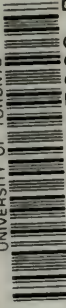
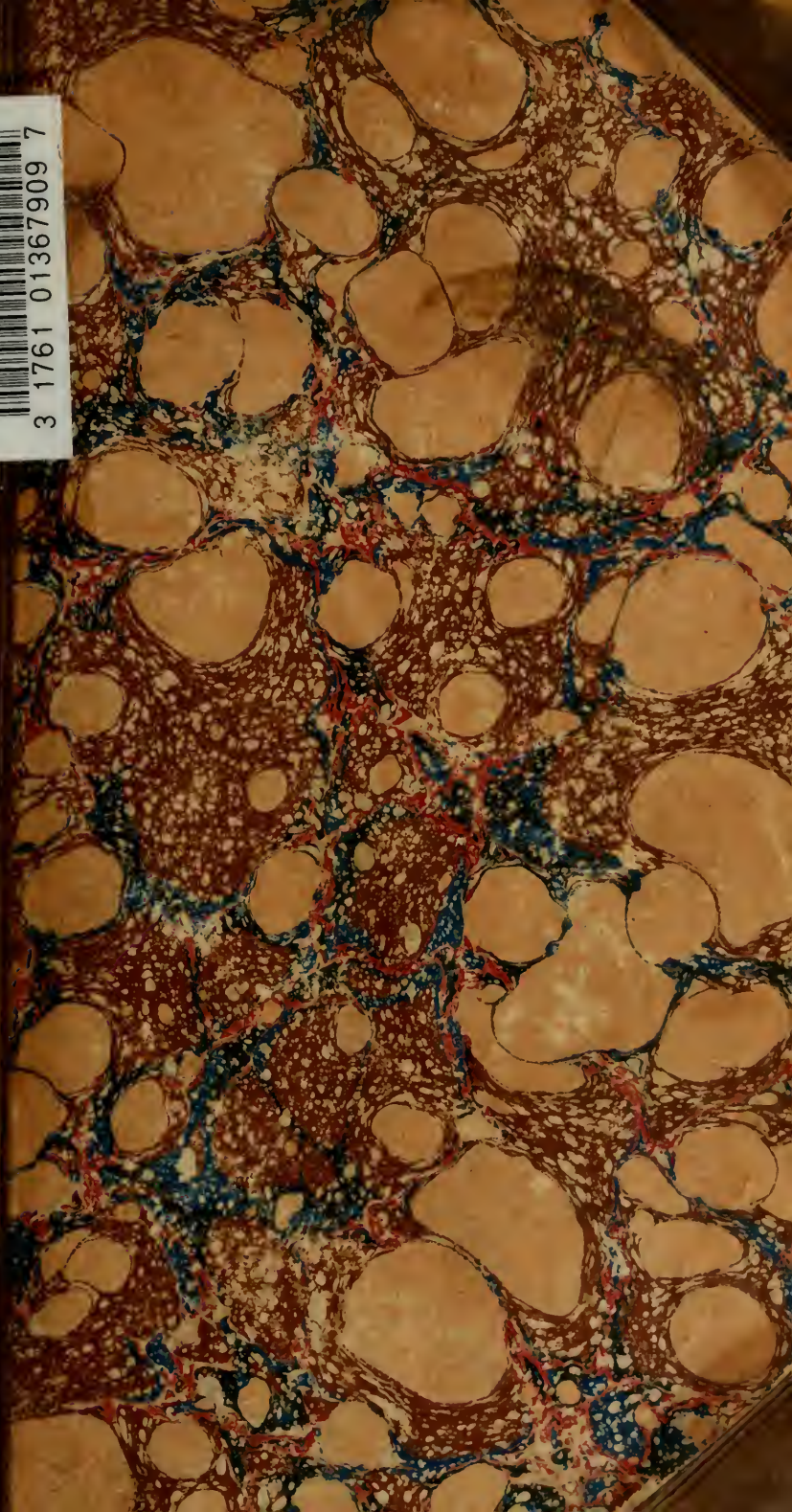
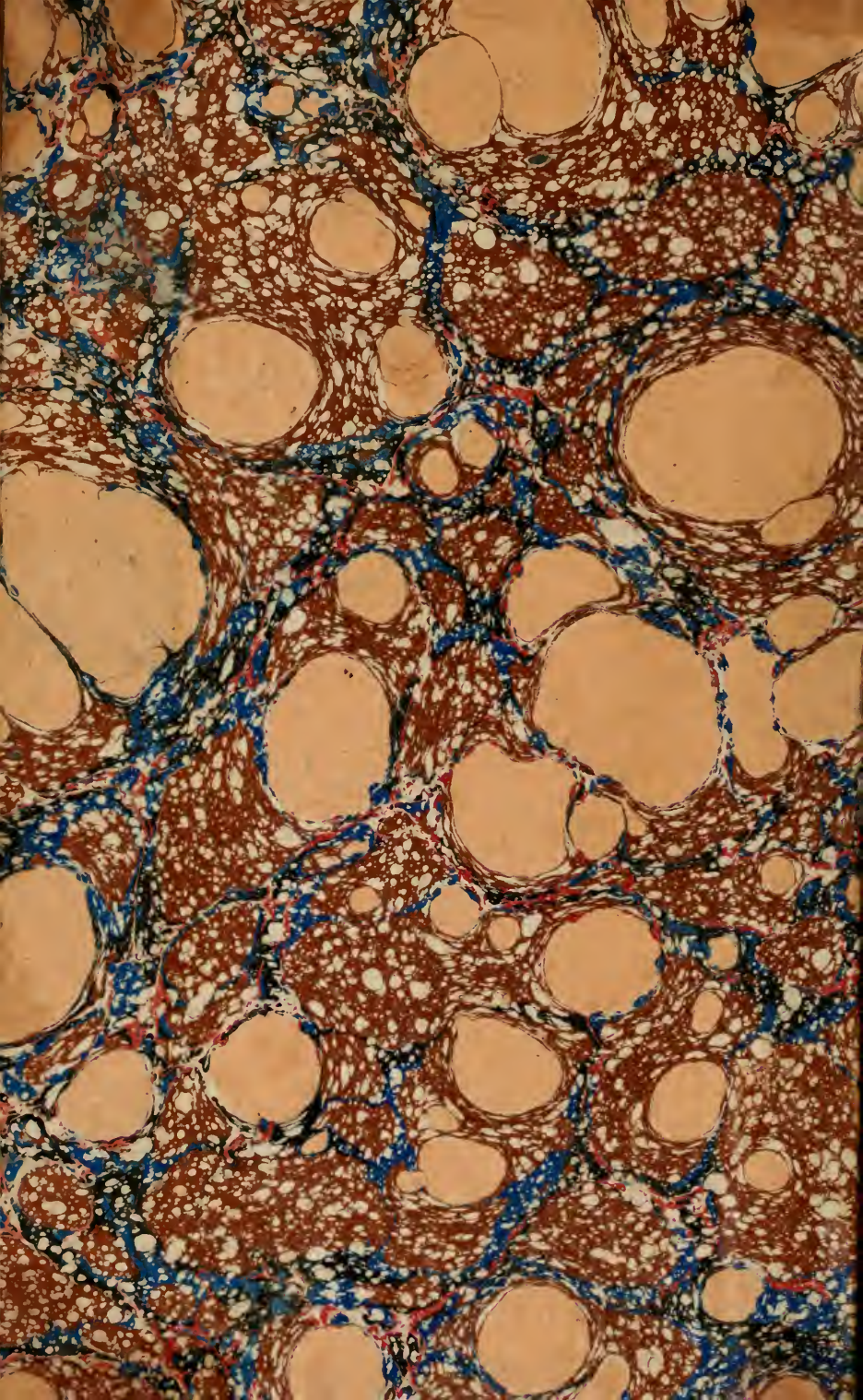


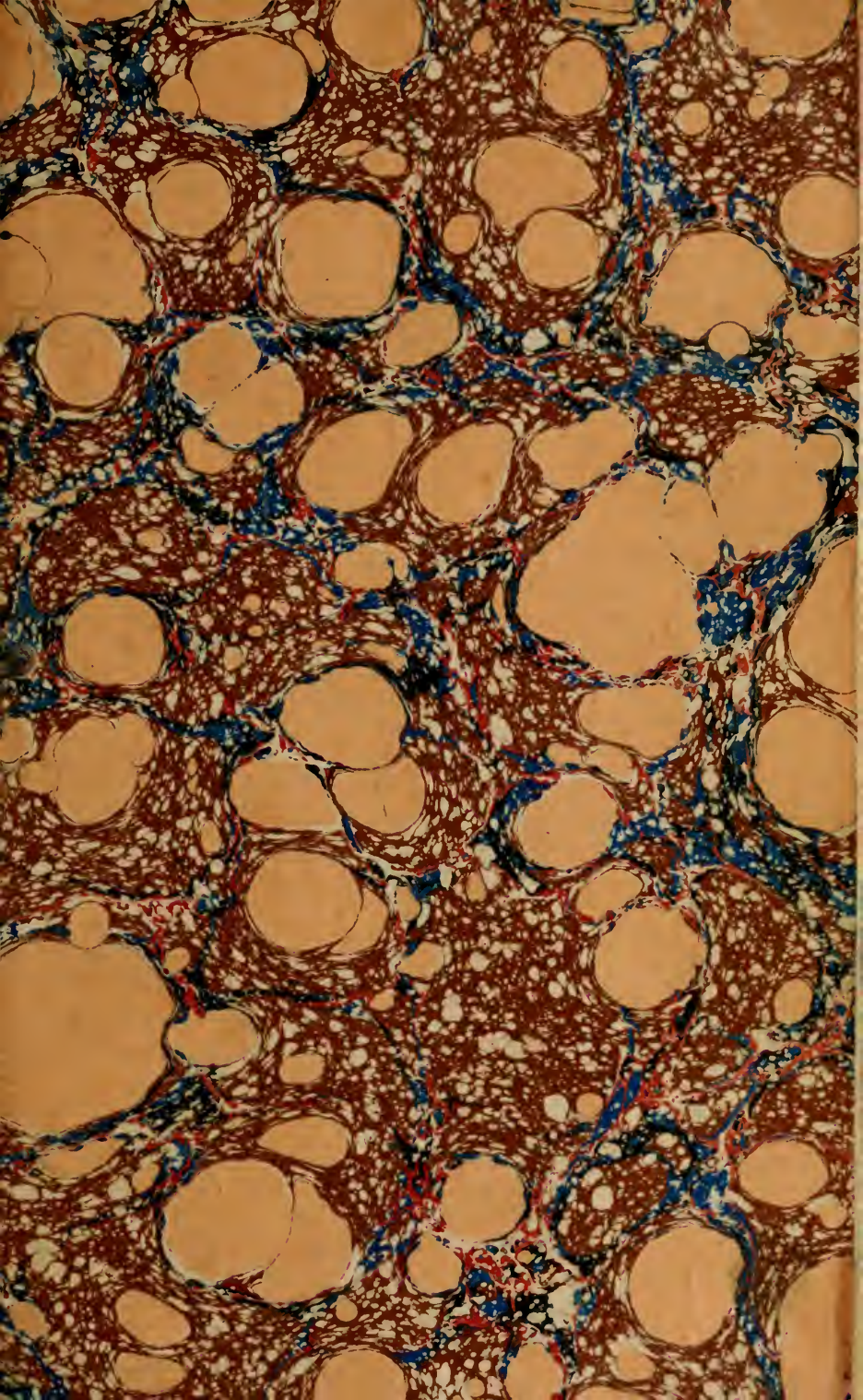
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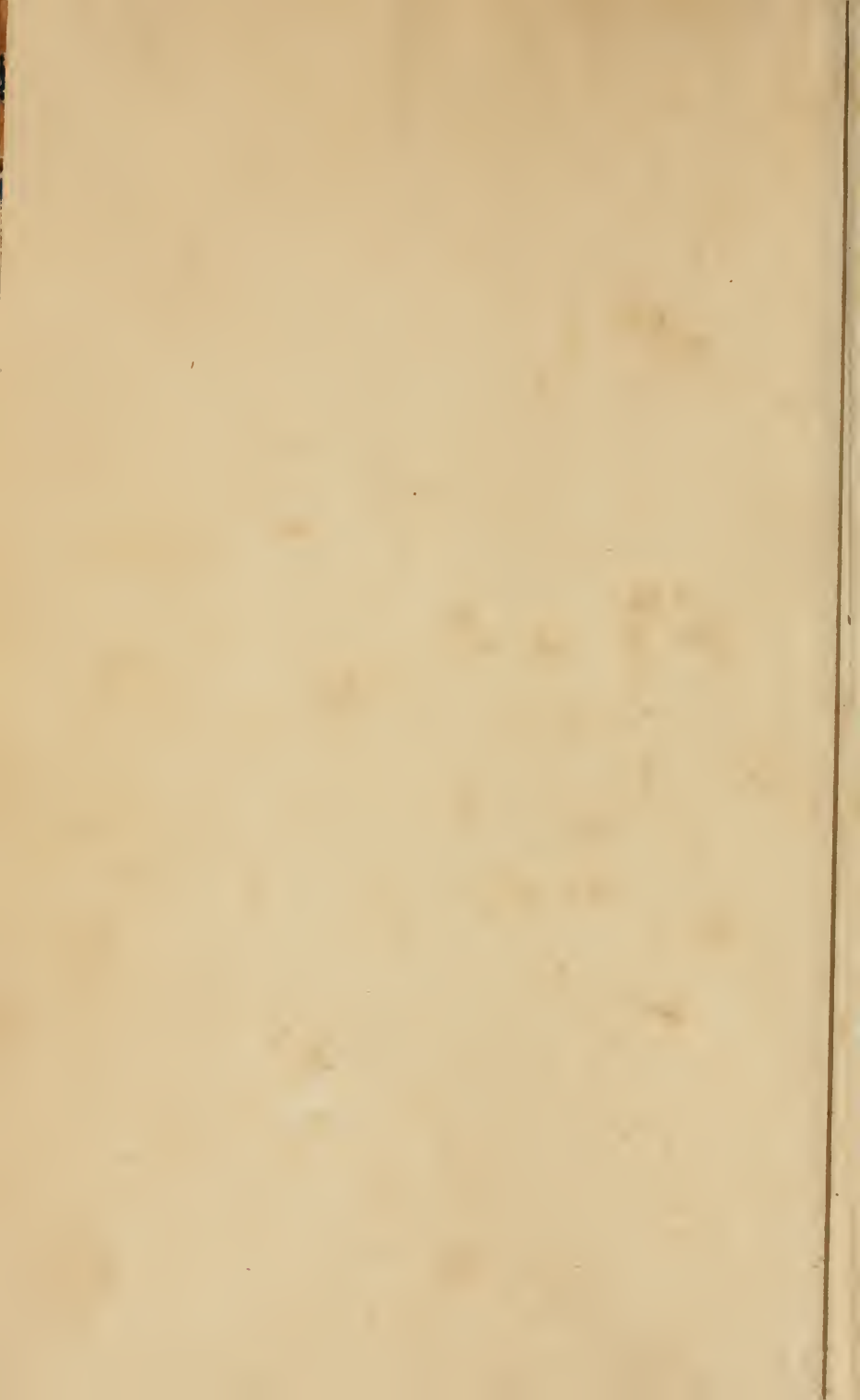


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THE  
ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,	MEDES AND PERSIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,	MACEDONIANS,
ASSYRIANS,	AND
BABYLONIANS,	GRECIANS.

BY *MR. ROLLIN*,

LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, PROFESSOR OF ELOQUENCE  
IN THE ROYAL COLLEGE, AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY  
OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES-LETTRES.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

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IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

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VOL. VIII.

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THE ELEVENTH EDITION,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ILLUSTRATED WITH A SET OF MAPS  
NEWLY ENGRAVED.

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ib.

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BOOK THE TWENTY-FIRST.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
SYRACUSE.

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THIS twenty-first Book contains the conclusion of the history of Syracuse. It may be divided into three parts. The first includes the long reign of HIERO II. The second, the short reign of his grandson HIERONYMUS, the troubles of Syracuse occasioned by it, with the siege and taking of that city by MARCELLUS. The third is a concise abridgement of the history of Syracuse, with some reflections on the government and character of the Syracusans, and on ARCHIMEDES.

ARTICLE I.

SECT. I. *Hiero the Second chosen captain-general by the Syracusans, and soon after appointed king. He makes an alliance with the Romans in the beginning of the first Punic war.*

<sup>a</sup> HIERO II. was descended from the family of Gelon, who had formerly reigned in Syracuse. As his mother was a slave, his father Hierocles, according to the barbarous custom of those times,

A. M.  
3700.  
Ant. J. C.  
304.

<sup>a</sup> Justin. l. xxiii. c. 4.

caused him to be exposed soon after his birth; believing that the infant dishonoured the nobility of his race. If Justin's fabulous account may be believed, the bees nourished him several days with their honey. The oracle declaring, that so singular an event was a certain presage of his future greatness, Hierocles caused him to be brought back to his house, and took all possible care of his education.

The child derived from this education all the benefit that could be expected. He distinguished himself early from all those of his years, by his address in military exercises, and his courage in battle. He acquired the esteem of Pyrrhus, and received several rewards from his hands. He was of a beautiful aspect, tall stature, and robust complexion. In his conversation \* he was affable and polite, in business just, and moderate in command; so that he wanted nothing but the title of king, as he already possessed all the qualities that adorn that rank.

A. M.  
3729.  
Ant. J. C.  
275.

<sup>b</sup> Discord having arisen between the citizens of Syracuse and their troops, the latter, who were in the neighbourhood, raised Artemidorus and Hiero to the supreme command, which comprehended all authority civil and military. The latter was at that time thirty years old, but displayed a prudence and maturity, that gave promise of a great king. Honoured with this command, by the help of some friends he entered the city, and having found means to bring over the adverse party, who were intent upon nothing but raising disorders, he behaved with so much wisdom and greatness of mind, that the Syracusans, though highly dissatisfied with the liberty assumed by the soldiers of making such an election without any right, were however unanimous in conferring upon him the title and power of supreme commander.

From his first measures it was easy to judge, that the new magistrate aspired at something more than that office. In fact, observing that the troops no

<sup>b</sup> Polyb. l. i. p. 8, 9.

\* *In alloquioblandus, in negotio justus, in imperio moderatus: prorsus ut nihil ei regium deesse, præter regnum, videretur.* JUSTIN.



sooner quitted the city, than Syracuse was involved in new troubles by seditious spirits and lovers of innovation, he perceived how important it was, in the absence of himself and the army, to have somebody upon whom he might rely for keeping the citizens within the bounds of their duty. Leptines seemed very fit for that purpose, he had abundance of persons devoted to his interests, and great influence with the people. Hiero attached him to himself for ever, by espousing his daughter, and by the same alliance secured the public tranquillity, during the time he should be obliged to remove from Syracuse, and march at the head of the armies.

Another much bolder, though far less just, stroke of policy, established his security and repose. He had every thing to fear from the foreign soldiers, turbulent, malignant men, void of respect for their commanders, and of affection for a state of which they made no part, solely actuated by the desire of command and lucre, and always ready for a revolt; who having been bold enough to assume a right in the election of magistrates, which did not belong to them, were capable, upon the least discontent, of attempting any thing against himself. He easily comprehended, that he should never have the mastery over them, as they were too well united amongst themselves; that, if he undertook to punish the most criminal, their chastisement would not fail to provoke the rest; and that the only means to put an end to the troubles they occasioned, was utterly to exterminate this factious body of troops, whose licentiousness and rebellious disposition were only fit to corrupt others, and incline them to pernicious excesses. Deceived by a false zeal and blind love for the public good, and sensibly affected also with the prospect of the dangers to which he was perpetually exposed, he thought it incumbent on him, for the safety of his country and security of his person, to proceed to this cruel and sad extremity, equally contrary to his character and justice, but which

seemed necessary to him in the present conjuncture. He therefore took the field under the pretext of marching against the Mamertines\*. When he came within view of the enemy, he divided his army into two parts: on the one side he posted such of the soldiers as were Syracusans: on the other, those who were not so. He put himself at the head of the first, as if he intended an attack, and left the others exposed to the Mamertines, who cut them in pieces, after which he returned quietly to the city with the Syracusan troops.

