors of
Julian;

their situa-
tion,



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and charac-
ters.

WHAT rendered this situation of things the more formidable, these several insurrections, and forebodings of war had been excited by repeated cruelties and oppressions. Most of the nations that bordered on the empire had revered the name of Constantine, but they could not continue their respect for a line of princes, of whose follies, incapacity, or crimes, they were incessantly the witnesses, often the victims. The measures pursued by the imperial court to defeat these impending dangers, fully shew the guilty policy by which it was governed; and have left an indelible stain on the ministers that could advise, and the princes that could adopt, them. The following instances are a sufficient illustration of this truth. Two princes, a king of Armenia, and a king of the Quadi, were both, within a few years of each other, under the vague pretence that their fidelity was suspected, murdered at interviews to which they had been treacherously invited; and, in both cases, was the unguarded hour of the hospitable banquet chosen for the perpetration of this work of blood. Valentinian, the successor of Jovian, is accused of the one; his brother Valens, to whom he had resigned the eastern throne, stands charged with the guilt of the other.

The Huns
attack the
Gothic set-
tlements.

VALENS soon after received the merited reward of his perfidious counsels. The Huns, a new tribe of Barbarians⁶¹, from the north-east extremities of Asia, in manners and aspect more horrid than any that had hitherto appeared on the Roman frontier, attacked the Gothic settlements on the further side of the Danube. The affrighted Goths implored the protection of Valens, and were permitted to take refuge within

⁶¹ A Gothic nation.

⁶² Ammian. Marc. L. xxix.



his dominions. The peaceful habits of a settled home had already considerably diminished the native ferocity of these Gothic tribes; and under the mild government of equal laws, and in possession of an established property, they might without much difficulty have been improved into useful subjects. Valens had not the wisdom to avail himself of this valuable increase of population. Seduced by the fears of his ministers, and perhaps not less by his own, he repented of what he had done; he had promised these strangers a supply of provisions, and he violated his promise. They complained; their complaints were disregarded; neglect was aggravated by insult; insult by violence. The Goths, naturally haughty and impatient, were exasperated; they flew to arms; and a long, fierce, and destructive war ensued, which in the course of it proved fatal to Valens himself. After having seen the total discomfiture of his army under the walls of Hadrianople, he was burned alive in a cottage, where he had taken refuge from the victorious and pursuing enemy⁶².

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Valens's per-
fidious treat-
ment of the
Goths;

his defeat
and death.

THE calamities of the times raised Theodosius to the imperial throne. Gratian, the son and successor of Valentinian, the nephew and now the heir to Valens, was ill able to sustain the weight of two empires, one of them over-run by a revengeful and victorious enemy: he therefore consigned the precarious empire of the east to the valour of Theodosius; in whose history is seen one of those signal revolutions, that is sometimes to be met with in the fortunes of this world. His father, of the same name, was of all Valentinian's generals the ablest and most faithful. In Britain he had checked the in-

Gratian in
possession of
the whole
empire;

shares it with
Theodosius.

⁶² See Ammian. Marc. L. xxxi. c. 12, 13.



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Theodosius's
domestic his-
tory,

roads of the Caledonians; he had repulsed the Germans from the Gallic frontier; and he had reduced the insurgents of Africa. These several exploits had raised him in the eyes of a fordid court to a dangerous pre-eminence. Valentinian was dead, and his son Gratian, as yet a youth, was under the control of a vicious ministry, who pretended that Theodosius entertained ambitious views, and sacrificed his life to their suspicious jealousy. For some years the young Theodosius had served with glory under his illustrious father, and had shewn himself already emulous of his noble example. But every aspiring hope being thus blasted by his father's death, he withdrew from a court which he must have held in abhorrence, and was cultivating the virtues of retirement on his paternal estate, in an obscure corner of Galicia, when the commands of Gratian called him forth to the public service.

character,

and difficul-
ties;

THEODOSIUS, with considerable abilities, had also many amiable qualities. But the licentiousness of a dissolute age often disappointed the *one*; and the baneful influence of despotic power sometimes contributed to obscure the *other*. No sooner was he placed at the head of the armies of the east, than he discovered, with equal amazement and regret, that the boasted strength of the Roman legions had ceased to exist. Corrupted by the example of the times, by the insolent dominion they had usurped over the throne, by the profuse donatives they extorted from the transient objects of their favour, by the indulgences they obtained from the fears or the ambition of their leaders, the legionary troops had become strangers to that frugal life, that patience of toil, and observance of discipline, which had triumphed over the successors of Alexander, and had laid Carthage in the dust. The