The army being thus purged of all who might excite disorders and sedition, he raised a sufficient number of new troops, and afterwards discharged the duties of his function in peace. The Mamertines, elate with their success, advancing into the country, he marched against them with the Syracusan troops, whom he had armed and disciplined well, and gave them battle in the plain of Myla. A great part of the enemies were left upon the place, and their generals made prisoners. At his return he was declared king by all the citizens of Syracuse, and afterwards by all the allies. This happened seven years after his being raised to the supreme authority.

A. M.  
3736.  
Ant. J. C.  
268.

It would be difficult to justify the manner in which he attained that eminence. Whether he put the foreign soldiers in motion himself, which seems probable enough, or only lent himself to their zeal, it was a criminal infidelity to his country, and the public authority, to which his example gave a mortal wound. It is true the irregularity of his entrance upon office was somewhat amended by the consent which the people and allies afterwards gave to it. But can we suppose, that in such a conjuncture their consent was perfectly free? As to his being elected king, there was nothing of compulsion in that: if his

\* They were originally troops from Campania, whom Agathocles had taken into his pay, and who afterwards seized Messina, having first put the principal inhabitants to the sword.

secret ambition had any part in it, that fault was well atoned for by his wise and disinterested conduct through the long duration of his reign and life.

The loss of the battle we have spoken of entirely disconcerted the affairs of the Mamertines. Some of them had recourse to the Carthaginians, to whom they surrendered their citadel; others resolved to abandon the city to the Romans, and sent to desire their aid. Hence arose the first Punic war, as I have explained more at large \* elsewhere.

<sup>c</sup> Appius Claudius the Consul put to sea, in order to aid the Mamertines. Not being able to pass the strait of Messina, of which the Carthaginians had possessed themselves, he made a feint of abandoning that enterprise, and of returning towards Rome with all the troops he had on board his fleet. Upon this news the enemy, who blocked up Messina on the side next the sea, having retired, as if there had been nothing further to apprehend, Appius tacked about, and passed the strait without danger.

<sup>d</sup>The Mamertines, partly through menaces and partly through surprise, having driven out of the citadel the officer who commanded in it for the Carthaginians, called in Appius, and opened the gates of their city to him. The Carthaginians soon after formed the siege of it, and made a treaty of alliance with Hiero, who joined his troops to theirs. The Roman consul thought fit to venture a battle, and attacked the Syracusans first. The fight was warm. Hiero showed all possible courage, but could not resist the valour of the Romans, and was obliged to give way, and retire to Syracuse. Claudius, having obtained a like victory over the Carthaginians, saw himself master of the field, advanced to the walls of Syracuse, and even designed to have besieged it.

<sup>e</sup> When the news of Appius's good success arrived at Rome, it occasioned great joy. In order to make

A. M.

3741.

Ant. J. C.

203.

<sup>c</sup> Frontin. Stratag. l. i. c. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Polyb. l. i. p. 10, 11.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. p. 15, 16.

\* Vol. I. History of the Carthaginians.

the most of it, it was thought proper to use new efforts. The two consuls lately elected, Manius Otacilius, and Manius Valerius, were ordered into Sicily. Upon their arrival, several of the Carthaginian and Syracusan cities surrendered at discretion.

The consternation of Sicily, joined to the number and force of the Roman legions, made Hiero conceive what event this new war was likely to have. That prince was sensible, that he might rely upon a more faithful and constant amity on the side of the Romans. He knew that the Carthaginians had not renounced the design they had anciently formed, of possessing themselves of all Sicily; and if they made themselves masters of Messina, he rightly judged his power would be very insecure in the neighbourhood of such dangerous and formidable enemies. He saw no other expedient for the preservation of his kingdom, than to leave the Carthaginians engaged with the Romans; well assured that the war would be long and obstinate between these two republics whose strength was equal, and that as long as they should be contending he should have no reason to apprehend being distressed either by the one or the other. He therefore sent ambassadors to the consuls to treat of peace and alliance. They were far from refusing those offers. They were too much afraid, that the Carthaginians being masters at sea, might cut off all passage for provisions; which fear was the better founded, as the troops, who had first passed the strait, had suffered extremely by famine. An alliance with Hiero secured the legions in that respect, and was immediately concluded. The conditions were, that the king should restore to the Romans, without ransom, all the prisoners he had taken from them, and pay them an hundred \* talents in money.

From thenceforth Hiero saw no war in his dominions, nor had any other share in it, than sending

\* An hundred thousand crowns.

supplies to the Romans upon occasion. In other respects he reigned as a king who had no view nor ambition but the esteem and love of his people. No prince was ever more successful in that point, nor longer enjoyed the fruits of his wisdom and prudence. During more than fifty years that he lived after being elected king, whilst all things were in flames around him, occasioned by the cruel wars which the two most potent states of the world made against each other, he was so prudent and happy as to be no more than a spectator of them, and only to hear the noise of those arms, which shook all the neighbouring regions; whilst himself and his people retained a profound peace.

<sup>f</sup> The Romans perceived, on more than one occasion, during the first Punic war, and especially at the siege of Agrigentum, with which it was in a manner opened, the importance of their alliance with Hiero, who abundantly supplied them with provisions at times when the Roman army, without his aid, would have been exposed to excessive famine.

The interval between the end of the first Punic war, and the commencement of the second, which was about five and twenty years, was a time of peace and tranquillity to Hiero, in which the actions of that prince are little spoken of.

<sup>g</sup> Polybius only informs us, that the Carthaginians, in the unhappy war they were obliged to support against the strangers or mercenaries, which was called the African war, finding themselves extremely pressed, had recourse to their allies, and especially to king Hiero, who granted them all they asked of him. That prince perceived, that to support himself in Sicily, it was necessary that the Carthaginians should overcome in this war; lest the strangers, who had already obtained many advantages over the Carthaginians, in case of entire success, should find no further obstacles to their projects, and should form de-

A. M.  
3763.  
Ant. J. C.  
241.

<sup>f</sup> Polyb. l. i. p. 18.

<sup>g</sup> Polyb. l. i. p. 84.

signs of bringing their victorious arms into Sicily. Perhaps also, as he was an excellent politician, he thought it incumbent on him to be upon his guard against the too great power of the Romans, who would become absolute masters, if the Carthaginians should be entirely ruined in the war against the revoltors.

Hiero's sole application during this long interval of peace, was to make his subjects happy, and to redress the evils which the unjust government of Agathocles, who preceded him some years, and the intestine divisions which ensued had occasioned; an employment worthy of a king. There was a levity and inconstancy in the character of the Syracusans, which often inclined them to excessive and violent resolutions; but at bottom they were humane and equitable, and no enemies to a just and reasonable obedience. The proof of which is, that when they were governed with wisdom and moderation, as by Timoleon, they respected the authority of the laws and magistrates, and obeyed them with joy.

Hiero was no sooner entered upon office, and had the supreme authority confided to him, than he showed his detestation for the wretched policy of the tyrants; who, considering the citizens as their enemies, had no other thoughts than to weaken and intimidate them, and reposed their whole confidence in the foreign soldiers, by whom they were perpetually surrounded. He began by putting arms into the hands of the citizens, formed them with care in the exercises of war, and employed them in preference to all others.

SECT. II. *Hiero's pacific reign. He particularly favours agriculture. He applies the abilities of Archimedes his relation to the service of the public, and causes him to make an infinite number of machines for the defence of a besieged place. He dies very old, and much regretted by the people.*

WHEN Hiero attained the sovereign authority, his great aim was to convince his subjects, less by his words than his actions, that he was infinitely remote from any design to the prejudice of their fortunes or liberty. He was not intent upon being feared, but upon being loved. He looked upon himself less as their master, than as their protector and father. Before his reign the state had been divided by two factions, that of the citizens, and that of the soldiers; whose differences, supported on both sides with great animosity, had occasioned infinite misfortunes. He used his utmost endeavours to extinguish all remains of this division, and to eradicate from their minds all seeds of discord and misunderstanding. He seems to have succeeded wonderfully in that respect, as, during a reign of more than fifty years, no sedition or revolt disturbed the tranquillity of Syracuse.

What contributed most, without doubt, to this happy calm, was the particular care taken by Hiero to keep his subjects employed; to banish luxury and idleness, the parent of all vices, and the usual source of all seditions, from his dominions; to support and improve the natural fertility of his country; and to reflect honour upon agriculture, which he considered as the certain means to render his people happy, and to diffuse abundance throughout his kingdom. The cultivation of lands, indeed, besides employing an

infinite number of hands, which would otherwise remain idle and unprofitable, draws into a country, by the exportation of grain, the riches of the neighbouring nations, and turns their current into the houses of the people, by a commerce which is renewed every year, and which is the deserved fruit of their labour and industry. This is, and we cannot repeat it too often, what ought to be the peculiar attention of a wise government, as one of the most essential parts of wise and salutary policy, though unhappily too much neglected.

Hiero applied himself entirely to this end. He did not think it unworthy of the sovereignty to study and make himself thoroughly master of all the rules of agriculture. <sup>b</sup> He even gave himself the trouble to compose books upon that subject, of which we ought much to regret the loss. But he considered that object of his inquiries in a manner still more worthy of a king. The principal riches of the state, and the most certain fund of the prince's revenue, consisted in corn. He therefore believed it of the highest consequence, and what demanded his utmost care and application, to establish good order in that traffic, to render the condition of the husbandmen, of whom the greatest part of the people were composed, safe and happy; to ascertain the prince's dues, whose principal revenue rose from them; to obviate such disorders as might get ground to the prejudice of his institutions; and to prevent the unjust vexations, which might possibly be attempted to be introduced in the sequel. To answer all these purposes, Hiero made regulations so wise, reasonable, equitable, and at the same time conformable to the people's and prince's interests, that they became in a manner the fundamental laws of the country, and were always observed as sacred and inviolable, not only in his reign, but in all succeeding times. When the Romans had subjected the city and dominions of Syra-

<sup>b</sup> Plin. l. xviii. c. 3.



cuse, they imposed no new tributes, and decreed\*, that all things should be disposed according to *the laws of Hiero*: in order that the Syracuans, in changing their masters, might have the consolation not to change their laws, and see themselves in some measure still governed by a prince, whose name alone was always dear to them, and rendered those laws exceedingly venerable.

I have observed, that in Sicily the prince's principal revenue consisted in corn; the tenth being paid him. It was therefore his interest that the country should be well cultivated, that estimates should be made of the value of the lands, and that they should produce abundantly, as his revenue augmented in proportion to their fertility. The collectors of this tenth for the prince, which was paid in kind and not in money, were called *Decumani*, that is to say, *farmers of the tenths*. Hiero, in the regulations he made upon this head, did not neglect his own interests, which is the mark of a wise prince and good œconomist. He knew very well, there was reason to apprehend, that the country people, who frequently consider the most legal and moderate imposts as intolerable burthens, might be tempted to defraud the prince of his dues. To spare them this temptation, he took such † just and exact precautions, that whether the corn were in the ear, on the floor to be threshed, laid up in barns, or laden for carriage, it was not possible for the husbandman to secrete any part of it, or to defraud the collector of a single grain, without exposing himself to a severe penalty. Cicero acquaints us with these circumstances, at much length. But he

\* *Decumas lege Hieronicâ semper vendendas censuerunt, ut iis jucundior esset numeris illius functio, si ejus regis, qui Siculis carissimus fuit, non solùm instituta, commutato imperio, verùm etiam nomen remaneret.* Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 15.

† *Hieronica lex omnibus custodiis subjectum aratorem decumano tradit, ut neque in segetibus, neque in arcis, neque in horreis, neque in amovendo, neque in asportando frumento, grano uno posset arator, sine maximâ pœnâ, fraudare decumanum.* Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 20.

adds also, that Hiero had taken the same precautions against the avidity of the collectors, to whom it was equally impossible to extort any thing from the husbandmen beyond the tenth. Hiero seems to have been very much against the husbandman's being drawn from his home upon any pretext whatsoever. In fact, says Cicero, inveighing against Verres, who gave them great trouble, by frequent and painful journeys, it is very hard and afflicting to the poor husbandmen, to be brought from their country to the city, from their plough to the bar, and from the care of tilling their lands to that of prosecuting law-suits. <sup>1</sup> *Miserum atque iniquum, ex agro homines traduci in forum, ab aratro ad subsellia, ab usu rerum rusticarum ad insolitam litem atque judicium.* And besides, can they flatter themselves, let their cause be ever so just, that they shall carry it to the prejudice of the collectors? *Judicio ut arator decumanum persequatur!*

Can there be any thing more to a king's praise than what we have now said? Hiero might undertake wars, for he did not want valour, gain battles, make conquests, and extend the bounds of his dominions, and upon these accounts might pass for a hero in the opinion of the generality of men. But with how many taxes must he have loaded his people! How many husbandmen must he have torn from their lands! How much blood would the gaining of those victories have cost him! and of what emolument would they have been to the state! Hiero, who knew wherein true glory consists, placed his in governing his people with wisdom, and in making them happy. Instead of conquering new countries by the force of arms, he endeavoured to multiply his own in a manner by the cultivation of the lands, by rendering them more fertile than they were, and in actually multiplying his people, wherein the real force and true riches of a state consist; and which can never fail to

<sup>1</sup> Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 14.

happen when the people of a country reap a reasonable advantage from their labour.

\* It was in the second Punic war, that Hiero gave distinguished proofs of his attachment to the Romans. As soon as he received advice of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, he went with his fleet well equipped to meet Tiberius Sempronius, who was arrived at Messina, to offer that consul his services, and to assure him that, advanced in age as he was, he would show the same zeal for the Roman people, as he had formerly done in his youth, in the first war against the Carthaginians. He took upon him to supply the consul's legions, and the troops of the allies, with corn and clothes at his own expense. Upon the news received the same instant, of the advantage gained by the Roman over the Carthaginian fleet, the consul thanked the king for his advantageous offers, and made no use of them at that time.

A. M.  
3786.  
Ant. J. C.  
218.

<sup>1</sup> Hiero's inviolable fidelity towards the Romans, which is very remarkable in his character, appeared still more conspicuously after their defeat near the lake of Thrasymene. They had already lost three battles against Hannibal, each more unfortunate and more bloody than the other. Hiero, in that mournful conjuncture, sent a fleet laden with provisions to the port of Ostia. The Syracusan ambassadors, when introduced to the senate, told them, " That Hiero, their master, had been as sensibly afflicted with their last disgrace, as if he had suffered it in his own person. That though he well knew, that the grandeur of the Roman people was almost more worthy of admiration in times of adversity, than after the most signal successes; he had sent them all the aid that could be expected from a good and faithful ally, and earnestly desired the senate would not refuse to accept it. That they had particularly brought a Victory of gold, that weighed three hundred pounds, which the king

\* Liv. l. xxi. n. 50, 51.

<sup>1</sup> Liv. l. xxii. n. 37, 38.

“ hoped they would vouchsafe to receive as a fa-  
 “ vourable augury, and a pledge of the vows which  
 “ he made for their prosperity. That they had also  
 “ imported three hundred thousand bushels of wheat,  
 “ and two hundred thousand of barley; and that if  
 “ the Roman people desired a greater quantity,  
 “ Hiero would cause as much as they pleased to be  
 “ transported to whatever places they should ap-  
 “ point. That he knew the Roman people em-  
 “ ployed none in their armies but citizens and  
 “ allies; but that he had seen light-armed strangers  
 “ in their camp. That he had therefore sent them  
 “ a thousand archers and slingers, who might be  
 “ opposed successfully to the Baleares and Moors  
 “ of Hannibal’s army.”—They added to this aid a  
 very salutary piece of advice, which was, that the  
 prætor, who should be sent to command in Sicily,  
 might dispatch a fleet to Africa, in order to find the  
 Carthaginians such employment in their own coun-  
 try, as might put it out of their power by that diver-  
 sion to send any succours to Hannibal.

The senate answered the king’s ambassadors in  
 very obliging and honourable terms, “ That Hiero  
 “ acted like a very generous prince, and a most  
 “ faithful ally: that from the time he had contracted  
 “ an alliance with the Romans, his attachment for  
 “ them had been constant and unalterable; in fine,  
 “ that in all times and places he had powerfully and  
 “ magnificently succoured them: that the people  
 “ had a due sense of such generosity: that some  
 “ cities of Italy had already presented the Roman  
 “ people with gold, who, after having expressed their  
 “ gratitude, had not thought fit to accept it: that  
 “ the Victory was too favourable an augury not to  
 “ be received: that they would place her in the Capi-  
 “ tol, that is to say, in the temple of the most high  
 “ Jupiter, in order that she might establish there her  
 “ fixed and lasting abode.” All the corn and barley  
 on board the ships, with the archers and slingers, were  
 sent to the consuls.

Valerius Maximus\* makes an observation here, upon the noble and prudent liberality of Hiero; first in the generous design he forms, of presenting the Romans with three hundred and twenty pounds weight of gold; then in the industrious precaution he uses, to prevent them from refusing to accept it. He does not offer them that gold in specie; he knew the exceeding delicacy of the Roman people too well for that; but under the form of a Victory, which they dared not refuse, upon account of the good omen it seemed to bring along with it.

It is extraordinary to see a prince, whose dominions were situate as Syracuse was in regard to Carthage, from which it had every thing to fear, at a time when Rome seemed near her ruin, continue unalterably faithful, and declare openly for her interests, notwithstanding all the dangers to which so daring a conduct exposed him. A more prudent politician, to speak the usual language, would perhaps have waited the event of a new action, and not have been so hasty to declare himself without necessity, and at his extreme peril. Such examples are the more estimable, for being rare and almost unparalleled.

I do not know, however, whether, even in good policy, Hiero ought not to have acted as he did. It would have been the greatest of all misfortunes for Syracuse, had the Carthaginians entirely ruined, or even weakened the Romans too much. That city would have immediately felt all the weight of Carthage; as it was situated over against it, and lay highly convenient for strengthening its commerce, securing to it the empire of the sea, and establishing it firmly in Sicily, by the possession of the whole

\* *Trecenta millia modium tritici, et ducenta millia hordei, aurique ducenta & quadraginta pondo usbi nostræ muneri misit. Neque ignarus verecundiæ majorum nostrorum, quod nollet accipere, in habitum id victoriæ formavit, ut eos religione motos, munificentia sub uti cogeret: voluntate mittendi prius, iterum providentiâ cavendæ ne remitteretur, liberalis.*—VAL. MAX. l. iv. c. 8.

island. It would therefore have been imprudent to suffer such allies to be ruined by the Carthaginians, who would not have been the better friends to the Syracusans for having renounced the Romans by force. It was therefore a decisive stroke, to fly immediately to the aid of the Romans; and as Syracuse would necessarily fall after Rome, it was absolutely requisite to hazard every thing, either to save Rome, or fall with her.

If the facts, which history has preserved of so long and happy a reign, are few, they do not give us the less idea of this prince, and ought to make us exceedingly regret the want of a more particular information concerning his actions.

<sup>m</sup> The sum of an hundred talents, (an hundred thousand crowns) which he sent to the Rhodians, and the presents he made them after the great earthquake, which laid waste their island, and threw down their Colossus, are illustrious instances of his liberality and magnificence. The modesty with which his presents were attended, infinitely exalts the value of them. He caused two statues to be erected in the public square at Rhodes, representing the people of Syracuse placing a crown upon the head of the Rhodians; as if, says Polybius, Hiero, after having made that people such magnificent presents, far from assuming any vanity from his munificence, believed himself their debtor upon that very account. And indeed the liberality and beneficence of a prince to strangers is rewarded with interest, in the pleasure they give to himself, and the glory he acquires by them.

There is a pastoral of Theocritus (*Idyll.* 16.) which bears the name of the king we speak of, wherein the poet seems tacitly to reproach that prince, with paying very ill for the verses made in honour of him. But the mean manner in which he claims, as it were, a reward for the verses he meditates, leaves room to

<sup>m</sup> Polyb. l. v. p. 429.

conclude, that the imputation of avarice falls with more justice upon the poet than upon the prince, distinguished and esteemed, as we have seen, from his liberality.

<sup>a</sup> It is to Hiero's just taste, and singular attention to every thing that concerned the public good, that Syracuse was indebted for those amazing machines of war, of which we shall soon see it make so great an use, when besieged by the Romans. Though that prince seemed to devote his cares entirely to the tranquillity and domestic affairs of the kingdom, he did not neglect those of war; convinced, that the surest means to preserve the peace of his dominions, was to hold himself always in readiness to make war upon unjust neighbours, who should attempt to disturb it. He knew how to profit by the advantage he possessed of having in his dominions the most learned geometrician the world had ever produced; it is plain I mean Archimedes. He was illustrious, not only by his great ability in geometry, but his birth, as he was Hiero's relation. Sensible alone to the pleasures of the mind, and highly averse to the hurry and tumult of business and government, he devoted himself solely to the study of a science, whose sublime speculations on truths purely intellectual and spiritual, and entirely distinct from matter, have such attraction with the learned of the first rank, as scarce leaves them at liberty to apply themselves to any other objects.

Hiero had, however, sufficient influence over Archimedes, to engage him to descend from those lofty speculations to the practice of those mechanics, which depend on the hand, but are disposed and directed by the head. He pressed him continually, not to employ his art always in soaring after immaterial and intellectual objects, but to bring it down to sensible and corporeal things, and to render his reasonings in some measure more evident and familiar to the ge-

<sup>a</sup> Plut. in Marcel. p. 305, 306.

nerality of mankind, by joining them experimentally with things of use.

Archimedes frequently conversed with the king, who always heard him with great attention and extreme pleasure. One day, when he was explaining to him the wonderful effects of the powers of motion, he proceeded to demonstrate, "That with a certain given power any weight whatsoever might be moved." And applauding himself afterwards on the force of his demonstration, he ventured to boast that if there were another world besides this we inhabit, by going to that he could remove this at pleasure. The king, surprised and delighted, desired him to put his position in execution, by removing some great weight with a small force.

Archimedes preparing to satisfy the just and rational curiosity of his kinsman and friend, chose out one of the galleys in the port, caused it to be drawn on shore with great labour, and by abundance of men. He then ordered its usual lading to be put on board, and besides that, as many men as it could hold. Afterwards, placing himself at some distance, and sitting at his ease, without trouble, or exerting his strength in the least, by only moving with his hand the end of a machine, which he had provided with numerous cords and pullies, he drew the galley to him upon the land, with as much ease, and as steadily as if it had swum upon the water:

The king, upon the sight of so prodigious an effect of the powers of motion, was entirely astonished; and judging from that experiment of the efficacy of the art, he earnestly solicited Archimedes to make several sorts of machines and battering engines for sieges and attacks, as well for the defence as assault of places.

It has been sometimes asked, whether the sublime knowledge, of which we speak, be necessary to a king; and if the study of arts and sciences ought to form a part of the education of a young prince? What we read here demonstrates their utility. If king Hiero had wanted taste and curiosity, and employed



himself solely in his pleasures, Archimedes had remained inactive in his closet, and all his extraordinary science been of no advantage to his country. What treasures of useful knowledge lie buried in obscurity, and in a manner hid under the earth, because princes set no value upon learned men, and consider them as persons useless to the state. But when, in their youth, they have imbibed some small tincture of arts and sciences, for the study of princes ought to extend no farther in that point, they esteem such as distinguish themselves by their learning, sometimes converse with them, and hold them in honour, and by so glorious a protection, make way for valuable discoveries, of which the state soon reaps the advantage. Syracuse had this obligation to Hiero; which, without doubt, was the effect of his excellent education; for he had been bred with uncommon care and attention.

What has been said hitherto of Archimedes, and what we shall presently add, with respect to those admirable machines of war, which were used during the siege of Syracuse, shows how wrong it is to despise those sublime and speculative sciences, whose only objects are simple and abstract ideas. It is true, that all mere geometrical or algebraical speculations do not relate to useful things. But it is also as true, that most of those, which have not that relation, conduct or refer to those that have. They may appear unprofitable, as long as they do not deviate, if I may so say, from this intellectual world; but the mixed mathematics, which descend to matter, and consider the motions of the stars, the perfect knowledge of navigation, the art of drawing remote objects near by the assistance of telescopes, the increase of the powers of motion, the nice exactitude of the balance, and other similar objects, become more easy of access, and in a manner familiarise themselves with the vulgar. The labour of Archimedes was long obscure, and perhaps contemned, because he confined himself to simple and barren speculations. Ought we therefore

to conclude, that it was useless and unprofitable? It was from that very source of knowledge, buried till then in obscurity, that shot forth those brilliant lights, and wonderful discoveries, which displayed from their birth a sensible and manifest utility, and inspired the Romans with astonishment and despair when they besieged Syracuse.

Hiero was great and magnificent in all things, in building palaces, arsenals, and temples. He caused an infinite number of ships of all burthens to be built for the exportation of corn; a traffic in which almost the whole wealth of the island consisted. ° We are told of a galley built by his order, under the direction of Archimedes, which was reckoned one of the most famous structures of antiquity. It was a whole year in building. Hiero passed whole days amongst the workmen, to animate them by his presence.

This ship had twenty benches of oars. The enormous pile was fastened together on all sides with huge nails of copper, which weighed each ten pounds and upwards.

The inside had in it three galleries or corridors, the lowest of which led to the hold by a descent of stairs, the second to apartments, and the first to soldiers' lodgings.

On the right and left side of the middle gallery, there were to the number of thirty apartments; in each of which were four beds for men. The apartment for the officers and seamen had fifteen beds, and three great rooms for eating; the last of which, that was at the stern, served for a kitchen. All the floors of these apartments were inlaid with small stories in different colours, taken from the Iliad of Homer. The ceilings, windows, and all the other parts, were finished with wonderful art, and embellished with all kinds of ornaments.

In the uppermost gallery, there was a gymnasium,

° Athen. l. v. p. 206—209.

or place of exercise, and walks proportionate to the magnitude of the ship. In them were gardens and plants of all kinds, disposed in wonderful order. Pipes, some of hardened clay, and others of lead, conveyed water all round to refresh them. There were also arbours of ivy and vines, that had their roots in great vessels filled with earth. These vessels were watered in the same manner as the gardens. The arbours served to shade the walks.

After these came the apartment of Venus with three beds. This was floored with agates and other precious stones, the finest that could be found in the island. The walls and roof were of cypress wood. The windows were adorned with ivory, paintings, and small statues. In another apartment was a library, at the top of which, on the outside, was fixed a sun-dial.

There was also an apartment with three beds for a bath, in which were three great brazen coppers, and a bathing-vessel, made of a single stone of various colours. This vessel contained two hundred and fifty quarts. At the ship's head was a great reservoir of water, which held an hundred thousand quarts.

All round the ship on the outside were Atlases of six cubits, or nine feet, in height, which supported the sides of the ship; these Atlases were at equal distances from each other. The ship was adorned on all sides with paintings, and had eight towers proportioned to its size; two at the head, two at the stern, and four in the middle, of equal dimensions. Upon these towers were parapets, from which stones might be discharged upon the ships of an enemy, that should approach too near. Each tower was guarded by four young men completely armed, and two archers. The inside of them was filled with stones and arrows.

Upon the side of the vessel, well strengthened with planks, was a kind of rampart, on which was an engine to discharge stones, made by Archimedes: it threw a stone of three hundred weight, and an arrow

of twelve cubits (eighteen feet) the distance of a stadium, or an hundred and twenty-five paces from it.

The ship had three masts, at each of which were two machines to discharge stones. There also were the hooks and masses of lead to throw upon such as approached. The whole ship was surrounded with a rampart of iron to keep off those who should attempt to board it. All around were iron grapplings (*corvi*) which, being thrown by machines, grappled the vessels of the enemy, and drew them close to the ship, from whence it was easy to destroy them. On each of the sides were sixty young men completely armed, and as many about the masts, and at the machines for throwing stones.

Though the hold of this ship was extremely deep, one man sufficed for clearing it of all water, with a machine made in the nature of a screw, invented by Archimedes. An Athenian poet of that name made an epigram upon this superb vessel, for which he was well paid. Hiero sent him a thousand *medimni* of corn as a reward, and caused them to be carried to the port of Piræus. The *medimnus*, according to father Montfaucon, is a measure that contains six bushels. This epigram is come down to us. The value of verse was known at that time in Syracuse.

Hiero having found that there was no port in Sicily capable of containing this vessel, except some, where it could not lie at anchor without danger, resolved to make a present of it to king \* Ptolemy, and sent it to Alexandria. There was at that time a great dearth of corn throughout all Egypt.

Several other transports of less burthen attended this great ship. Three hundred thousand quarters of corn were put on board them, with ten thousand great earthen jars of salted fish, twenty thousand quintals (or two millions of pounds) of salt meat, twenty thousand bundles of different clothes, with ut including the provisions for the ship's crews and officers.

\* There is reason to believe this was Ptolemy Philadelphus.

To avoid too much prolixity, I have retrenched some part of the description which Athenæus has left us of this great ship. I could have wished, that, to have given us a better idea of it, he had mentioned the exact dimensions of it. Had he added a word upon the benches of oars, it would have cleared up and determined a question, which, without it, must for ever remain doubtful and obscure.

Hiero's fidelity was put to a very severe trial, after the bloody defeat of the Romans in the battle of Cannæ, which was followed by an almost universal defection of their allies.

But even the laying waste of his dominions by the Carthaginian troops, which their fleet had landed in Sicily, was not capable of shaking his resolution. <sup>P</sup> He was only afflicted to see that the contagion had spread even to his own family. He had a son named Gelon, who married Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus, by whom he had several children, and amongst others Hieronymus, of whom we shall soon speak. Gelon, despising his father's great age, and setting no value on the alliance of the Romans, after their last disgrace at Cannæ, had declared openly for the Carthaginians. He had already armed the multitude, and solicited the allies of Syracuse to join him; and would \* perhaps have occasioned great trouble in Sicily, if a sudden and unexpected death had not intervened. It happened so opportunely, that his father was suspected of having promoted it. He did not survive his son long, and died at the age of fourscore and ten years, infinitely regretted by his people, after having reigned fifty-four years.

A. M.  
3789.  
Ant. J. C  
215.

<sup>P</sup> Liv. l. xxiii. n. 30.

\* *Movissetque in Sicilia res, nisi mors, aded opportuna ut patrem quoque suspicione adspargeret, armantem eum multitudinem, sollicitantemque socios, absumpsisset.* Liv.

## ARTICLE II.

SECT. I. *Hieronymus, grandson of Hiero, succeeds him, and causes him to be regretted by his vices and cruelty. He is killed in a conspiracy. Barbarous murder of the princesses. Hippocrates and Epicydes possess themselves of the government of Syracuse, and declare for the Carthaginians as Hieronymus had done.*

THE death of Hiero occasioned great revolutions in Sicily. The kingdom was fallen into the hands of Hieronymus his grandson, a young\* prince, incapable of making a wise use of his independence, and far from possessing strength to resist the seducing allurements of sovereign power. Hiero's apprehensions, that the flourishing condition in which he left his kingdom would soon change under an infant king, suggested to him the thought and desire of restoring their liberty to the Syracusans. But his two daughters opposed that design with all their influence; from the hope, that the young prince would have only the title of king, and that they should have all the authority, in conjunction with their husbands, Andranodorus and Zoippus, who were to hold the first rank amongst his guardians.† It was not easy for an old man of ninety, to hold out against the caresses and arts of those two women, who besieged him day and night, to preserve the freedom of his mind in the midst of their pressing and assiduous insinuations, and to sacrifice with courage the interests of his family to those of the public.

\* *Pnerum, vix dum libertatem, nedum dominationem, modicè laturum.* LIV.

† *Non facile erat nonagesimum jam agenti annum, circumscisso dies noctesque mulieribus blanditiis, liberare animum, & convertere ad publicam privatam curam.* LIV.

To prevent as far as possible the evils he foresaw, he appointed him fifteen guardians, who were to form his council; and earnestly desired them, at his death, never to depart from the alliance with the Romans, to which he had inviolably adhered for fifty years, and to teach the young prince to tread in his steps, and to follow the principles in which he had been educated till then.

The king, dying after these arrangements, the guardians whom he had appointed for his grandson immediately summoned the assembly, presented the young prince to the people, and caused the will to be read. A small number of people, expressly placed to applaud it, clapped their hands, and raised acclamations of joy. All the rest, in a consternation equal to that of a family who have lately lost a good father, kept a mournful silence, which sufficiently expressed their grief for their recent loss, and their apprehension of what was to come. His \* funeral was afterwards solemnized, and more honoured by the sorrow and tears of his subjects, than the care and regard of his relations for his memory.

Andranodorus's first care was to remove all the other guardians, by telling them roundly, the prince was of age to govern for himself.

He was at that time near fifteen years old. So that Andranodorus, being the first to renounce the guardianship held by him in common with many colleagues, united in his own person all their power. The arrangements made by the wisest princes at their deaths, are often little regarded, and seldom executed afterwards.

The † best and most moderate prince in the world, succeeding a king so well beloved by his subjects,

\* *Funus fit regium, magis amore civium & caritate, quam curâ suorum celebre.* LIV.

† *Vix quidem ulli bono moderatoque regi facilis erat favor apud Syracusanos, succedenti tantæ caritati Hieronis. Verùm enim verò Hieronymus, velut suis civibus desiderabilem officere vellet avum, primo statim conspectu, omnia quàm disparia essent ostendit.* LIV.

as Hiero had been, would have found it very difficult to console them for the loss they had sustained. But Hieronymus, as if he strove by his vices to make him still more regretted, no sooner ascended the throne, than he made the people sensible how much all things were altered. Neither king Hiero, nor Gelon his son, during so many years, had ever distinguished themselves from the other citizens by their habits, or any other ornaments intimating pride. Hieronymus was presently seen in a purple robe, with a diadem on his head, and surrounded by a troop of armed guards. Sometimes he affected to imitate Dionysius the tyrant, in coming out of his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses. All the\* rest of his conduct was suitable to this equipage: a visible contempt for all the world, haughtiness and disdain in hearing, an affectation of saying disobliging things, so difficult of access, that not only strangers, but even his guardians, could scarce approach him; a refinement of taste in discovering new methods of excess; a cruelty so enormous, as to extinguish all sense of humanity in him: this odious disposition of the young king terrified the people to such a degree, that even some of his guardians, to escape his cruelty, either put themselves to death, or condemned themselves to voluntary banishment.

Only three men, Andranodorus and Zoippus, both Hiero's sons-in-law, and Thraso, had a great freedom of access to the young king. He listened a little more to them than to the others; but as the two first openly declared for the Carthaginians, and the latter for the Romans, that difference of sentiments, and very warm disputes which were frequently the consequence of it, drew upon them that prince's attention.

About this time a conspiracy against the life of Hieronymus happened to be discovered. One of the

\* *Hunc tam superbum apparatus habitumque contentientes sequebantur contemptus omnium hominum, superba aures, contumeliosa dicta, rari aditus, non alienis modò sed tutoribus etiam; libidines nova, inhumana crudelitas.* LIV.



principal conspirators, named Theodotus, was accused. Being put to the torture, he confessed the crime as far as it regarded himself; but all the violence of the most cruel torments could not make him betray his accomplices. At length, as if no longer able to support the pains inflicted on him, he accused the king's best friends, though innocent, amongst whom he named Thraso, as the ringleader of the whole enterprize; adding, that they should never have engaged in it, if a man of his credit had not been at their head. The zeal he had always expressed for the Roman interests rendered the evidence probable; and he was accordingly put to death. Not one of the accomplices, during their companion's being tortured, either fled or concealed himself, so much they relied upon the fidelity of Theodotus, who had the fortitude to keep the secret inviolable.

The death of Thraso, who was the sole support of the alliance with the Romans, left the field open to the partisans of Carthage. Hieronymus dispatched ambassadors to Hannibal, who sent back a young Carthaginian officer of illustrious birth, named also Hannibal, with Hippocrates and Epicycles, natives of Carthage, but descended from the Syracusans by their father. After the treaty with Hieronymus was concluded, the young officer returned to his general; the two others continued with the king by Hannibal's permission. The conditions of the treaty were, that after having driven the Romans out of Sicily, of which they fully assured themselves, the river Himera, which almost divides the island, should be the boundary of their respective dominions. Hieronymus, puffed up by the praises of his flatterers, even demanded, some time after, that all Sicily should be given up to him, leaving the Carthaginians Italy for their part. The proposal appeared idle and rash, but Hannibal gave very little attention to it, having no other view at that time, than of drawing off the young king from the party of the Romans.

Upon the first rumour of this treaty, Appius, prætor of Sicily, sent ambassadors to Hieronymus to renew the alliance made by his grandfather with the Romans. That proud prince received them with great contempt; asking them with an air of raillery and insult, what had passed at the battle of Cannæ; that Hannibal's ambassadors had related incredible things respecting it; that he was happy in an opportunity of knowing the truth from their mouths, that he might thence determine upon the choice of his allies. The Romans made answer, that they would return to him, when he had learnt to treat ambassadors seriously, and with respect; and, after having cautioned rather than desired him not to change sides too rashly, they withdrew.

At length his cruelty, and the other vices to which he blindly abandoned himself, drew upon him an unfortunate end. Those who had formed the conspiracy mentioned before, pursued their scheme; and having found a favourable opportunity for the execution of their enterprise, killed him in the city of the Leontines, on a journey he made from Syracuse into the country.

Here is a sensible instance of the difference between a king and a tyrant; and that it is not in guards or arms that the security of a prince consists, but in the affection of his subjects. Hiero, from being convinced, that those who have the laws in their hands for the government of the people, ought always to govern themselves by the laws, behaved in such a manner, that it might be said the law and not Hiero reigned. He believed himself rich and powerful for no other end, than to do good, and to render others happy. He had no occasion to take precautions for the security of his life: he had always the surest guard about him, the love of his people: and Syracuse was afraid of nothing so much as of losing him. Hence he was lamented at his death as the common father of his country. Not only their mouths but hearts were long after filled with his name, and incessantly bless-

ed his memory. Hieronymus, on the contrary, who had no other rule of conduct than violence, regarded all other men as born solely for himself, and valued himself upon governing them not as subjects but slaves, led the most wretched life in the world, if to live were to pass his days in continual apprehension and terror. As he trusted nobody, nobody placed any confidence in him. Those who were nearest his person, were the most exposed to his suspicions and cruelty, and thought they had no other security for their own lives, than by putting an end to his. Thus ended a reign of short duration, but abounding with disorders, injustice, and oppression.