ponderous



ponderous helmet and massy shield were cast aside; and the effeminate soldier chose rather to expose himself defenceless to the weapons of the foe, than to submit to the oppressive weight of an armour," which his gallant ancestor deemed his ornament. Even the necessary work of entrenching a camp, which the companions of Caesar, and the partners of his glory, did not disdain to execute with their own hands, had become the scorn of a delicate and indolent soldiery⁶⁴. One resource remained to Theodosius, and he adopted it. Those Goths, whom, after a four-years war, and many a bloody conflict, he found it impracticable to exterminate, he resolved to tempt with offers of amity and confidence; he received them into the imperial service, intrusted their leaders with important commands, and assigned them emoluments, honours, possessions; flattering himself that he should thus convert enemies into friends, and that the late ravagers of the Roman territories would now become the defenders of a country in which they had acquired rank and property. This expedient, the result probably not of choice but of necessity, proved however a ruinous measure. Acquainted with the legionary arms, and instructed in the Roman discipline, the Goths no longer felt that inferiority in war, which was owing to the want of military science; they saw, and despised, a weakness, which they were called to protect; the Danube, no longer guarded by a respectable barrier, supplied them with continual recruits from that variety of barbarian tribes, which, though divided against each other by internal feuds, yet always shewed the utmost cordiality in their attacks upon the Roman empire; and these new confe-

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dangerous
expedient he
had recourse
to;

⁶⁴ See Veget. de re militari, L. i. c. 20.

derates



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derates of Theodosius soon learned to control a government, whose existence or dissolution was totally in their power.

dreadful in-
stance of his
vindictive
spirit;

BUT if all the ruinous consequences of this fatal expedient are not to be imputed to Theodosius, he must surely bear the whole guilt of the massacre at Thessalonica⁶⁵. An insurrection had broken out in this part of Greece; and in the madness of popular fury an imperial officer had been torn in pieces. Such an insult to sovereign power was not, it seems, to be expiated but with the extermination of the Thessalonians. A body of troops marched into Thessalonica, with orders to put all the inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of guilt or innocence, of age, sex, or condition. These orders were executed in their fullest extent. And to cruelty was added perfidiousness. Care was taken to remove all apprehension of danger from these devoted victims; and when the whole city, fully assured of the emperor's clemency, had assembled in the circus to enjoy a festive spectacle, these military ruffians were let loose on the unsuspecting multitude. According to some writers, upwards of fifteen thousand persons perished in this massacre. Such a violation of all the laws of justice and humanity would at one time have armed more than one half of Greece against the tyrant that durst attempt it; but, such is the subduing power of despotism, it now served only to add to the terrors, and confirm the servitude of this abject people; and the episcopal reproof of Ambrose bishop of Milan was the only opposition Theodosius had to encounter. A penance of eight months, to which the emperor piously submitted, was sup-

⁶⁵ Soz. L. vii. c. 25. Ru. Hist. c. 18. See Gibbon, c. 27.

posed



posed to have atoned for all this bloodshed. At the time Theodosius reigned in the east, Gratian held his imperial seat at Treves; Gaul, Spain, and the British isles were subject to his sway, while Valentinian, the youngest son of the late emperor Valentinian the second, reigned in Italy. But Maximus of Britain having revolted against Gratian, and deprived him of empire and life, and Valentinian having fallen by domestic treachery, Theodosius, after revenging both their deaths, remained in possession of all the Roman dominions.

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gets possession of the whole empire;

FROM the abilities and personal valour of Theodosius, the empire, during his reign, maintained an appearance of vigour; the reign of his sons revealed the fatal secret of the public debility. Warped by the fond partiality of a parent, he divided his dominions between them; to the eldest, Arcadius, a youth of eighteen, he bequeathed the throne of the east; to the youngest, Honorius, aged only eleven, the western empire⁶⁶: an appointment as unhappy to themselves, as it was unfortunate to their people. With a natural imbecillity of mind, in which their ripening years made little alteration, and brought up in the bosom of a luxurious palace, they both sunk into a slothful inactivity, the easy dupes of every minister, who had the boldness or the art to seize the reins of government, which fell from their feeble hands. The fatal partition of the imperial dominions brought on an increase of calamities. The empire was weak before; divided, it was weaker. A longer line of frontier was now to be defended; and the means of defence were lessened. Instead of the whole strength of the empire acting in concert, an

divides it between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius;

consequences of this appointment.

⁶⁶ A. D. 395.

opposition:



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opposition of interests and councils took place. Jealous of the sovereign of the west, the court of Constantinople saw with unconcern, and even with pleasure, the bordering nations pour the war on the western provinces, and enjoyed a distress, in which their own territories were soon to be involved; whilst the barbarian leaders, seated in the heart of the empire, many of them invested with offices of trust and dignity, and in full possession of the opportunity of marking and encouraging every internal mischief, profited by the follies of these nominal princes, and on the ruins of the imperial power planned an empire of their own. A detail of the disastrous events that ensued, belongs to another history. Here it is sufficient to observe, that the Roman empire in the west closed with the ignoble reign of Honorius. In less than twenty-five years after the death of Theodosius, Alaric, the Gothic chief, who in the days of that emperor deemed it his glory to follow the imperial banners, after having spread the ravages of war throughout Italy, compelled Rome to submit to his victorious arms, and saw himself the uncontrolled arbiter of the throne of the Caesars.

Rome taken
by the Goths
under the
command of
Alaric.

Alaric in-
vades
Greece.

ROME, long the haughty tyrant of the world, was now made to feel, what she had often imposed, the humiliation of servitude. The eastern empire, mean while, had not escaped. Previous to his irruption into Italy, Alaric, at the head of his fierce bands, had attempted the dominions of the east, and Greece, which seldom failed to share largely in the adverse fortunes of her imperial masters, was again made the scene of devastation⁶⁷. History has charged Rufinus, by whom

⁶⁷ A. D. 396.

the



the councils of Arcadius were then directed, with the guilt of having opened Greece to the ravagers; for, if we are to believe the united testimony of all the writers of those days, never did a more flagitious minister disgrace the confidence of his sovereign. It may however be a question, whether the abandoning of Greece to the barbarians was not rather his policy than his crime. Had this impetuous torrent of war rushed with unspent fury against the capital of the empire, the issue might have been doubtful. And it was possibly to save Constantinople, that Rufinus gave up Greece.

B o o k
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Sect. 3.

A CALAMITY so great completed the desolation of this unhappy country. Whatever the cruelty, the avarice, the lust, of an insolent and brutal conqueror could inflict, Greece now experienced. Her magnificent cities became a mass of ruins, her numerous towns were levelled with the ground, and those monuments of her glory, which had hitherto been preserved from violation, were all defaced and overthrown; while the inhabitants, either slaughtered by the barbarian sword, or dragged from their homes to a life of slavery, left this once-populous and well-cultivated country a lonely waste. Where every science and every art had, during a long succession of ages, established their abode, there now reigned a melancholy silence; the voice of the rural pipe was no longer heard on the hills of Arcadia; and of all the noble structures, which the piety, the gratitude, or the pride of ancient ages had erected, only mouldering palaces, desolated temples, defaced inscriptions, and mutilated statues, remained, at once the objects of regret and of admiration. In this humbled state, with very little variation, Greece continued from the Gothic invasion to the

State of
Greece from
this period.



B o o k final overthrow of the throne of Constantine's successors;
VIII. her principal inhabitants being the few families, who having
Sect. 3. escaped to the mountains during the late inundation of the
 barbarians, had afterwards taken up their dwelling amidst
 these sequestered ruins, and whose only wealth was the pro-
 duce of their hives and of the silk-worm⁶⁶. Some of the
 emperors seem indeed to have remembered what Greece had
 been, and to have wished to raise her again to an happier for-
 tune. But the embarrassments of a declining empire still
 defeated the visionary plan. Constantinople herself, during
 the greater part of this gloomy period, retained little more
 than a faint shadow of imperial greatness. Governed mostly
 by weak or oppressive princes, distracted by domestic factions,
 and, what is worse, by endless controversies, which were dis-
 graced by all the virulence of religious disputation, this
 empress-city sunk by degrees into contempt with every people
 around her. Having neither security at home, nor strength
 abroad, she was often compelled to purchase, at the price
 of her fairest possessions, a temporary peace from the bar-
 barian tribes by whom she was encompassed; who, making
 use of the very concessions they extorted from the fears
 of one prince to exact larger concessions from his succes-
 sor, reduced at length the extensive dominions of this
 mighty empire to the narrow compass of a few provinces.

Decline of
 Constanti-
 nople;

⁶⁶ The silk-worm is said to have been brought from India to Constantinople about the year 550. The artificers, who introduced the culture of silk into Sicily, from whence it passed into Italy, were brought from Greece by Roger the first king of Sicily, in 1130. The slow progress of this art may serve as a proof of the low state of industry, and the difficulties of intercourse and communication during that period.