<sup>9</sup> Appius, who foresaw the consequence of his death, gave the senate advice of all that had passed, and took the necessary precautions to preserve that part of Sicily which belonged to the Romans. They, on their side, perceiving the war in Sicily was likely to become important, sent Marcellus thither, who had been appointed consul with Fabius, in the beginning of the fifth year of the second Punic war, and had distinguished himself gloriously by his successes against Hannibal.

A. M.  
3790.  
Ant. J. C.  
214.

When Hieronymus was killed, the soldiers, less out of affection for him, than a certain natural respect for their kings, had thoughts at first of avenging his death upon the conspirators. But the grateful name of liberty, by which they were flattered, and the hope that was given them of the division of the tyrant's treasures amongst them, and of additional pay, with the recital of his horrid crimes and shameful excesses, all together appeased their first heat, and changed their disposition in such a manner, that they left, without interment, the body of that prince, for whom they had just before expressed so warm a regret.

As soon as the death of Hieronymus was known at

<sup>9</sup> Liv. l. xxiv. n. 21—35.

Syracuse, Andranodorus seized the Isle, which was part of the city, with the citadel, and such other places as were most proper for his defence in it; putting good garrisons into them. Theodotus and Sosis, heads of the conspiracy, having left their accomplices with the army, to keep the soldiers quiet, arrived soon after at the city. They made themselves masters of the quarter Achradina, where by showing the tyrant's bloody robe, with his diadem, to the people, and exhorting them to take arms for the defence of their liberty, they soon saw themselves at the head of a numerous body.

The whole city was in confusion. The next day, at sun-rise, all the people, armed and unarmed, ran to the quarter Achradina, where the senate was holden, which had neither assembled, nor been consulted upon any affair since Hiero's death. Polyænus, one of the Senators, spoke to the people with great freedom and moderation. He represented, "that having  
" experienced the indignities and miseries of slavery,  
" they were most sensibly affected with them; but  
" that as to the evils occasioned by civil discord, they  
" had rather heard them spoken of by their fathers,  
" than been acquainted with them themselves; that  
" he commended their readiness in taking arms, and  
" should praise them still more, if they did not proceed to use them, till the last extremity: that at  
" present it was his advice to send deputies to Andranodorus, and to let him know he must submit to  
" the senate, open the gates of the isle, and withdraw  
" his garrisons: that if he persisted in his usurpation,  
" it would be necessary to treat him with more rigour  
" than Hieronymus had experienced."

This deputation at first made some impression upon him: whether he still retained a respect for the senate, and was moved with the unanimous concurrence of the citizens; or whether, the best fortified part of the isle having been taken from him by treachery, and surrendered to the Syracusans, that loss

gave him just apprehensions. But \* his wife Demarata, Hiero's daughter, an haughty and ambitious princess, having taken him aside, put him in mind of the famous saying of Dionysius the tyrant, " That  
 " it was never proper to quit the saddle," (i. e. the  
 " tyranny) " till pulled off the horse by the heels:  
 " that a great fortune might be renounced in a mo-  
 " ment; but that it would cost abundance of time and  
 " pains to attain it: that it was therefore necessary  
 " to endeavour to gain time; and whilst he amused  
 " the senate by ambiguous answers, to treat privately  
 " with the soldiers at Leontium, whom it would be  
 " easy to bring over to his interest by the attraction  
 " of the king's treasures in his possession."

Andranodorus did not entirely reject this counsel, nor think proper to follow it without reserve. He chose a mean between both. He promised to submit to the senate, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity; and the next day having thrown open the gates of the isle, repaired to the quarter Achradina; and there, after having excused his delay and resistance, from the fear he had entertained of being involved in the tyrant's punishment, as his uncle, he declared that he was come to put his person and interests into the hands of the senate. Then turning towards the tyrant's murderers, and addressing himself to Theodotus and Sosis; " You have  
 " done," (said he) " a memorable action. But  
 " believe me your glory is only begun, and has not  
 " yet attained the height of which it is capable. If  
 " you do not take care to establish peace and union  
 " among the citizens, the state is in great danger of  
 " expiring, and of being destroyed at the very mo-  
 " ment she begins to taste the blessings of liberty." After this discourse, he laid the keys of the isle and of the king's treasures at their feet. The whole city

\* *Sed evocatum cum ab legatis Demarata uxor, filia Hieronis, inflata adhuc regis animis ac muliebri spiritu, admouet sæpe usurpata Dionysii tyranni vocis: quæ, pedibus tractum, non insidentem equo, relinquere tyrannidem dixerit debere.*

was highly rejoiced on this occasion, and the temples were thronged during the rest of the day with infinite numbers of people, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for so happy a change of affairs.

The next day the senate being assembled according to the ancient custom, magistrates were appointed, amongst whom Andranodorus was elected one of the first, with Tacodotus and Sosis, and some others of the conspirators who were absent.

On the other side, Hippocrates and Epicycles, whom Hieronymus had sent at the head of two thousand men, to endeavour to excite troubles in the cities which continued to adhere to the Romans, seeing themselves, upon the news of the tyrant's death, abandoned by the soldiers under their command, returned to Syracuse, where they demanded to be escorted in safety to Hannibal, having no longer any business in Sicily after the death of him, to whom they had been sent by that general. The Syracusans were not sorry to part with those two strangers, who were of a turbulent factious disposition, and well experienced in military affairs. There is in most affairs a decisive moment, which never returns after having been once let slip. The negligence in assigning the time for their departure, gave them an opportunity of insinuating themselves into the favour of the soldiers who esteemed them upon account of their abilities, and of setting them against the senate, and the better inclined part of the citizens.

Andranodorus, whose wife's ambition would never let him rest, and who, till then, had covered his designs with smooth dissimulation, believing it a proper time for disclosing them, conspired with Themistus, Gelon's son-in-law, to seize the sovereignty. He communicated his views to a comedian named Ariston, from whom he kept nothing secret. That profession was not at all dishonourable among the Greeks, and was exercised by persons of no ignoble condition. Ariston believing it his duty, as it really was, to

sacrifice his friend to his country, discovered the conspiracy. Andranodorus and Themistus were immediately killed by order of the other magistrates, as they entered the senate. The people rose, and threatened to revenge their deaths; but were deterred from it, by the sight of the dead bodies of the two conspirators which were thrown out of the senate house. They were then informed of their pernicious designs; to which all the misfortunes of Sicily were ascribed, rather than to the wickedness of Hieronymus, who being only a youth, had acted entirely by their counsels. They insinuated, that his guardians and tutors had reigned in his name; that they ought to have been cut off before Hieronymus, or at least with him: that impunity had carried them on to commit new crimes, and induced them to aspire to the tyranny: that not being able to succeed in their design by force, they had employed dissimulation and perfidy. That neither favours and honours had been capable of overcoming the wicked disposition of Andranodorus; nor the electing him one of the supreme magistrates amongst the deliverers of their country, him, who was the declared enemy of liberty: that as to the rest, they had been inspired with their ambition of reigning by the princesses of the blood royal, whom they had married, the one Hiero's, the other Gelon's daughter.

At those words, the whole assembly cried out, that not one of them ought to be suffered to live, and that it was necessary to extirpate entirely the race of the tyrants, without suffering any vestige to remain. \*Such is the nature of the multitude. It either abjectly abandons itself to slavery, or domineers with insolence. But with regard to liberty, which holds the mean betwixt those extremes, it neither knows how to be

\* *Hæc natura multitudinis est; aut servit humiliter, aut superbe dominatur: libertatem, quæ media est, nec spernere modice, nec habere sciunt. Et non ferè desunt irarum indulgentes ministri, qui avidus atque intemperans plebeiorum animos ad sanguinem & cædes irritent.* LIV.

without it, or to use it; and has but too many flatterers always ready to enter into its passions, inflame its rage, and hurry it on to excessive violences, and the most inhuman cruelties, to which it is but too much inclined of itself; as was the case at this time. At the request of the magistrates, which was almost sooner accepted than proposed, they decreed that the royal family should be entirely destroyed.

Demarata the daughter of Hiero, and Harmonia Gelon's daughter, the first married to Andranodorus, and the other to Themistus, were killed first. From thence they went to the house of Heraclea, wife of Zoippus; who having been sent on an embassy to Ptolemy king of Egypt, remained there in voluntary banishment to avoid being witness of the miseries of his country. Having been apprized that they were coming to her, that unfortunate princess had taken refuge with her two daughters in the most retired part of her house, near her household gods. There when the assassins arrived, with her hair loose and dishevelled, her face bathed in tears, and in a condition most proper to excite compassion, she conjured them, in a faltering voice, interrupted with sighs, in the name of Hiero her father, and Gelon her brother, "Not to involve an innocent princess in the guilt and misfortunes of Hieronymus. She represented to them, that her husband's banishment had been to her the sole fruit of that reign: that not having had any share in the fortunes and designs of her sister Demarata, she ought to have none in her punishment. Besides, what was there to fear, either from her, in the forlorn condition and almost widowhood to which she was reduced, or from her daughters, unhappy orphans, without credit or support? That if the royal family were become so odious to Syracuse, that it could not bear the sight of them, they might be banished to Alexandria, the wife to her husband, the daughters to their father." When she saw them inflexible to her remonstrances, forgetting what concerned herself, she implored them at



least to save the lives of the princesses her daughters, both of an age which inspires the most inveterate and furious of enemies with compassion: but her discourse made no impression upon the minds of those barbarians. Having torn her in a manner from the arms of her household gods, they stabbed her in the sight of her two daughters, and soon after cut their throats, already stained and covered with the blood of their mother. What was still more deplorable in their destiny was, that immediately after their death, an order from the people came for sparing their lives.

From compassion, the people in a moment proceeded to rage and fury against those, who had been so hasty in the execution, and had not left them time for reflection or repentance. They demanded that magistrates should be nominated in the room of Andranodorus and Themistus. They were a long time in suspense upon this choice. At length, somebody in the crowd of the people happened to name Epicydes, another immediately mentioned Hippocrates. Those two persons were demanded with so much ardour by the multitude, which consisted of citizens and soldiers, that the senate could not prevent their being created.

The new magistrates did not immediately discover the design they had, of re-instating Syracuse in the interests of Hannibal. But they had seen with pain the measures which had been taken before they were in office. For, immediately after the re-establishment of liberty, ambassadors had been sent to Appius, to propose renewing the alliance which had been broken by Hieronymus. He had referred them to Marcellus, who was lately arrived in Sicily, with an authority superior to his own. Marcellus, in his turn, sent deputies to the magistrates of Syracuse, to treat of peace.

Upon arriving there, they found the state of affairs much altered. Hippocrates and Epicydes, at first by secret practices, and afterwards by open complaints, had inspired every body with great aversion for the Romans; giving out, that designs were formed for

putting Syracuse into their hands. The behaviour of Appius, who had approached the entrance of the port with his fleet, to encourage the party in the Roman interest, strengthened those suspicions and accusations so much, that the people ran tumultuously to prevent the Romans from landing, in case they should have that design.

In this trouble and confusion it was thought proper to summon the assembly of the people. In this meeting the opinions differed very much; and the heat of the debate giving reason to fear some sedition, Apollonides, one of the principal senators, made a discourse very suitable to the present situation of affairs. He intimated, " that never city was nearer  
" its destruction or preservation than Syracuse actu-  
" ally was at that time: that if they all with unani-  
" mous consent should join either the Romans or  
" Carthaginians, their condition would be happy:  
" that if they were divided, the war would neither be  
" more warm nor more dangerous between the Ro-  
" mans and Carthaginians, than between the Syracu-  
" sans themselves against each other, as both parties  
" must necessarily have, within the circumference of  
" their own walls, their own troops, armies, and ge-  
" nerals: that it was therefore absolutely requisite to  
" make their agreement and union amongst them-  
" selves their sole care and application; and that to  
" know which of the two alliances was to be prefer-  
" red, was not now the most important question: that  
" for the rest, the authority of Hiero, in his opinion,  
" ought to prevail over that of Hieronymus; and  
" that the amity of the Romans, happily experienced  
" for fifty years together, seemed preferable to that  
" of the Carthaginians, upon which they could not  
" much rely for the present, and with which they  
" had as little reason to be satisfied with regard to  
" the past." He added a last motive of no mean  
force, which was, " that in declaring against the Ro-  
" mans, they would have the war immediately upon

“ their hands ; whereas, on the side of Carthage, the danger was remote.”

The less passionate this discourse appeared, the more effect it had. It induced them to desire the opinion of the several bodies of the state, and the principal officers of the troops, as well natives as foreigners, were requested to confer together. The affair was long discussed with great warmth. At length, as it appeared that there was no present means for supporting the war against the Romans, a peace with them was resolved, and ambassadors sent to conclude it.

Some days after this resolution had been taken, the Leontines sent to demand aid of Syracuse, for the defence of their frontiers. This deputation seemed to come very seasonably for ridding the city of a turbulent, unruly multitude, and removing their no less dangerous leaders. Four thousand men were ordered to march under the command of Hippocrates of whom they were glad to be rid, and who was not sorry himself, for this opportunity they gave him to embroil affairs. For he no sooner arrived upon the frontier of the Roman province, than he plundered it, and cut in pieces a body of troops sent by Appius to its defence. Marcellus complained to the Syracusans of this act of hostility, and demanded, that this stranger should be banished from Sicily, with his brother Epicycles ; who, having repaired about the same time to Leontium, had endeavoured to embroil the inhabitants with the people of Syracuse, by exhorting them to resume their liberty as well as the Syracusans. The city of the Leontines was dependant on Syracuse, but pretended at this time to throw off the yoke, and to act independently of the Syracusans, as an entirely free city. Hence when the Syracusans sent to complain of the hostilities committed against the Romans, and to demand the expulsion of the two Carthaginian brothers, who were the authors of them, the Leontines replied, that

they had not empowered the Syracusans to make peace for them with the Romans.

The deputies of Syracuse related to Marcellus this answer from the Leontines, who were no longer at the disposal of their city, and left him at liberty to declare war against them, without any infraction of the treaty made with them. He marched immediately to Leontium, and made himself master of it at the first attack. Hippocrates and Epicydes fled. All the deserters found in the place, to the number of two thousand, were put to the sword; but as soon as the city was taken, all the Leontines and other soldiers were spared, and even every thing taken from them was restored, except what was lost in the first tumult of a city carried by storm.

Eight thousand troops, sent by the magistrates of Syracuse to the aid of Marcellus, met a man on their march; who gave them a false account of what had passed at the taking of Leontium; exaggerating with artful malice the cruelty of the Romans, who, he falsely affirmed, had put all the inhabitants to the sword, as well as the troops sent thither by the Syracusans.

This artful falsehood, which they took no steps to ascertain, inspired them with compassion for their companions. They expressed their indignation by their murmurs. Hippocrates and Epicydes, who were before well known to these troops, appeared at the very instant of this trouble and tumult, and put themselves under their protection, not having any other resource. They were received with joy and acclamations. The report soon reached the rear of the army, where the commanders Dinomenes and Sos were. When they were informed of the cause of the tumult, they advanced hastily, blamed the soldiers for having received Hippocrates and Epicydes, the enemies of their country, and gave orders for their being seized and bound. The soldiers opposed this with great menaces; and the two generals sent expresses to Syracuse, to inform the senate of what had passed.

In the mean time, the army continued its march towards Mægara, and upon the way met a courier prepared by Hippocrates, who was charged with a letter, which seemed to be written by the magistrates of Syracuse to Marcellus. They praised him for the slaughter he had made at Leontium, and exhorted him to treat all the mercenary soldiers in the same manner, in order that Syracuse might at length be restored to its liberty. The reading of this forged letter enraged the mercenaries, of whom this body of troops was almost entirely composed. They were for falling upon the few Syracusans amongst them, but were prevented from that violence by Hippocrates and Epicycles; not from motives of pity or humanity, but that they might not entirely lose their hopes of re-entering Syracuse. They sent a man thither, whom they had gained by bribes, who related the storming of Leontium conformably to the first account. Those reports were favourably received by the multitude, who cried out, that the gates should be shut against the Romans. Hippocrates and Epicycles arrived about the same time before the city, which they entered, partly by force, and partly by the intelligence they had within it. They killed the magistrates, and took possession of the city. The next day the slaves were made free, the prisoners set at liberty, and Hippocrates and Epicycles elected into the highest offices, in a tumultuous assembly. Syracuse, in this manner, after a short glimpse of liberty, sunk again into its former slavery.

SECT. II. *The consul Marcellus besieges Syracuse.*

*The considerable losses of men and ships occasioned by the dreadful machines of Archimedes, oblige Marcellus to change the siege into a blockade. He takes the city at length by means of his intelligence within it. Death of Archimedes, killed by a soldier who did not know him.*

A. M.  
3790.  
Ant. J. C.  
214.

AFFAIRS being in this state, Marcellus thought proper to quit the country of the Leontines, and advance towards Syracuse. When he was near it, he sent deputies to let the inhabitants know, that he came to restore liberty to the Syracusans, and not with intent to make war upon them. They were not permitted to enter the city. Hippocrates and Epicydes went out to meet them; and having heard their proposals, replied haughtily, that if the Romans intended to besiege their city, they should soon be made sensible of the difference between attacking Syracuse and attacking Leontium. Marcellus therefore determined to besiege the place by sea and land;\* by land on the side of Hexapyla; and by sea, on that of the quarter Achradina, the walls of which were washed by the waves.

He gave Appius the command of the land forces, and reserved that of the fleet to himself. It consisted of sixty galleys of five benches of oars, which were full of soldiers armed with bows, slings, and darts, to scour the walls. There were a great number of other vessels, laden with all sorts of machines, used in attacking places.

The Romans carrying on their attacks at two different places, Syracuse was in great consternation, and apprehended that nothing could oppose so terrible a

\* Liv. l. xxiv. n. 32, 34. Plut. in Marcel. p. 305—307. Polyb. l. viii. p. 515—518.

\* The description of Syracuse may be seen in Vol. III,

power, and such mighty efforts. And it had indeed been impossible to have resisted them, without the assistance of one single man, whose wonderful industry was every thing to the Syracusans: this was Archimedes. He had taken care to supply the walls with all things necessary to a good defence. As soon as his machines began to play on the land-side, they discharged upon the infantry all sorts of darts, and stones of enormous weight, which flew with so much noise, force and rapidity, that nothing could withstand their shock. They beat down and dashed to pieces all before them, and occasioned a terrible disorder in the ranks of the besiegers.

Marcellus succeeded no better on the side of the sea. Archimedes had disposed his machines in such a manner, as to throw darts to any distance. Though the enemy laid far from the city, he reached them with his larger and more forcible balistæ and catapultæ. When they overshot their mark, he had smaller proportioned to the distance; which put the Romans into such confusion, as made them incapable of attempting any thing.

This was not the greatest danger. Archimedes had placed lofty and strong machines behind the walls, which suddenly letting fall vast beams, with an immense weight at the end of them, upon the ships, sunk them to the bottom. Besides this, he caused an iron grapple to be let out by a chain; and the person who guided the machine having caught hold of the head of a ship with this hook, by means of a weight let down within the walls, it was lifted up and set upon its stern, and held so for some time; then by letting go the chain, either by a wheel or a pully, it was let fall again, with its whole weight either on its head or side, and often entirely sunk. At other times the machines dragging the ship towards the shore by cordage and hooks, after having made it whirl about a great while, dashed it to pieces against the points of the rocks, which projected under the walls, and thereby destroyed all within it. Gallies

frequently seized and suspended in the air, were whirled about with rapidity, exhibiting a dreadful sight to the spectators, after which they were let fall into the sea, and sunk to the bottom, with all their crew.