At



At the same time, a general profligacy of manners had prevailed. Private luxury and magnificence advancing as the public fortune declined, the people, with an unfeeling levity, indulged in all the gay dissipations of the highest prosperity, in the midst of the miseries of their country. In addition to these menacing appearances, the throne itself, always insecure when founded in despotism, was become more precarious than ever, stained not unfrequently with the blood of the short-lived possessor, and but too often the reward of the successful crime of the rebel, the traitor, the ruffian; so that Porphyrogeneta, *of imperial birth*⁶⁹, came to be the distinguishing appellation of those few emperors, who could boast so illustrious a parentage. Such is the melancholy summary of the Byzantine history, till, in the year 1453, the Othman arms put an end to this phantom of an empire.

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taken by the
Othmans.

OF the shock of the various revolutions, which, during this bloody period, began, advanced, and at length effected the final overthrow of the imperial throne, Greece however appears to have felt little, probably from the obscurity of her condition. Too insignificant to be the object of ambition, those who had in view the dismembering of the eastern empire, passed her by; beholding with indifference a land without inhabitants or cultivation; and leaving the possession of it to any of the rovers of those days, who were inclined to attempt a temporary settlement in that desolated country. For some centuries Greece even seems to have been altogether forgotten; or if remembered, was only considered as over-

Greece neglected and forgotten;

⁶⁹ See Grandeur et Decadence des Romains, Ch. 21.



B o o k
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spread with heaps of ruins, in which human industry might in vain seek to trace any of those venerable scenes recorded in antient story. The tale of the traveller, who talked of having discovered the site of Athens, and made his way to the remains of that illustrious city, was heard at first with amazement, if not with incredulity. The report, that amidst this rubbish of ages many vestiges of the arts of antient Greece were still to be descried, induced others to visit this long-neglected tract; and numbers of adventurers from different countries, but especially from the Italian cities, formed establishments on various parts of the Grecian coast.

is visited by
different ad-
venturers;

now subject
to the throne
of the Oth-
mans;

By degrees the modern Constantinople, now the capital of the Turkish empire, has once more reassumed a dominion over the Grecian territory. Mustapha the second colonized anew several districts of it. And at this day Greece, with her adjacent isles, acknowledges subjection to the throne of the Othmans.

her present
inhabitants.

THE present Greeks appear to be a mixed race, of whom few, if any, are of the antient Grecian lineage. Most of them have been transplanted into this country from different parts, and at different periods, by those who were attracted by curiosity, or views of gain. In addition to these partial colonizations, the Othman princes have, from their first invasion of Greece, at different times thrown in a considerable increase of inhabitants. These colonists, of every description, the Turks only excepted, have long since coalesced into one people, who, unmindful of their original extraction, seem to regard Greece as their parent-soil. And it is worthy of remark, that the Greeks of this day, whether from the influ-
ence



ence of climate, or from having fallen into an early imitation of the manners, which on their arrival they found here established, bear in several particulars a striking resemblance to the antient inhabitants. Even now, instruments of music are to be met with in every hamlet, and song and dance are still the delight of the Grecian peasant. The Boeotians are remarked for credulity and ignorance. And among the Greeks of Attica, low as their state of literature now is, we find a considerable share of that vivacity and acuteness, by which the Athenians of antient times were peculiarly distinguished. More strongly still does their speech exhibit this affinity to the Greeks of old, of whose language the modern Greek is a manifest corruption. The Turks still remain distinguished from the other inhabitants, persevering with a lordly inflexibility in their national dress, language, and mode of living; in obedience possibly to the law of their Koran, but more probably from a contempt for the manners of a people whom they equally despise and oppress.

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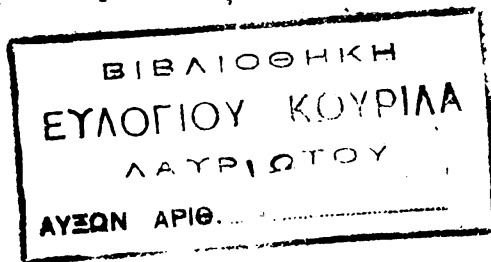
THE Gospel was known early in Greece. Before the middle of the first century, Athens, Corinth, with most of Achaia, and many parts of Macedon, Thessalonica, Beroea, Philippi, had been enlightened by the labours of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. A species of Christianity⁷⁰ Greece still retains, but such as would move the indignation of that excellent Apostle⁷¹, not less than did formerly the

The state
of Christiani-
ty in Greece:

⁷⁰ See Spon. Voy. de la Grece; Tournefort Voyage du Levant, Lettre iii; and Dr. Chandler's Travels into Greece, ch. 28.