Marcellus had prepared, at great expence, machines called *sambucæ*, from their resemblance to a musical instrument of that name. He appointed eight gallies of five benches for that purpose, from which the oars were removed, from half on the right, and from the other half on the left side. These were joined together, two and two, on the sides without oars. This machine consisted of a ladder of the breadth of four feet, which when erect was of equal height with the walls. It was laid at length upon the sides of the two gallies joined together, and extended considerably beyond their beaks; and upon the masts of these vessels were affixed cords and pullies. When it was to work, the cords were made fast to the extremity of the machine, and men upon the stern drew it up by the help of the pullies; others at the head assisted in raising it with levers. The gallies afterwards being brought forward to the foot of the walls, the machines were applied to them. The bridge of the *sambuca* was then let down (no doubt after the manner of a draw-bridge) upon which the besiegers passed to the walls of the place besieged.

This machine had not the expected effect. Whilst it was at a considerable distance from the walls, Archimedes discharged a vast stone upon it that weighed ten \* quintals, then a second, and immediately after a third; all of which striking against it with dreadful force and noise, beat down and broke its supports, and gave the gallies upon which it stood such a shock that they parted from each other.

Marcellus, almost discouraged, and at a loss what to do, retired as fast as possible with his gallies, and

\* The quintal, which the Greeks called *τάλαντον*, was of several kinds. The least weighed an hundred and twenty-five pounds; the largest more than twelve hundred.



sent orders to his land-forces to do the same. He called also a council of war, in which it was resolved the next day, before sun-rise, to endeavour to approach the walls. They were in hopes, by this means, to shelter themselves from the machines, which, for want of a distance proportioned to their force, would be rendered ineffectual.

But Archimedes had provided against all contingencies. He had prepared machines long before, as we have already observed, that carried to all distances, a proportionate quantity of darts and ends of beams, which being very short, required less time for preparing them, and in consequence were more frequently discharged. He had besides made small chasms or loop-holes in the walls at little distances, where he had placed \* scorpions, which not carrying far, wounded those who approached, without being perceived but by their effect.

When the Romans had gained the foot of the walls, and thought themselves very well covered, they found themselves exposed either to an infinity of darts, or overwhelmed with stones, which fell directly upon their heads, there being no part of the wall which did not continually pour that mortal hail upon them. This obliged them to retire. But they were no sooner removed, than a new discharge of darts overtook them in their retreat; so that they lost great numbers of men, and almost all their galleys were disabled or beaten to pieces, without being able to revenge their loss in the least upon their enemies. For Archimedes had planted most of his machines in security behind the walls; and the Romans, says Plutarch, repulsed by an infinity of wounds, without seeing the place or hand from which they came, seemed to fight in reality against the gods.

Marcellus, though at a loss what to do, and not knowing how to oppose the machines of Archimedes,

\* The scorpions were machines in the nature of cross-bows, with which the ancients used to discharge darts and stones.

could not, however, forbear jesting upon them. "Shall we persist," said he to his workmen and engineers, "in making war with this Briareus of a geometrician, who treats my gallies and sambucas so rudely? He infinitely exceeds the fabled giants with their hundred hands, in his perpetual and surprising discharges upon us." Marcellus had reason for complaining of Archimedes alone. For the Syracusans were really no more than members of the engines and machines of that great geometrician, who was himself the soul of all their powers and operations. All other arms were unemployed, for the city at that time made use of none, either defensive or offensive, but those of Archimedes.

Marcellus at length perceiving the Romans so much intimidated, that if they saw upon the walls only a small cord, or the least piece of wood, they would immediately fly, crying out, that Archimedes was going to discharge some dreadful machine upon them, renounced his hopes of being able to make a breach in the place, gave over his attacks, and turned the siege into a blockade. The Romans conceived that they had no other resource than to reduce the great number of people in the city by famine, in cutting off all provisions that might be brought to them either by sea or land. During the eight months in which they besieged the city, there were no kind of stratagems which they did not invent, nor any actions of valour left untried, even to the assault, which they never dared to attempt more. So much force, upon some occasions, have a single man and a single science, when rightly applied. Deprive Syracuse of only one old man, the great strength of the Roman arms must inevitably take the city; his sole presence checks and disconcerts all their designs.

We here see, which I cannot repeat too often, how much interest princes have in protecting arts, favouring the learned, encouraging academies of science by honourable distinctions and actual rewards, which never ruin or impoverish a state. I say nothing in

this place of the birth and nobility of Archimedes ; he was not indebted to them for the happiness of his genius, and profound knowledge ; I consider him only as a learned man, and an excellent geometrician. What a loss would Syracuse have sustained, if to have saved a small expence and pension, such a man had been abandoned to inaction and obscurity ! Hiero was far from such a conduct. He knew all the value of our geometrician ; and it is no vulgar merit in a prince to understand that of other men. He placed it in honour ; he made it useful ; and did not stay till occasion or necessity obliged him to do so, which would have been too late. By a wise foresight, the true character of a great prince and a great minister, in the very\* arms of peace he provided all that was necessary for supporting a siege, and making war with success ; though at that time there was no appearance of any thing to be apprehended from the Romans, with whom Syracuse was allied in the strictest friendship. Hence were seen to arise in an instant, as out of the earth, an incredible number of machines, of every kind and size, the very sight of which were sufficient to strike armies with terror and confusion.

There are amongst these machines, some of which we can scarce conceive the effects, and the reality of which we might be tempted to call in question, if it were allowable to doubt the evidence of writers, such for instance, as Polybius, an almost contemporary author, who treated on facts entirely recent, and such as were well known to all the world. But how can we refuse to give credit to the uniform consent of Greek and Roman historians, in regard to circumstances of which whole armies were witnesses, and experienced the effects, and which had so great an influence in the events of the war ? What passed in this siege of Syracuse shows how far the ancients had carried their genius and art in besieging and supporting sieges.

\* *In pace, ut sapiens, aptarit idonea bello.* HORAT.  
And wise in peace, prepared the arms of war.

Our artillery which so perfectly imitates thunder, has not more effect than the engines of Archimedes, if indeed they have so much.

A burning-glass is spoken of, by the means of which Archimedes is said to have burnt part of the Roman fleet. That must have been an extraordinary invention; but as no ancient author mentions it, it is no doubt a modern tradition without any foundation. Burning-glasses were known to antiquity, but not of that kind, which indeed seem impracticable.

After Marcellus had resolved to confine himself to the blockade of Syracuse, he left Appius before the place with two-thirds of the army, advanced with the other into the island, and brought over some cities to the Roman interest.

At the same time Himilcon, general of the Carthaginians, arrived in Sicily with a great army, in hopes of reconquering it, and expelling the Romans.

Hippocrates left Syracuse with ten thousand foot and five hundred horse to join him, and carry on the war in concert against Marcellus. Epicydes remained in the city, to command there during the blockade.

The fleets of the two states appeared at the same time on the coast of Sicily; but that of the Carthaginians, seeing itself weaker than the other, was afraid to venture a battle, and soon sailed back for Carthage.

Marcellus had continued eight months before Syracuse with Appius, according to Polybius, when the year of his consulship expired. Livy places the expedition of Marcellus in Sicily, and his victory over Hippocrates, in this year, which must have been the second year of the siege. And indeed Livy has given us no account of this second year, because he had ascribed to the first what passed in the second. For it is highly improbable, that nothing memorable happened in it.

• Liv. l. xxiv. n. 35, 36.

This is the conjecture of Mr. Crevier, professor of rhetoric in the college of Beauvais, who has published a new edition of Livy with remarks, and with which I am convinced the public were well pleased. The first volume of the said work contains a long preface, which is well worth reading.

Marcellus therefore employed a great part of the second year of the siege in several expeditions in Sicily. On his return from Agrigentum, upon which he had made an ineffectual attempt, he came up with the army of Hippocrates, which he defeated, and killed above eight thousand men. This advantage kept those in their duty, who had entertained thoughts of going over to the Carthaginians. After the gaining of this victory, he returned against Syracuse, and having sent off Appius for Rome, who went thither to demand the consulship, he put Crispinus into his place.

In the beginning of the third campaign, Marcellus, almost absolutely despairing of being able to take Syracuse, either by force, because Archimedes continually opposed him with invincible obstacles, or famine, as the Carthaginian fleet, which was returned more numerous than before, easily threw in convoys, deliberated whether he should continue before Syracuse to push the siege, or turn his endeavours against Agrigentum. But, before he came to a final determination, he thought it proper to try whether he could not make himself master of Syracuse by some secret intelligence. There were many Syracusans in his camp, who had taken refuge there in the beginning of the troubles. A slave of one of these secretly carried on an intrigue, in which fourscore of the principal persons of the city engaged, who came in companies to consult with him in his camp, concealed in barks under the nets of fishermen. The conspiracy was on the point of taking effect, when a person

A. M.  
3792.  
Aut. J. C.  
212.

\* Liv. l. xxv. n. 23, 31. Plut. in Marcell. 308, 309.

named Attalus, through resentment for not having been admitted into it, discovered the whole to Epicycles, who put all the conspirators to death.

This enterprise having thus miscarried, Marcellus found himself in new difficulties. Nothing employed his thoughts but the grief and shame of raising a siege, after having consumed so much time and sustained the loss of so many men and ships in it. An accident supplied him with a resource, and gave new life to his hopes. Some Roman vessels had taken one Damippus, whom Epicycles had sent to negociate with Philip king of Macedon. The Syracusans expressed a great desire to ransom this man, and Marcellus was not averse to it. A place near the port Trogilus was agreed on for the conferences concerning the ransom of the prisoner. As the deputies went thither several times, it came into a Roman soldier's thought to consider the wall with attention. After having counted the stones, and examined with his eye the measure of each of them, upon a calculation of the height of the wall he found it to be much lower than it was believed, and concluded that with ladders of a moderate size it might be easily scaled. Without loss of time he related the whole to Marcellus. The general is not always the only wise man in an army; a private soldier may sometimes furnish him with important hints. Marcellus did not neglect this advice, and assured himself of its reality with his own eyes. Having caused ladders to be prepared, he took the opportunity of a festival, that the Syracusans celebrated for three days in honour of Diana, during which the inhabitants gave themselves up entirely to rejoicing and good cheer. At the time of night when he conceived that the Syracusans, after their debauch, would begin to grow drowsy and fall asleep, he made a thousand chosen troops, in profound silence, advance with their ladders to the wall. When the first had got to the top without noise or tumult, others followed, encouraged by the boldness and

success of their leaders. These thousand soldiers, taking advantage of the enemy's stillness, who were either drunk or asleep, soon scaled the wall. Having thrown down the gate of Hexapylum, they took possession of the quarter of the city called Epipolæ.

It was then no longer time to deceive, but terrify the enemy. The Syracusans, awakened by the noise, began to rouse, and to prepare for action. Marcellus made all his trumpets sound together, which so frightened and alarmed them, that all the inhabitants fled, believing every quarter of the city in the possession of the enemy. The strongest and best part, however, called Achradina, was not yet taken, because separated by its walls from the rest of the city.

Marcellus at day break entered \* the new city, by the quarter called Tyche. Epicydes having hastily drawn up some troops, which he had in the island adjoining to Achradina, marched against Marcellus: but finding him stronger and better attended than he expected, after a slight skirmish, he shut himself up in Achradina.

All the captains and officers with Marcellus congratulated him upon this extraordinary success. For himself, when he had considered from an eminence the loftiness, beauty, and extent of that city, he is said to have shed tears, and to have deplored the unhappy condition it was upon the point of experiencing. He called to mind the two powerful Athenian fleets which had formerly been sunk before this city, and the two numerous armies cut in pieces, with the illustrious generals who commanded them: the many wars sustained with so much valour against the Carthaginians: the many famous tyrants and potent kings, Hiero particularly, whose memory was still recent, who had signalized himself by so many royal virtues, and still more, by the important services he had ren-

\* The new city, or Neapolis, was Epipolæ, and in the latter times had been taken into the city and surrounded with walls.

dered the Roman people, whose interests had always been as dear to him as his own. Moved by that reflection, he believed it incumbent upon him, before he attacked Achradina, to send to the besieged to exhort them to surrender voluntarily, and prevent the ruin of their city. His remonstrances and exhortations had no effect.

To prevent interruption in his rear, he then attacked a fort called Euryelus, which lay at the bottom of the new town, and commanded the whole country on the land side. After having carried it, and placed therein a strong garrison, he turned all his efforts against Achradina.

During these transactions, Hippocrates and Himilcon arrived. The first with the Sicilians having placed and fortified his camp near the great harbour, and giving the signal to those who were in possession of Achradina, attacked the old camp of the Romans, in which Crispinus commanded: Epicycles, at the same time made a sally upon the posts of Marcellus. Neither of these enterprises was successful. Hippocrates was vigorously repulsed by Crispinus, who pursued him as far as his entrenchments, and Marcellus obliged Epicycles to shut himself up in Achradina.

As it was then autumn, there happened a plague, which killed great numbers in the city, and still more in the Roman and Carthaginian camps. The distemper was not excessive at first, and proceeded only from the bad air and season: But afterwards the communication with the infected, and even the care taken of them, dispersed the contagion; from whence it happened, that some, neglected and absolutely abandoned, died of the violence of the malady, and others received help which became fatal to those who brought it. Death, and the sight of such as were buried, continually presented a mournful object to the eyes of the living. Nothing was heard night and day but groans and lamentations. At length the being accustomed to the evil had hardened their hearts to such a degree, and so far extinguished all sense of



compassion in them, that they not only ceased to grieve for the dead, but left them without interment. Nothing was to be seen every where but dead bodies, exposed to the view of those who expected the same fate. The Carthaginians suffered much more from it than the others. As they had no place to retire to, they almost all perished with their generals Hippocrates and Himilcon. Marcellus, from the first breaking out of the disease, had brought his soldiers into the city, where the roofs and shade were of great relief to them; but notwithstanding he lost no inconsiderable number of men.

Bomilcar, in the mean time, who commanded the Carthaginian fleet, and had made a second voyage to Carthage to bring a new supply, returned with an hundred and thirty ships, and seven hundred transports. He was prevented by contrary winds from doubling the cape of Pachynus. Epicycles, who was afraid that if those winds continued, this fleet might be discouraged and return to Africa, left Achradina to the care of the generals of the mercenary troops, and went to Bomilcar, whom he persuaded to try the event of a naval battle, as soon as the weather would permit. Marcellus, seeing the troops of the Sicilians increase every day, and that if he stayed, and suffered himself to be shut up in Syracuse, he should be very much pressed at the same time both by sea and land, resolved, though not so strong in ships, to oppose the passage of the Carthaginian fleet. As soon as the high winds abated, Bomilcar stood out to sea, in order to double the cape; but when he saw the Roman ships advance towards him in good order, on a sudden, for what reason is not said, he took to flight, sent orders to the transports to regain Africa, and retired to Tarentum. Epicycles, who had been disappointed in such great hopes, and was apprehensive of returning into a city already half taken, made sail for Agrigentum, rather with the design of awaiting the event of the siege in that place, than of making any new attempt from thence.

When it was known in the camp of the Sicilians, that Epicydes had quitted Syracuse, and the Carthaginians Sicily, they sent deputies to Marcellus, after having sounded the dispositions of the besieged, to treat upon the conditions on which Syracuse should surrender. It was agreed with unanimity enough on both sides, that what had appertained to the king, should appertain to the Romans; that the Sicilians should retain all the rest with their laws and liberty. After these preliminaries, they demanded a conference with those to whom Epicydes had entrusted the government in his absence. They told them, they had been sent by the army to Marcellus, and the inhabitants of Syracuse, in order that all the Sicilians, as well within as without the city, might have the same fate, and that no separate convention might be made. Having been permitted to enter the city, and to confer with their friends and relations, after having informed them of what they had already agreed with Marcellus, and giving them assurances that their lives would be safe, they persuaded them to begin, by removing the three governors Epicydes had left in his place, which was immediately put in execution.

After which, having assembled the people, they represented, “ That for whatever miseries they had  
 “ suffered till then, or should suffer from thence-  
 “ forth, they ought not to accuse fortune, as it de-  
 “ pended upon themselves alone to put an end to  
 “ them : that if the Romans had undertaken the siege  
 “ of Syracuse, it was out of affection not enmity to  
 “ the Syracusans : that it was not till after they had  
 “ been apprised of the oppressions they suffered  
 “ from Hippocrates and Epicydes, those ambitious  
 “ agents of Hannibal, and afterwards of Hierony-  
 “ mus, that they had taken arms, and begun the  
 “ siege of the city, not to ruin it, but to destroy  
 “ its tyrants : that as Hippocrates was dead, Epicy-  
 “ des no longer in Syracuse, his lieutenants slain,  
 “ and the Carthaginians dispossessed of Sicily, both  
 “ by sea and land, what reason could the Romans

“ now have for not inclining as much to preserve  
 “ Syracuse, as if Hiero, the sole example of fidelity  
 “ towards them, were still alive? That neither the city  
 “ nor the inhabitants had any thing to fear but from  
 “ themselves, if they let slip the occasion of renew-  
 “ ing their amity with the Romans: that they never  
 “ had so favourable an opportunity as the present,  
 “ when they were just delivered from the violent  
 “ government of their tyrants; and that the first use  
 “ they ought to make of their liberty was to return  
 “ to their duty.”

This discourse was perfectly well received by every  
 body. It was however judged proper to create new  
 magistrates before the nomination of deputies; the  
 latter of whom were chosen out of the former. The  
 deputy who spoke in their name, and who was in-  
 structed solely to use his utmost endeavours that  
 Syracuse might not be destroyed, addressed himself  
 to Marcellus to this effect; “ It was not the people  
 “ of Syracuse who first broke the alliance, and de-  
 “ clared war against you, but Hieronymus, less cri-  
 “ minal still towards Rome than towards his country;  
 “ and afterwards, when peace was restored by his  
 “ death, it was not any Syracusan that infringed it,  
 “ but the tyrant’s instruments, Hippocrates and Epi-  
 “ cydes. They were the enemies who have made  
 “ war against you, after having made us slaves,  
 “ either by violence or fraud and perfidy; and it  
 “ cannot be said that we have had any times of  
 “ liberty that have not also been times of peace  
 “ with you. At present, as soon as we are become  
 “ masters of ourselves by the death of those who  
 “ held Sicily in subjection, we come the very in-  
 “ stant to deliver up to you our arms, our persons,  
 “ our walls, and our city, determined not to refuse  
 “ any conditions you shall think fit to impose. For  
 “ the rest,” continued he, addressing himself still  
 to Marcellus, “ your interest is as much concern’d  
 “ as ours. The gods have granted you the glory  
 “ of having taken the finest and most illustrious

“ city possessed by the Greeks. All we have ever  
“ achieved worthy of being recorded, either by  
“ sea or land, augments and adorns your triumph.  
“ Fame is not a sufficiently faithful chronicler to  
“ make known the greatness and strength of the city  
“ you have taken ; posterity can only judge of them  
“ by its own eyes. It is necessary that we should  
“ show to all travellers, from whatever part of the  
“ universe they come, sometimes the trophies we  
“ have obtained from the Athenians and Carthagini-  
“ nians, and sometimes those you have acquired from  
“ us ; and that Syracuse thus placed for ever under  
“ the protection of Marcellus, may be a lasting and  
“ eternal monument of the valour and clemency of  
“ him who took and preserved it. It is unjust that  
“ the remembrance of Hieronymus should have more  
“ weight with you than that of Hiero. The latter  
“ was much longer your friend than the former your  
“ enemy. Permit me to say you have experienced  
“ the good effects of the amity of Hiero ; but the  
“ senseless enterprises of Hieronymus have fallen  
“ solely upon his own head.”

The difficulty was not to obtain what they demanded from Marcellus, but to preserve tranquillity and union amongst those in the city. The deserters, convinced that they should be delivered up to the Romans, inspired the foreign soldiers with the same fear. Both the one and the other having therefore taken arms, whilst the deputies were still in the camp of Marcellus, they began by cutting the throats of the magistrates newly elected ; and dispersing themselves on all sides, they put to the sword all they met, and plundered whatever fell in their way. That they might not be without leaders, they appointed six officers, three to command in Achradina, and three in the isle. The tumult being at length appeased, the foreign troops were informed from all hands, that it was concluded with the Romans, that their cause should be entirely distinct from that of the deserters. At the same instant, the deputies

who had been sent to Marcellus arrived, who fully undeceived them.

Amongst those who commanded in Syracuse, there was a Spaniard named Mericus: means were found to corrupt him. He gave up the gate near the fountain Arethusa to soldiers, sent by Marcellus in the night to take possession of it. At day-break the next morning, Marcellus made a false attack at Achradina, to draw all the forces of the citadel, and the isle adjoining to it, to that side, and to enable some vessels he had prepared to throw troops into the isle, which would be unguarded. Every thing succeeded according to his plan. The soldiers, whom those vessels had landed in the isle, finding almost all the posts abandoned, and the gates, by which the garrison of the citadel had marched out against Marcellus, still open, they took possession of them after a slight encounter. Marcellus having received advice that he was master of the isle, and of part of Achradina, and that Mericus, with the body under his command, had joined his troops, ordered a retreat to be sounded, that the treasures of the kings might not be plundered. They did not rise so high in their amount as was imagined.

The deserters having escaped, a passage being expressly left open for them, the Syracusans opened all the gates of Achradina to Marcellus, and sent deputies to him with instructions to demand nothing farther from him than the preservation of the lives of themselves and their children. Marcellus having assembled his council, and some Syracusans who were in his camp, gave his answer to the deputies in their presence: “ That Hiero, for fifty years, had not done  
 “ the Roman people more good than those who had  
 “ been masters of Syracuse some years past had in-  
 “ tended to do them harm; but that their ill-will  
 “ had fallen upon their own heads, and they had  
 “ punished themselves for their violation of treaties  
 “ in a more severe manner than the Romans could

“ have desired: that he had besieged Syracuse  
“ during three years, not that the Roman people  
“ might reduce it into slavery, but to prevent the  
“ chiefs of the revolters from continuing to hold it  
“ under oppression: that he had undergone many  
“ fatigues and dangers in so long a siege: but that  
“ he thought he had made himself ample amends by  
“ the glory of having taken that city, and the satis-  
“ faction of having saved it from the entire ruin it  
“ seemed to deserve.” After having placed a body  
of troops to secure the treasury, and safe-guards in  
the houses of the Syracusans, who had withdrawn  
into his camp, he abandoned the city to be plundered.  
It is reported, that the riches which were pillaged in  
Syracuse at this time exceeded all that could have  
been expected at the taking of Carthage itself.

An unhappy accident interrupted the joy of Marcellus, and gave him a very sensible affliction. Archimedes, at a time when all things were in this confusion at Syracuse, shut up in his closet like a man of another world, who had no regard for what passed in this, was intent upon the study of some geometrical figure, and not only his eyes, but the whole faculties of his soul, were so engaged in this contemplation, that he had neither heard the tumult of the Romans, universally busy in plundering, nor the report of the city's being taken. A soldier on a sudden comes in upon him, and bids him follow him to Marcellus. Archimedes desired him to stay a moment, till he had solved his problem and finished the demonstration of it. The soldier, who neither cared for his problem nor demonstration, enraged at this delay, drew his sword and killed him. Marcellus was exceedingly afflicted when he heard the news of his death. Not being able to restore him to life, of which he would have been very glad, he applied himself to honour his memory to the utmost of his power. He made a diligent search after all his relations, treated them with great distinction, and granted them peculiar privileges.

As for Archimedes, he caused his funeral to be celebrated in the most solemn manner, and erected to him a monument amongst the great persons who had distinguished themselves most at Syracuse.

### ARTICLE III.

#### SECT. I. *Tomb of Archimedes discovered by Cicero.*

ARCHIMEDES, by his will, had desired his relations and friends to put no other epitaph on his tomb, after his death, than a cylinder circumscribed by a sphere; that is to say, a globe or spherical figure; and to set down at the bottom the proportion which those two solids, the containing and the contained, have to each other. He might have filled up the bases of the columns of his tomb with relievos, whereon the whole history of the siege of Syracuse might have been carved, and himself appeared like another Jupiter thundering upon the Romans. But he set an infinitely higher value upon a discovery, a geometrical demonstration, than upon all the so much celebrated machines which he had invented.

Hence he chose rather to do himself honour in the eyes of posterity, by the discovery he had made of the relation of a sphere to a cylinder of the same base and height; which is as two to three.

The Syracusans, who had been in former times so fond of the sciences, did not long retain the esteem and gratitude they owed a man who had done so much honour to their city. Less than a hundred and forty years after, Archimedes was so perfectly forgotten by his citizens, notwithstanding the great services he had done them, that they denied his having been buried at Syracuse. It is Cicero who informs us of this circumstance.

\*At the time he was quæstor in Sicily, his curiosity

• Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 64, 66.

induced him to make a search after the tomb of Archimedes; a curiosity that became a man of Cicero's genius, and which merits the imitation of all who travel. The Syracusans assured him that his search would be to no purpose, and that there was no such monument amongst them. Cicero pitied their ignorance, which only served to increase his desire of making that discovery. At length, after several fruitless attempts, he perceived without the gate of the city facing Agrigentum, amongst a great number of tombs in that place, a pillar almost entirely covered with thorns and brambles, through which he could discern the figure of a sphere and cylinder. Those, who have any taste for antiquities, may easily conceive the joy of Cicero upon this occasion. He cried out,\* "that he had found what he had looked for." The place was immediately ordered to be cleared, and a passage opened to the column, on which they saw the inscription still legible, though part of the lines were obliterated by time. † So that says Cicero, in concluding this account, the greatest city of Greece, and the most flourishing of old in the study of the sciences, would not have known the treasure it possessed, if a man, born in a country which it considered almost as barbarous, had not discovered for it the tomb of its citizen, so highly distinguished by the force and penetration of his mind.

We are obliged to Cicero for having left us this curious and elegant account: but we cannot easily pardon him for the contemptuous manner in which he speaks at first of Archimedes. It is in the beginning, where, intending to compare the unhappy life of Dionysius the tyrant with the felicity of one passed in sober virtue and abounding with wisdom, he says ‡

\* *Ευρησα*, adopting an expression of Archimedes.

† *Ita nobilissima Græciæ civitas, quondam verò etiam doctissima, sui civis unius acutissimi monumentum ignorasset, nisi ab homine Arpinuate didicisset.*

‡ *Non ergo jam cum hujus vitâ, quâ tetrius, miserius, detestabilius excogitare nihil possum, Platonis aut Architæ vitam com-*



“ I will not compare the lives of a Plato or an Architas, persons of consummate learning and wisdom, with that of Dionysius, the most horrid, the most miserable, and the most detestable, that can be imagined. I shall have recourse to a man of his own city, A LITTLE OBSCURE PERSON, who lived many years after him. I shall produce him from his \* dust, and bring him upon the stage with his rule and compasses in his hand.” I say nothing of the birth of Archimedes, his greatness was of a different class. But ought the greatest geometrician of antiquity, whose sublime discoveries have in all ages been the admiration of the learned, be treated by Cicero as little and obscure, as if he had been only a common artificer employed in making machines? unless it be, perhaps, that the Romans, with whom a taste for geometry and such speculative sciences never gained much ground, esteemed nothing great but what related to government and policy.

*Orabunt causas meliùs, cœlique meatus*

*Describent radio, & surgentia sidera dicent:*

*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.*

VIRGIL, ÆN. 6.

Let others better mould the running mass  
 Of metals, and inform the breathing brass,  
 And soften into flesh a marble face;  
 Plead better at the bar, describe the skies,  
 And when the stars descend and when they rise;  
 But, Rome, 'tis thine alone with awful sway  
 To rule mankind, and make the world obey;  
 Disposing peace and war thy own majestic way.

DRYDEN.

*parabo, doctorum hominum & planè sapientum. Ex eadem urbe. HUMILEM HOMUNCIONEM à pulvere & radio excitabo, qui nullis annis post fuit, Archimedes.*

\* He means the dust used by geometricians.

\* This is the Abbé Fraguier's reflection in the short dissertation he has left us upon this passage of Cicero.

SECT. II. *Summary of the history of Syracuse.*

THE island of Sicily, with the greatest part of Italy, extending between the two seas, composed what was called Magna Græcia, in opposition to Greece, properly so called, which had peopled all those countries by its colonies.

A. M.  
3295. Syracuse was the most considerable city of Sicily, and one of the most powerful of all Greece. It was founded by Architas the Corinthian, in the third year of the seventeenth Olympiad.

The first two ages of its history are very obscure, and therefore I pass over them in silence. It does not begin to be known till after the reign of Gelon, and furnishes in the sequel many great events, for the space of more than two hundred years. During all that time it exhibits a perpetual alternative of slavery under the tyrants, and liberty under a popular government; till Syracuse is at length subjected to the Romans, and makes part of their empire.

I have treated all these events, except the last, in the order of time. But as they are cut into different sections, and dispersed into different books, I have thought proper to unite them here in one point of view, that their series and connection might be the more evident, from their being shewn together and in general, and the places pointed out, where they are treated with due extent.

A. M.  
3520. GELON. The Carthaginians, in concert with Xerxes, having attacked the Greeks who inhabited Sicily, whilst that prince was employed in making an irruption into Greece; Gelon, who had made himself master of Syracuse, obtained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians, the very day of the battle of Thermopylæ. Amilcar, their general, was killed in

\* Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, Vol. II.

this battle. Historians speak differently of his death, which has occasioned my falling into a contradiction. For on one side I suppose with \* Diodorus Siculus, that he was killed by the Sicilians in the battle; and on the other I say, after Herodotus, that to avoid the shame of surviving his defeat, he threw himself into the pile, in which he had sacrificed many human victims.

Gelon, upon returning from his victory, repaired to the assembly without arms or guards, to give the people an account of his conduct. He was chosen king unanimously. He reigned five or six years, solely employed in the truly royal care of making his people happy. Vol. I. p. 162, &c. Vol. III. p. 186, &c.

A. M.  
3525.

HIERO I. Hiero, the eldest of Gelon's brothers, succeeded him. The beginning of his reign was worthy of great praise. Simonides and Pindar vied with each other in celebrating him. The latter part of it did not answer the former. He reigned eleven years. Vol. III p. 193, &c.

A. M.  
3532.

THRASIBULUS. Thrasibulus his brother succeeded him. He rendered himself odious to all his subjects by his vices and cruelty. They expelled him the throne and city, after a reign of one year. Vol. III. p. 199.

A. M.  
3543.

### *Times of Liberty.*

After his expulsion, Syracuse and all Sicily enjoyed their liberty for the space of almost sixty years.

A. M.  
3544.

An annual festival was instituted to celebrate the day upon which their liberty was re-established.

### *Syracuse attacked by the Athenians.*

During this interval, the Athenians, animated by the warm exhortations of Alcibiades, turned their

A. M.  
3583.

\* In the history of the Carthaginians.

arms against Syracuse; this was in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. How fatal the event of this war was to the Athenians, may be seen, Vol. III. p. 363, &c.

A. M. 3598. *Dionysius the elder.* The reign of this prince is famous for its length of thirty-eight years; and still more for the extraordinary events with which it was attended. Vol. I. p. 167, &c. Vol. IV. p. 150, &c.

A. M. 3632. *Dionysius the younger.* Dionysius, son of the elder Dionysius, succeeded him. He contracts a particular intimacy with Plato, and has frequent conversations with him; who had come to his court at the request of Dion, the near relation of Dionysius. He did not long improve from the wise precepts of that philosopher, and soon abandoned himself to all the vices and excesses which attend tyranny.

A. M. 3644. Besieged by Dion, he escapes from the citadel, and retires into Italy.

A. M. 3646. Dion's excellent qualities. He is assassinated in his own house by Callippus.

A. M. 3647. Thirteen months after the death of Dion, Hipparinus, brother of Dionysius the younger, expels Callippus, and establishes himself in Syracuse. During the two years of his reign, Sicily is agitated by great commotions.

A. M. 3654. Dionysius the younger taking advantage of those troubles, re-ascends the throne ten years after having quitted it.

A. M. 3657. At last, reduced by Timoleon, he retires to Corinth. Vol. I. p. 175, &c. Vol. IV. p. 250, &c.

### *Times of Liberty.*

A. M. 3658. Timoleon restores liberty to Syracuse. He passes the rest of his life there in a glorious retirement, beloved and honoured by all the citizens and strangers. Vol. IV. p. 261, &c.

This interval of liberty was of no long duration.

AGATHOCLES. Agathocles, in a short time, makes himself tyrant of Syracuse. Vol. I. p. 180, &c. A. M. 3685.

He commits unparalleled cruelties.

He forms one of the boldest designs related in history; carries the war into Africa; makes himself master of the strongest places, and ravages the whole country.

After various events he perishes miserably. He reigned about twenty-eight years.

*Times of Liberty.*

Syracuse took new life again for some time, and tasted with joy the sweets of liberty. A. M. 3713.

But she suffered much from the Carthaginians, who disturbed her tranquillity by continual wars.

She called in Pyrrhus to her aid. The rapid success of his arms at first gave him great hopes, which soon vanished. Pyrrhus by a sudden retreat plunged the Syracusans into new misfortunes. Vol. I. p. 192, &c. A. M. 3726.

HIERO II. They were not happy and in tranquillity till the reign of Hiero II. which was very long, and almost always pacific.

HIERONYMUS. He scarce reigned one year. His death was followed with great troubles, and the taking of Syracuse by Marcellus.

After that period, what passed in Sicily to its total reduction is little remarkable. There were still some remains of war fomented in it by the partisans of tyranny, and the Carthaginians who supported them: But those wars were unproductive of any event of consequence, and Rome was soon absolute mistress of all Sicily. Half the island had been a Roman province since the treaty which put an end to the first Punic war. By that treaty, Sicily was divided into two parts; the one continued in the possession of the Romans; and the other under the government of Hiero; which last part, after the surrender of Syracuse, fell also into their hands.

SECT. III. *Reflections upon the government and character of the Syracusans.*

BY the taking of Syracuse, all Sicily became a province of the Roman empire: but it was not treated as the Spaniards and Carthaginians were afterwards, upon whom a certain tribute was imposed as the reward of the victory, and punishment of the vanquished: *Quasi victoriae præmium, ac pœna belli*. Sicily, in submitting to the \* Roman people, retained all her ancient rights and customs, and obeyed them upon the same conditions she had obeyed her kings. And she certainly well deserved that privilege and distinction. † She was the first of all the foreign nations that had entered into alliance and amity with the Romans; the first conquest their arms had the glory to make out of Italy; and the first country that had given them the grateful experience of commanding a foreign people. The greatest part of the Sicilian cities had expressed an unexampled attachment, fidelity, and affection for the Romans. The island was afterwards a kind of step for their troops to pass over into Africa; and Rome would not so easily have reduced the formidable power of the Carthaginians, if Sicily had not served it as a magazine, abounding

\* *Siciliæ civitates sic in amicitiam recepimus, ut eodem jure essent, quo fuissent; eadem conditione populo R. parerent quâ suis antea paruissent.* CIC.

† *Omniium nationum exterarum princeps Sicilia se ad amicitiam fidemque populi R. applicuit: prima omnium, id quod ornamentum imperii est, provincia est appellata: prima docuit majores nostros, quàm præclarum esset exteris gentibus imperare—Itaque majoribus nostris in Africam ex hæc provinciâ gradus imperii factus est. Neque enim tum facîle opes Carthagini tantæ concidissent, nisi illud, & rei frumentariæ subsidium, & receptaculum classibus nostris pateret. Quare P. Africanus, Carthagine deletâ, Siculorum urbes signis monumentisque pulcherrimis exornavit; ut, quos victoria populi R. lætari arbitrabatur, apud eos monumenta victoriae plurima collocaret.* CIC. VEIR. 3. n. 2, 3.

with provisions, and a secure retreat for their fleets. Hence after the taking and ruin of Carthage, Scipio Africanus thought himself bound to adorn the cities of Sicily with a great number of excellent paintings and curious statues; in order that a people who were so highly gratified with the success of the Roman arms might be sensible of its effects, and retain illustrious monuments of their victories amongst them.

Sicily would have been happy in being governed by the Romans, if they had always given her such magistrates as Cicero, as well acquainted as he with the obligations of his function, and like him intent upon the due discharge of it. It is highly pleasing to hear him explain himself upon the subject; which he does in his defence of Sicily against Verres.

After having invoked the gods as witnesses of the sincerity of the sentiments he is going to express, he says: "In all\* the employments with which the Roman people have honoured me to this day, I have ever thought myself obliged, by the most sacred ties of religion, worthily to discharge the duties of them. When I was made quæstor, I looked upon that dignity not as a gratuity conferred upon me for my particular use, but as a deposit confided to my vigilance and fidelity. When I was afterwards

\* *O dii immortales—Ita mihi meam voluntatem spemque reliquæ vitæ vestra populiq; R. existimatio comprobet, ut ego quos adhuc mihi magistratus populus R. mandavit, sic eos accepi, ut me omnium officiorum obstringi religione arbitrarer. Ita quæstor sum factus, ut mihi honorem illum non tam datum quàm creditum ac commissum putarem. Sic obtinui quæsturam in provinciâ, ut omnium oculos in me unum coniectos arbitrarer: ut me quæstaramque meam quasi in aliquo orbis terræ theatro versari existimarem; ut omnia semper, quæ jucunda videntur esse, non modò his extraordinariis cupiditatibus, sed etiam ipsi naturæ ac necessitati denegarem. Nunc sum designatus ædilis—Ita mihi deos omnes propitios esse velim, ut tametsi mihi jucundissimus est honos populi, tamen nequam tantum capio voluptatis, quantum sollicitudinis & laboris, ut hæc ipsa ædilitas, non quia necesse fuit alicui candidato data, sed quia sic oportuerit rectè collocata, & judicio populi digno in locis posita esse videatur. Cic. Verr. 7. n. 35—37.*

“ sent to act in that office in Sicily, I thought all  
 “ eyes were turned upon me, and that my person and  
 “ administration were in a manner exhibited as a  
 “ spectacle to the view of all the world : and in this  
 “ thought I not only denied myself all pleasures of  
 “ an extraordinary kind, but even those which are  
 “ authorised by nature and necessity. I am now in-  
 “ tended for ædile. I call the gods to witness, that  
 “ how honourable soever this dignity seems to me, I  
 “ have too just a sense of its weight, not to have more  
 “ solicitude and disquiet, than joy and pleasure from  
 “ it ; so much do I desire to make it appear, that it  
 “ was not bestowed on me by chance, or the neces-  
 “ sity of being filled up, but confided deservedly by  
 “ the choice and discernment of my country.”

All the Roman governors were far from being of this character ; and Sicily, above all other provinces, experienced, as \* Cicero some lines after reproaches Verres, that they were almost all of them like so many tyrants, who believed themselves attended by the fasces and axes, and invested with the authority of the Roman empire, only to exercise in their province an open robbery of the public with impunity, and to break through all the barriers of justice and shame in such a manner, that no man's estate, life, house, nor even honour, were safe from their violence.