⁷¹ See Acts of the Ap. xvii. 16,

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superstitious:



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superstitious excesses of idolatrous Athens. A number of absurd observances, a paltry display of the figures of saints and martyrs in their places of worship, a profound reverence for the Panagia or *mother of God*, as they still blasphemously style the Blessed Virgin, an obstinate adherence to every opinion said to have been held by their Christian ancestors, and a loquacious zeal in defending these opinions, as far as their scanty portion of learning will permit them, make up nearly the whole of what is dignified with the name of Christianity by this ignorant and degraded people.

The present
Greeks
grossly ig-
norant.

IN the several arts, once the boast of Greece, they are equally uninstructed; and, for the most part, seem hardly conscious of the former glories of their country. What a Solon taught, or a Themistocles achieved, Athens herself has long since ceased to remember. And those precious monuments of the power and wisdom of antient days, which might enrich the cabinets of princes, are now suffered to be spurned by the insolent foot of the illiterate Janizary, or perhaps employed, like vulgar materials, in fencing an inclosure, or in repairing the dwelling of some turbaned exactor. The cunning and interested Greek may sometimes be found to set an high value on the sculptured fragment he possesses; but what taste might be supposed to do in another, is in him the effect of avarice; he only seeks to enhance the price of what he wishes to part with; and, from the earnestness of the curious traveller, he judges of that which he would otherwise want the skill to estimate.

Remarkable
revolution
in the history
of mankind.

OF how uncertain a tenure are even the advantages of human genius! Greece, famed for arts and arms, from whose horizon



FROM THE ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

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horizon beamed forth those rays of science, which have gradually illumined our European world, now stands in need of the instruction she was wont to give. From those nations, whom she held most in contempt, she is at this day to learn what Greece once was. And were it not for the learned researches of the descendants of those very barbarians, whom in her age of glory she had deemed it a reproach to have numbered among her denizens, the fierce German, the unlettered Caledonian, the barbarous Briton, the rude Gaul⁷², many of her most highly-valued marble records had remained unread, and some of her noblest memorials had been buried in oblivion...

Β Ο Ο Κ
VIII.
Sect. 3.

⁷² It were superfluous, and indeed scarcely possible, to mention here all the illustrious personages of these nations, to whose munificence and labours these later ages owe the many instructive monuments we possess of the achievements and arts of antient days. To Britain's glory be it however remembered, that among her sons antient literature has found a greater number of bountiful patrons, than any other country has to boast of; and that at this very time there exists in the midst of her a society of persons, not less distinguished by their taste and public spirit, than by their opulence and noble birth, (The Dilettanti) who are employed in the generous plan of animating the studies and promoting the information of the rising generation. See Chandler's Travels, and the Ionian Antiquities, for which we are indebted to this respectable Society.

T H E E N D .



E R R A T A.

- Page 44. Line 1. from the bottom, for *span*, read *Pelusan*.
 p. 47. l. 11. from the top, for *Tircus*, read *Tircus*.
 p. 48. margin, for *emovnd*, read *removnd*.
 p. 57. l. 6. from the bottom, for *Macedonians*, read *Macedonian*.
 p. 57. in the note, l. 6. from the bottom, for *Zadracosta*, read *Zadracaria*.
 p. 77. l. 11. from the top, for *Arifarcibus*, read *Anazaribus*.
 p. 110. l. 3. from the top, for *Arxinet*, read *Orxinet*.
 p. 213. l. 6. from the top, for *Tbeoti*, read *Tbeoti*.
 p. 241. l. 3. from the bottom, for *Arcti*, read *Arcti*.
 p. 256. l. 20. from the top, for *Genatus*, read *Genatus*.
 p. 257. l. 13. from the top, for *A species of power less odious and equally effectual, than if he had held them in immediate and avowed subjection*, read *A species of power less odious than if he had held them in avowed subjection, and not less effectual*.
 p. 284. l. 20. from the top, for *sentiment*, read *act*.
 p. 311. l. 10. from the top, for *Eja*, read *Eva*.
 p. 335. l. 7. from the bottom, for *these martial exploits*, read *his martial exploits*.
 p. 418. in the note, l. 2. from the bottom, for *Dion. Italian*, read *Dion. Halicarn.*
 p. 434. l. 22. from the top, for *wajuf*, read *utter*.
 p. 441. l. 13. from the top, for *four thousand men was*, read *four thousand men were*.
 p. 537. l. 7. from the top, for *his year*, read *this year*.
 p. 572. l. 12. from the top, for *where*, read *were*.
 p. 609. in the note, l. 13. from the bottom, delete these words, *See also this transaction fully set forth in the ninth book of this work*.

* * If there are any other mistakes of the press in this volume, the impartial reader will be so kind as to excuse them, and to accept it as a sufficient apology for the Author, that he was at a great distance from London, where his book was printed.



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