Syracuse, from all we have seen of it, ought to appear like a theatre, on which many different and surprising scenes have been exhibited ; or rather like a sea, sometimes calm and untroubled, but oftener violently agitated by winds and storms, always ready to overwhelm it intirely. We have seen in no other

\* *Nunquam tibi venit in mentem, non tibi idcirco fasces & securæ, & tantum imperii vim, tantamque ornamentorum omnium dignitatem datam ; ut earum rerum vi & auctoritate omnia repagula juris, pudoris, & officii perfringeres ; ut omnium bona prædam tuam duceres ; nullius res tuta, nullius domus clausa, nullius vita septa, nullius pudicitia munita, contra tuam cupiditatem & audaciam posset esse. Cic. Verr. n. 39.*



republic such sudden, frequent, violent, and various revolutions: sometimes enslaved by the most cruel tyrants, at others under the government of the wisest kings; sometimes abandoned to the capricious will of a populace, without either government or restriction; sometimes perfectly docile and submissive to the authority of law, and the empire of reason, it passed alternately from the most insupportable slavery to the most grateful liberty, from a kind of convulsions and frantic emotions, to a wise, peaceable and regular conduct. The reader will easily call to mind, on the one side, Dionysius the father and son, Agathocles and Hieronymus, whose cruelties made them the objects of the public hatred and detestation; on the other, Gelon, Dion, Timoleon, the two Hieros, ancient and modern, universally beloved and revered by the people.

To what are such opposite extremes and vicissitudes so contrary to be attributed? Undoubtedly, the levity and inconstancy of the Syracusans, which was their distinguishing characteristic, had a great share in them; but what, I am convinced, conduced the most to them, was the very form of their government, compounded of the aristocratic and democratic; that is to say, divided between the senate or elders, and the people. As there was no counterpoise in Syracuse to balance those two bodies, when authority inclined either to the one side or the other, the government presently changed either into a violent and cruel tyranny, or an unbridled liberty, without order or regulation. The sudden confusion, at such times, of all orders of the state, made the way to sovereign power easy to the most ambitious of the citizens: to attract the affection of their country, and soften the yoke to their fellow citizens, some exercised that power with lenity, wisdom, equity, and popular behaviour: and others, by nature less virtuously inclined, carried it to the last excess of the most absolute and cruel despotism, under pretext of supporting themselves against the attempts of

their citizens, who, jealous of their liberty, thought every means for the recovery of it legitimate and laudable.

There were besides other reasons that rendered the government of Syracuse difficult, and thereby made way for the frequent changes it underwent. That city did not forget the signal victories it had obtained against the formidable power of Africa, and that it had carried its victorious arms and terror even to the walls of Carthage: and that not once only, as afterwards against the Athenians, but during several ages. The high idea its fleets and numerous troops suggested of its maritime power, at the time of the irruption of the Persians into Greece, occasioned its pretending to equal Athens in that respect, or at least to divide the empire of the sea with that state.

Besides which, riches, the natural effect of commerce, had rendered the Syracusans proud, haughty, and imperious, and at the same time had plunged them into a sloth and luxury that inspired them with a disgust for all fatigue and application. They generally abandoned themselves blindly to their orators, who had acquired an absolute ascendant over them. In order to make them obey, it was necessary either to flatter or reproach them.

They had naturally a fund of equity, humanity, and good-nature; and yet, when influenced by the seditious discourses of the orators, they would proceed to excessive violence and cruelties, which they immediately after repented.

When they were left to themselves, their liberty, which at that time knew no bounds, soon degenerated into caprice, fury, violence, and I might say, even phrenzy. On the contrary, when they were subjected to the yoke, they became base, timorous, submissive, and groveling like slaves. But as this condition was violent, and directly contrary to the character and disposition of the Greek nation, born and nurtured in liberty, the sense of which was not wholly extinguished in them, but merely lulled asleep,

they waked from time to time from their lethargy, broke their chains, and made use of them, if I may be admitted to use the expression, to beat down and destroy the unjust masters who had imposed them.

With a small attention to the whole series of the history of the Syracusans, it may easily be perceived, (as Galba afterwards said of the Romans) that \* they were equally incapable of bearing either entire liberty or entire servitude. So that the ability and policy of those who governed them, consisted in keeping the people to a wise medium between those two extremes, by seeming to leave them an entire freedom in their resolutions, and reserving only to themselves the care of explaining the utility, and facilitating the execution of good measures. And in this the magistrates and kings we have spoken of were wonderfully successful, under whose government the Syracusans always enjoyed peace and tranquillity, were obedient to their princes, and perfectly submissive to the laws. And this induces me to conclude, that the revolutions of Syracuse were less the effect of the people's levity, than the fault of those that governed them, who had not the art of managing their passions, and engaging their affection, which is properly the science of kings, and of all who command others.

\* *Imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitatem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem.* TACIT. Hist. l. i. c. 16.

## BOOK THE TWENTY-SECOND,

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
PONTUS.

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SECT. I. *Mithridates, at twelve years of age, ascends the throne of Pontus. He seizes Cappadocia and Bithynia, having first expelled their kings. The Romans re-establish them. He causes all the Romans and Italians in Asia Minor to be put to the sword in one day. First war of the Romans with Mithridates, who had made himself master of Asia Minor and Greece, where he had taken Athens. Sylla is charged with this war. He besieges and re-takes Athens. He gains three great battles against the generals of Mithridates. He grants that prince peace in the fourth year of the war. Library of Athens, in which were the works of Aristotle. Sylla causes it to be carried to Rome.*

**M**ITHRIDATES, king of Pontus, whose history I am now beginning to relate, and who rendered himself so famous by the war he supported, during almost thirty years, against the Romans, was surnamed Eupator. He descended from a house which had given a long succession of kings to the kingdom of Pontus. The first, according to some historians, was Artabazus,

one of the seven princes that slew the Magi, and set the crown of Persia upon the head of Darius Hystaspes, who rewarded him with the kingdom of Pontus. But besides that we do not find the name of Artabazus amongst those Persians, many reasons induce us to believe, that the prince of whom we speak was the son of Darius, the same who is called Artabarzanes, who was competitor with Xerxes for the throne of Persia, and was made king of Pontus either by his father or his brother, to console him for the preference given to Xerxes. His posterity enjoyed that kingdom during seventeen generations. Mithridates Eupator, of whom we are treating in this place, was the sixteenth from him.

He was but twelve years of age when he began to reign. His father, before his death, had appointed him his successor, and had given him his mother for guardian, who was to govern jointly with him. <sup>y</sup> He began his reign by putting his mother and brother to death; and the sequel answered but too well to such a beginning. <sup>z</sup> Nothing is said of the first years of his reign, except that one of the Roman generals, whom he had corrupted with money, having surrendered, and put him into possession of Phrygia, it was soon after taken from him by the Romans, which gave birth to his enmity against them.

Ariarathes king of Cappadocia being dead, Mithridates caused the two sons he had left behind him to be put to death, though their mother Laodice was his own sister, and placed one of his own sons, at that time very young, upon the throne, giving him the name of Ariarathes, and appointing Gordius his guardian and regent. Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who apprehended that this increase of power would put Mithridates into a condition to possess himself also of his dominions in time, thought proper to set up a certain young man (who seemed very fit for act-

A. M.  
3880.  
Ant. J. C.  
124.

A. M.  
3913.  
Ant. J. C.  
91.

<sup>y</sup> Memnon in excerptis Photii. c. xxxii. <sup>z</sup> Appian, in Mithrid. p. 177, 178.

ing such a part) as a third son of Ariarathes. He engaged Laodice whom he had espoused after the death of her first husband, to acknowledge him as such, and sent her to Rome, to assist and support by her presence the claim of this pretended son, whom she carried thither along with her. The cause being brought before the senate, both parties were condemned; and a decree passed, by which the Cappadocians were declared free. But they said they could not be without a king. The senate permitted them to choose whom they thought fit. They elected Ariobarzanes, a nobleman of their nation. Sylla, upon his quitting the office of prætor, was charged with the commission of establishing him upon the throne. That was the pretext for this expedition; but the real motive of it was, to check the enterprises of Mithridates, whose power, daily augmenting, gave umbrage to the Romans. Sylla executed his commission the following year; and after having defeated a great number of Cappadocians, and a much greater of Armenians, who came to their aid, he expelled Gordius, with the pretended Ariarathes, and set Ariobarzanes in his place.

A. M.  
3914.  
Ant. J. C.  
90.

Whilst Sylla was encamped upon the banks of the Euphrates, a Parthian, named Orobasus, arrived at his camp from king Arsaces\*, to demand the alliance and amity of the Romans. Sylla received him at his audience, caused three seats to be placed in his tent, one for Ariobarzanes, who was present, another for Orobasus, and that in the midst for himself. The Parthian king afterwards, offended at his deputy, for having acquiesced in this instance of the Roman pride, caused him to be put to death. This is the first time the Parthians had any intercourse with the Romans.

Mithridates did not dare at that time to oppose the establishment of Ariobarzanes; but dissembling the mortification that conduct of the Romans gave him,

\* This was Mithridates II.

he resolved to take an opportunity of being revenged upon them. In the mean while he applied himself in cultivating good alliances for the augmentation of his strength, and began with Tigranes, king of Armenia, a very powerful prince. <sup>a</sup> Armenia had at first appertained to the Persians; it came under the Macedonians afterwards, and upon the death of Alexander, made part of the kingdom of Syria. Under Antiochus the Great, two of his generals, Artaxius and Zadriadres, with that prince's permission, established themselves in this province, of which it is probable they were before governors. After the defeat of Antiochus they adhered to the Romans, who acknowledged them as kings. They had divided Armenia into two parts. Tigranes, of whom we now speak, descended from Artaxius. He possessed himself of all Armenia, subjected several neighbouring countries by his arms, and thereby formed a very powerful kingdom. Mithridates gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, and engaged him to enter so far into his projects against the Romans, that they agreed Mithridates should have the cities and countries they should conquer for his share, and Tigranes the people, with all the effects capable of being carried away.

Their first enterprize and act of hostility was committed by Tigranes, who deprived Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, of which the Romans had put him into possession, and re-established Ariarathes, the son of Mithridates, in it. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, happening to die about this time: his eldest son, called also Nicomedes, ought naturally to have succeeded him, and was accordingly proclaimed king. But Mithridates set up his younger brother Socrates against him, who deprived him of the throne by force of arms. The two dethroned kings went to Rome, to implore aid of the senate, who decreed their re-establishment, and sent Manius Aquilius and M. Altinus to put that decree in execution.

A. M.  
3915.  
Ant. J. C.  
89.

<sup>a</sup> Strab. l. xi. p. 531, 532.

They were both re-instated. The Romans advised them to make irruptions into the lands of Mithridates, promising them their support; but neither the one nor the other dared to attack so powerful a prince so near home. At length, however, Nicomedes, urged both by the ambassadors, to whom he had promised great sums for his re-establishment, and by his creditors, Roman citizens settled in Asia, who had lent him very considerable sums for the same purpose, could no longer resist their solicitations. He made incursions upon the lands of Mithridates, ravaged all the flat country as far as the city Amastris, and returned home laden with booty, which he applied in discharging part of his debts.

Mithridates was not ignorant by whose advice Nicomedes had committed this irruption. He might easily have repulsed him, as he had a great number of good troops on foot; but he did not take the field. He was glad to throw the blame on the side of the Romans, and to have a just cause for declaring war against them. He began by making remonstrances to their generals and ambassadors. Pelopidas was at the head of this embassy. He complained of the various contraventions of the Romans to the treaty of alliance subsisting between them and Mithridates, and in particular of the protection granted by them to Nicomedes, his declared enemy. The ambassadors of the latter replied, and made complaints on their side against Mithridates. The Romans, who were unwilling to declare themselves openly at present, gave them an answer in loose and general terms; that the Roman people had no intention that Mithridates and Nicomedes should injure each other.

Mithridates, who was not satisfied with this answer, made his troops march immediately into Cappadocia, expelled Ariobarzanes again, and set his son Ariarathes upon the throne as he had done before. At the same time, he sent his ambassador to the Roman generals to make his apology, and to renew his complaints against them. Pelopidas declared to



them, that his master was contented the Roman people should be umpire in the affair, and added, that he had already sent his ambassadors to Rome. He exhorted them not to undertake any thing, till they had received the senate's orders; nor engage rashly in a war, that might be attended with fatal consequences. For the rest, he gave them to understand, that Mithridates, in case justice were refused him, was in a condition to procure it for himself. The Romans, highly offended at so haughty a declaration, made answer, that Mithridates was immediately to withdraw his troops from Cappadocia, and not to continue to disturb Nicomedes or Ariobarzanes. They ordered Pelopidas to quit the camp that moment, and not return, unless his master obeyed. The other ambassadors were no better received at Rome.

The rupture was then inevitable, and the Roman generals did not wait till the orders of the senate and people arrived; which was what Mithridates had demanded. The design he had long formed of declaring war against the Romans had occasioned his having made many alliances, and engaged many nations in his interest. Amongst his troops were reckoned twenty nations of as many different languages, all which Mithridates himself spoke with facility. His army consisted of two hundred and fifty thousand foot, and forty thousand horse; without including a hundred and thirty armed chariots, and a fleet of four hundred ships.

<sup>b</sup> Before he proceeded to action, he thought it necessary to prepare his troops for it, and made them a \* long discourse to animate them against the Romans. He represented to them, " That there was

<sup>b</sup> Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3—7.

\* I have abridged this discourse extremely, which Justin repeats at length, as it stood in Trogus Pompeius, of whom he is only the epitomiser. The discourse is a specimen of that excellent historian's stile, and ought to make us very much regret the loss of his writings.

“ no room for examining whether war or peace were  
 “ to be preferred ; that the Romans, by attacking  
 “ them first, had spared them that inquiry : that  
 “ their business was to fight and conquer : that he  
 “ assured himself of success, if the troops persisted  
 “ to act with the same valour they had already shown  
 “ upon so many occasions, and very lately against  
 “ the same enemies, whom they had put to flight,  
 “ and cut to pieces in Bithynia and Cappadocia :  
 “ that there could not be a more favourable oppor-  
 “ tunity than the present, when the Marsi infested  
 “ and ravaged the very heart of Italy : when Rome  
 “ was torn in pieces by civil wars, and an innume-  
 “ rable army of the Cimbri from Germany overran  
 “ all Italy : that the time was come for humbling  
 “ those proud republicans, who had the same view  
 “ with regard to the royal dignity, and had sworn to  
 “ pull down all the thrones of the universe : that  
 “ for the rest\*, the war his soldiers were now enter-  
 “ ing upon was highly different from that they had  
 “ sustained with so much valour in the horrid de-  
 “ serts and frozen regions of Scythia : that he should  
 “ lead them into the most fruitful and temperate  
 “ country of the world, abounding with rich and  
 “ opulent cities, which seemed to offer themselves  
 “ an easy prey : that Asia, abandoned to be de-  
 “ voured by the insatiable avarice of the proconsuls,  
 “ the inexorable cruelty of tax-gatherers and the

\* *Nunc se diversam belli conditionem ingredi. Nam neque cælo Asiæ esse temperatius aliud, nec solo fertilius, nec urbium multitudine amœnium ; magnamque temporis partem, non ut militiam, sed ut festam diem, acturos, bello dubium facili magis an uberi—tantumque se avida expectat Asia, ut etiam voribus rovet: adeo illis odium Romanorum incussit rapacitas proconsulum, sectio publicanorum, calumniæ litium.* Justin—*Sectio publicanorum* in this passage properly signifies the forcible sale of the goods of those who for default of payment of taxes and imposts had their estates and effects seized on and sold by the publicans. *Calumniæ litium* are the unjust quirks and chicanery, which served as pretexts for depriving the rich of their estates, either upon account of taxes, or under some other colour.

“ flagrant injustice of corrupt judges, held the name  
 “ of Roman in abhorrence, and impatiently expected  
 “ them as her deliverers: that they followed him not  
 “ so much to a war as to assured victory and certain  
 “ spoils.” The army answered this discourse with  
 universal shouts of joy, and re-iterated protestations  
 of service and fidelity.

The Romans had formed three armies out of their troops in the several parts of Asia Minor. The first was commanded by Cassius, who had the government of the province of Pergamus; the second by Manius Aquilius; the third by Q. Oppius, pro-consul, in the province of Pamphylia. Each of them had forty thousand men, including the cavalry. Besides these troops, Nicomedes had fifty thousand foot and six thousand horse. They began the war, as I have already observed, without waiting for orders from Rome, and carried it on with so much negligence and so little conduct, that they were all three defeated on different occasions, and their armies ruined. Aquilius and Oppius themselves were taken prisoners and treated with all kinds of insults. Mithridates, considering Aquilius as the principal author of the war, treated him with the highest indignities. He made him pass in review before the troops, and presented him as a sight to the people, mounted on an ass, obliging him to cry out with a loud voice, that he was Manius Aquilius. At other times he obliged him to walk on foot with his hands fastened by a chain to a horse, that drew him along. At last he made him swallow molten lead, and put him to death with the most exquisite torments. The people of Mitylene had treacherously delivered him up to Mithridates at a time when he was sick, and had retired to their city for the recovery of his health.

° Mithridates who was desirous of gaining the people's hearts by his reputation for clemency, sent

° Diod. in Excerpt. Valis. p. 401. Athen. l. v. p. 213. Cic. Orat. pro Flacc. n. 60.

home all the Greeks he had taken prisoners, and supplied them with provisions for their journey. That instance of his goodness and lenity opened the gates of all the cities to him. The people came out to meet him every where with acclamations of joy. They gave him excessive praises, called him the preserver, the father of the people, the deliverer of Asia, and applied to him all the other names, by which Bacchus was denominated, to which he had a just title, for he passed for the prince of his time \* who could drink most without being disordered; a quality he valued himself upon, and thought much to his honour.

The fruits of his first victories were the conquest of all Bithynia, from which Nicomedes was driven; of Phrygia and Mysia, lately made Roman provinces; of Lycia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and several other countries.

Having found at Stratonicea, a young maid of exquisite beauty, named Monima, he took her along with him in his train.

A. M.  
3916.  
Ant. J. C.  
88.

\* Mithridates, considering that the Romans, and all the Italians in general, who were at that time in Asia Minor upon different affairs, carried on secret intrigues much to the prejudice of his interests, sent private orders from Ephesus, where he then was, to the governors of the provinces, and magistrates of the cities of Asia Minor, to massacre them all upon a day fixed.\* The women, children, and domestics, were included in this proscription. To these orders was annexed a prohibition to give interment to those who should be killed. Their estates and effects were to be confiscated for the use of the king and the murderers. A severe fine was laid upon such as should conceal the living, or bury the dead; and a

<sup>d</sup> Plut. Sympos. l. i. p. 624.

<sup>e</sup> Appian. p. 185. Cic. in Orat. pro lege Manil. n. 7.

<sup>\*</sup> *Is uno die, tota Asia, tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio, atque una literarum significatione, cives Romanos necandos trucidandosque denotavit.* Cic.

reward appointed for whoever discovered those who were hid. Liberty was given to the slaves who killed their masters; and debtors forgiven half their debts, for killing their creditors. The repetition only of this dreadful order is enough to make one tremble with horror. What then must have been the desolation in all those provinces when it was put in execution! Fourscore thousand Romans or Italians were butchered in consequence of it. Some make the slain amount to almost twice that number.

<sup>f</sup> Being informed that there was a great treasure at Cos, he sent people thither to seize it. Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, had deposited it there, when she undertook the war in Phœnicia against her son Lathyrus. Besides this treasure, they found eight hundred talents, (eight hundred thousand crowns,) which the Jews in Asia Minor had deposited there when they saw the war ready to break out.

<sup>g</sup> All those, who had found means to escape this general slaughter in Asia, had taken refuge in Rhodes, which received them with joy, and afforded them a secure retreat. Mithridates laid siege to that city ineffectually, which he was soon obliged to raise, after having been in danger of being taken himself in a sea-fight, wherein he lost many of his ships.

<sup>h</sup> When he had made himself master of Asia Minor, Mithridates sent Archelaus, one of his generals, with an army of an hundred and twenty thousand men into Greece. That general took Athens, and chose it for his residence, giving all orders from thence in regard to the war on that side. During his stay there, he engaged most of the cities and states of Greece in the interests of his master. He reduced Delos by force, which had revolted from the Athenians, and re-instated them in the possession of it. He sent them the sacred treasure, kept in that island by Aris-

<sup>f</sup> Appian. p. 186. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12.

<sup>g</sup> Appian. p. 186—188. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 402.

<sup>h</sup> Plut. in Sylla, p. 458—461. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 188—197.

tion, to whom he gave two thousand men as a guard for the money. Aristion was an Athenian philosopher, of the sect of Epicurus. He employed the two thousand men under his command to secure to himself the supreme authority at Athens, where he exercised a most cruel tyranny, putting many of the citizens to death, and sending many to Mithridates, upon pretence that they were of the Roman faction.

A. M.  
3917.  
Ant. J. C.  
87.

Such was the state of affairs when Sylla was charged with the war against Mithridates. He set out immediately for Greece with five legions, and some cohorts and cavalry. Mithridates was at that time at Pergamus, where he distributed riches, governments, and other rewards to his friends.

Upon Sylla's arrival, all the cities opened their gates to him, except Athens, which, subjected to the tyrant Aristion's yoke, was obliged unwillingly to oppose him. The Roman general, having entered Attica, divided his troops into two bodies, the one of which he sent to besiege Aristion in the city of Athens, and with the other he marched in person to the port Piræus, which was a kind of second city, where Archelaus had shut himself up, relying upon the strength of the place, the walls being almost sixty feet high, and entirely of hewn stone. The work was indeed very strong, and had been raised by the order of Pericles in the Peloponnesian war, when the hopes of victory depending solely upon this port, he had fortified it to the utmost of his power.

The height of the walls did not amaze Sylla. He employed all sorts of engines in battering it, and made continual assaults. If he would have waited a little, he might have taken the higher city without striking a blow, which was reduced by famine to the last extremity. But, being in haste to return to Rome, and apprehending the changes that might happen there in his absence, he spared neither danger, attacks, nor expence, in order to hasten the conclusion of that war. Without enumerating the

rest of the warlike stores and equipage, twenty thousand mules were perpetually employed in working the machines only. Wood happening to fall short, from the great consumption made of it in the machines, which were often either broken and spoiled by the vast weight they carried, or burnt by the enemy, he did not spare the sacred groves. He cut down the beautiful avenues of the Academy and Lycæum, which were the finest walks in the suburbs, and planted with the finest trees, and caused the high walls that joined the port to the city to be demolished, in order to make use of the ruins in erecting his works, and carrying on his approaches.

As he had occasion for abundance of money in this war, and endeavoured to attach the soldiers to his interests, and to animate them by great rewards, he had recourse to the inviolable treasures of the temples, and caused the finest and most precious gifts, consecrated at Epidaurus and Olympia, to be brought from thence. He wrote to the Amphictyons assembled at Delphos, "That they would act wisely in sending him the treasures of the god, because they would be more secure in his hands; and that if he should be obliged to make use of them, he would return the value after the war." At the same time he sent one of his friends, named Caphis, a native of Phocis, to Delphos, to receive all those treasures by weight.

When Caphis arrived at Delphos, he was afraid, through reverence for the god, to meddle with the consecrated gifts, and bewailed with tears in the presence of the Amphictyons, the necessity imposed upon him. Upon which, some person there having said, that he heard the sound of Apollo's lyre from the inside of the sanctuary, Caphis, whether he really believed it, or was willing to take advantage of that occasion to strike Sylla with a religious awe, wrote him an account of what had happened. Sylla deriding his simplicity, replied, "That he was surprised he should not comprehend, that singing was a sign of

“ joy, and by no means of anger and resentment ; and  
 “ therefore he had nothing to do but to take the  
 “ treasures boldly, and be assured that the god saw  
 “ him do so with pleasure, and gave them to him  
 “ himself.”

Plutarch, on this occasion, notices the difference between the ancient Roman generals, and those of the times we now speak of. The former, whom merit alone had raised to office, and who had no views from their employments, but the public good, knew how to make the soldiers respect and obey them, without descending to use low and unworthy methods for that purpose. They commanded troops that were steady, disciplined, and well inured to execute the orders of their generals without reply or delay. Truly kings, says \* Plutarch, in the grandeur and nobility of their sentiments, but simple and modest private persons in their train and equipage, they put the state to no other expence in the discharge of their offices than what was reasonable and necessary, conceiving it more shameful in a captain to flatter his soldiers, than to fear his enemies. Things were much changed in the times we now speak of. The Roman generals, abandoned to insatiable ambition and luxury, were obliged to make themselves slaves to their soldiers, and to buy their services by gifts proportioned to their avidity, and often by the toleration and impunity of the greatest crimes.

Sylla, in consequence, was perpetually in extreme want of money to satisfy his troops, and then more than ever for carrying on the siege in which he had engaged, the success of which seemed to him of the highest importance, both with respect to his honour and even his safety. He was desirous of depriving Mithridates of the only city he had left in Greece, and which, by preventing the Romans from passing into Asia, made all hopes of conquering that prince vain, and would oblige Sylla to return shamefully into Italy, where he

\* Ἀλλοὶ τε ταῖς ψυχαῖς βασιλικοῖ, καὶ ταῖς δαπαναῖς ἐπιτελεῖς ὄλης.



would have found more terrible enemies in Marius and his faction. He was besides sensibly galled by the keen raillery which Aristion vented every day against him and his wife Metella.

It is not easy to say whether the attack or defence were conducted with most vigour; for both sides behaved with incredible courage and resolution. The sallies were frequent, and attended with almost battles in form, in which the slaughter was great, and the loss generally not very unequal. The besieged would not have been in a condition to have made so vigorous a defence, if they had not received several considerable re-inforcements by sea.

What did them most damage was the secret treachery of two Athenian slaves who were in the Piræus. Those slaves, whether out of affection to the Roman party, or desirous of providing for their own safety, in case the place was taken, wrote upon leaden balls all that passed within, and threw them from slings to the Romans. So that whatever prudent measures Archelaus took, who defended the Piræus, whilst Aristion commanded in the city, nothing succeeded. He resolved to make a general sally; the traitors slung a leaden ball with this intelligence upon it: "Tomorrow, at such an hour, the foot will attack your works, and the horse your camp." Sylla laid ambushes, and repulsed the besieged with loss. A convoy of provisions was in the night to have been thrown into the city, which was in want of every thing. Upon advice of the same kind the convoy was intercepted.

Notwithstanding all these disappointments, the Athenians defended themselves like lions. They found means either to burn most of the machines erected against the wall, or by undermining them to throw them down and break them to pieces.

The Romans, on their side, behaved with no less vigour. By the help of mines also they made a way to the bottom of the walls, under which they hollowed the ground; and, having propt the founda-

tion with beams of wood, they afterwards set fire to the props with a great quantity of pitch, sulphur, and tow. When those beams were burnt, part of the wall fell down with a horrible noise, and a large breach was opened, through which the Romans advanced to the assault. The battle continued a great while with equal ardour on both sides, but the Romans were at length obliged to retire. The next day they renewed the attack. The besieged had built a new wall during the night in the form of a crescent, in the place of the other which had fallen, and the Romans found it impossible to force it.

Sylla, discouraged by so obstinate a defence, resolved to attack the Piræus no longer, and confined himself to reduce the place by famine. The city, on the other side, was at the last extremity. A bushel of barley had been sold in it for a thousand drachmas (about five and twenty pounds sterling.) The inhabitants did not only eat the grass and roots, which they found about the citadel, but the flesh of horses, and their leather shoes, which they boiled soft. In the midst of the public misery, the tyrant passed his days and nights in revelling. The senators and priests went to throw themselves at his feet, conjuring him to have pity on the city, and to obtain a capitulation from Sylla: He dispersed them with arrow-shot, and in that manner drove them from his presence.

He did not demand a cessation of arms, nor send deputies to Sylla, till reduced to the last extremity. As those deputies made no proposals, and asked nothing of him to the purpose, but ran on in praising and extolling Theseus, Eumolpus, and the exploits of the Athenians against the Medes, Sylla was tired with their discourse, and interrupted them, by saying, "Gentlemen haranguers, you may go back again, and keep your rhetorical flourishes for yourselves. For my part, I was not sent to Athens to be informed of your ancient prowess, but to chastise your modern revolt."

During this audience, some spies, having entered

the city, overheard by chance some old men talking in the \*Cericus, and blaming the tyrant exceedingly for not guarding a certain part of the wall, that was the only place by which the enemy might easily scale the walls. At their return into the camp, they related what they had heard to Sylla. The party had been to no purpose. Sylla did not neglect the intelligence given him. The next night he went in person to take a view of the place, and finding the wall actually accessible, he ordered ladders to be raised against it, began the attack there, and, having made himself master of the wall after a weak resistance, entered the city. He would not suffer it to be set on fire, but abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers, who in several houses found human flesh, which had been dressed to be eaten. A dreadful slaughter ensued. The next day all the slaves were sold by auction, and liberty was granted to the citizens who had escaped the swords of the soldiers, who were very few in number. He besieged the citadel the same day, where Aristion, and those who had taken refuge there, were soon so much reduced by famine, that they were forced to surrender themselves. The tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in any office under him, were put to death.

Some few days after, Sylla made himself master of the Piræus, and burnt all its fortifications, especially the arsenal, which had been built by Philo, the celebrated architect, and was a wonderful fabric. Arche-laüs, by the help of his fleet, had retired to Munichia, another port of Attica.

\* This year was fatal to the arms of Mithridates. Taxiles, one of his generals, arrived in Greece from Thrace and Macedonia, with an army of a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, with four-score and ten chariots armed with scythes. Arche-laüs, that general's brother, was at that time in the

A. M.  
3918.  
Ant. J. C.  
86.

\* A public square at Athens.

<sup>a</sup> Plut. in Sylla, p. 461—466. Appian. p. 196—203.

port of Munichia, and would neither remove from the sea, nor come to a battle with the Romans; but he endeavoured to protract the war, and cut off their provisions. This was very prudent conduct, for Sylla began to be in want of them; so that famine obliged him to quit Attica, and to enter the fruitful plains of Bœotia, where Hortensius joined him. Their troops being united, they took possession of a fertile eminence in the midst of the plains of Elatea, at the foot of which ran a rivulet. When they had formed their camp, the enemies could discover at one view their small number, which amounted to only fifteen thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse. This induced Archelaus's generals to press him in the warmest manner to proceed to action. They did not obtain his consent without great difficulty. They immediately began to move, and covered the whole plain with horses, chariots, and innumerable troops; for when the two brothers were joined, their army was very formidable. The noise and cries of so many nations, and so many thousands of men preparing for battle, the pomp and magnificence of their array, were truly terrible. The brightness of their arms, magnificently adorned with gold and silver, and the lively colours of the Median and Scythian coats of arms, mingled with the glitter of brass and steel, darted forth as it were flashes of lightning, which, whilst it dazzled the sight, filled the soul with terror.

The Romans, seized with dread, kept close within their entrenchments. Sylla not being able by his discourse and remonstrances to remove their fear, and not being willing to force them to fight in their present universal discouragement, was obliged to lie still, and suffer, though with great impatience, the bravadoes and insulting derision of the Barbarians. They conceived so great a contempt for him in consequence, that they neglected to observe any discipline. Few of them kept within their entrenchments; the rest, for the sake of plunder, dispersed in great troops, and straggled to a considerable distance, even

several days' journey, from the camp. They plundered and ruined some cities in the neighbourhood.

Sylla was in the utmost despair when he saw the cities of the allies destroyed before his eyes, for want of power to make his army fight. He at last thought of a stratagem, which was to give the troops no repose, and to keep them incessantly at work in turning the Cephisus, a little river which was near the camp, and in digging deep and large trenches, under pretence of their better security, but in fact, that by being tired of such great fatigues, they might prefer the hazard of a battle to the continuance of their labour. His stratagem was successful. After having worked without intermission three days, as Sylla according to custom, was taking a view of their progress, they cried out to him with one voice, to lead them against the enemy. Sylla suffered himself to be exceedingly intreated, and did not comply for some time; but when he saw their ardour increase from his opposition, he made them stand to their arms, and marched against the enemy.

The battle was fought near Chæronea. The enemy had possessed themselves, with a great body of troops, of a very advantageous post, called Thurium: It was the ridge of a steep mountain, which extended itself upon the left flank of the Romans, and was very proper to check their motions. Two men of Chæronea came to Sylla, and promised him to drive the enemy from this post, if he would give them a small number of chosen troops, which he did. In the mean time he drew up his army in battle, divided his horse between the two wings, taking the right himself, and giving the left to Murena. Galba and Hortensius formed a second line. Hortensius, on the left, supported Murena, whilst Galba on the right, did the same for Sylla. The Barbarians had already begun to extend their horse and light-armed foot in a large compass, with design to surround the second line, and charge it in the rear.

At that instant the two men of Chæronea, having

gained the top of Thurium with their small troop, without being perceived by the enemy, shewed themselves on a sudden. The Barbarians, surprised and terrified, immediately took to flight. Pressing against each other upon the declivity of the mountain, they ran precipitately down before the enemy, who charged and pursued them down the hill with their swords at their backs; so that about three thousand men were killed upon the mountain. Of those who escaped, some fell into the hands of Murena, who had just before formed in order of battle. Having marched against them, he intercepted and made a great slaughter of them: The rest, who endeavoured to regain their camp, fell in upon the main body of their troops with so much precipitation, that they threw the whole army into terror and confusion, and made their generals lose much time in restoring order, which was one of the principal causes of their defeat.

Sylla, taking advantage of this disorder, marched against them with so much vigour, and passed the space between the two armies with such rapidity, that he prevented the effect of their chariots armed with scythes. The force of these chariots depended upon the length of their course, which gave impetuosity and violence to their motion; instead of which, a short space, that did not leave room for their career, rendered them useless and ineffectual. This the Barbarians experienced at this time. The first chariots came on so slowly, and with so little effect, that the Romans, easily pushing them back, with great noise and loud laughter called for more, as was customary at Rome in the chariot races of the Circus.

After those chariots were removed, the two main bodies came to blows. The Barbarians presented their long pikes, and kept close order with their bucklers joined, so that they could not be broken; and the Romans threw down their javelins, and with sword in hand thrust aside the enemy's pikes, in order to join and charge them with great fury. What

increased their animosity, was the sight of fifteen thousand slaves, whom the king's generals had spirited from them by the promise of their liberty, and posted them amongst the heavy-armed foot. Those slaves had so much resolution and bravery, that they sustained the shock of the Roman foot without giving way. Their battalions were so deep and so well closed, that the Romans could neither break nor move them, till the light-armed foot of the second line had put them into disorder by the discharge of their arrows, and a shower of stones from their slings, which forced them to give ground.

Archelaus having made his right wing advance to surround the left of the Romans, Hortensius led on the troops under his command to take him in flank; which Archelaus seeing, he ordered two thousand horse to wheel about. Hortensius, upon the point of being overpowered by that great body of horse, retired by degrees towards the mountains, perceiving himself too far from the main body, and upon the point of being surrounded by the enemy. Sylla, with great part of his right wing, which had not yet engaged, marched to his relief. From the dust raised by those troops, Archelaus judged what they were, and leaving Hortensius, he turned about towards the place Sylla had quitted, in hopes he should find no difficulty in defeating the right wing which would now be without its general.

Taxiles, at the same time led on his foot, \* armed with brazen shields, against Murena; whilst each side raised great shouts, which made the neighbouring hills resound. Sylla halted at the noise, not knowing well to which side he should first hasten. At length he thought it most expedient to return to his former post and support his right wing. He therefore sent Hortensius to assist Murena with four cohorts, and taking the fifth with him, he flew to his right wing, which he found engaged in battle

\* Chalcaspidæ.

with Archelaus, neither side having the advantage. But, as soon as he appeared, that wing taking new courage from the presence of their general, opened their way through the troops of Archelaus, put them to flight, and pursued them vigorously for a considerable time.

After this great success, without losing a moment, he marched to the aid of Murena. Finding him also victorious, and that he had defeated Taxiles, he joined him in the pursuit of the vanquished. A great number of the Barbarians were killed on the plain, and a much greater cut to pieces, in endeavouring to gain their camp; so that, of so many thousand men, only ten thousand escaped, who fled to the city of Chalcis. Sylla wrote in his memoirs, that only fourteen of his men were missing, and that two of them returned the same evening.

A. M.  
3919.  
Ant. J. C.  
85.

To celebrate so great a victory, he gave music-games at Thebes, and caused judges to come from the neighbouring Grecian cities to distribute the prizes; for he had an implacable aversion for the Thebans. He even deprived them of half their territory, which he consecrated to Apollo Pythius and Jupiter Olympius, and decreed, that the money he had taken out of the temples of those gods should be repaid out of their revenues.

These games were no sooner over, than he received advice, that L. Valerius Flaccus of the adverse party (for at this time the divisions between Marius and Sylla were at the highest) had been elected consul, and had already crossed the Ionian sea with an army, in appearance against Mithridates, but in reality against himself. For this reason he began without delay his march to Thessaly, as with design to meet him. But being arrived at the city of \*Melitea, news came to him from all sides, that all the places he had left in his rear were plundered by another of the king's armies, stronger and more numerous than the

\* In Thessaly.



first. For Dorylaus had arrived at Chalcis with a great fleet, on board of which were fourscore thousand men, the best equipped, the most warlike and disciplined of all Mithridates's troops, and had thrown himself into Bœotia, and possessed himself of the whole country, in order to bring Sylla to a battle. Archeiaus would have dissuaded him from that design, by giving him an exact account of the battle he had so lately lost; but his counsel and remonstrances had no effect. He soon knew that the advice that had been given him was highly reasonable and judicious.

He chose the plain of Orchomenus for the field of battle. Sylla caused ditches to be dug on each side of the plain, to deprive the enemy of the advantage of an open country, in which their cavalry could act, and to remove them towards the marshes. The Barbarians fell furiously on the workmen, dispersed them, and put to flight the troops that supported them. Sylla seeing his army flying in this manner, quitted his horse immediately, and, seizing one of his ensigns, he pushed forwards towards the enemy through those that fled, crying to them, "For me, Romans, I think it glorious to die here. But for you, when you shall be asked where you abandoned your general, remember to say it was at Orchomenus." They could not suffer those reproaches, and returned to the charge with such fury, that they made Archeiaus's troops turn their backs. The Barbarians came on again in better order than before, and were again repulsed with greater loss.

The next day, at sun-rise, Sylla led back his troops towards the enemy's camp, to continue his trenches, and falling upon those who were detached to skirmish and drive away the workmen, he charged them so rudely, that he put them to flight. These runaways threw the troops, who had continued in the camp, into such terror, that they were afraid to stay to defend it. Sylla entered it pell-mell with those who fled, and made himself master of it. The marshes, in a moment, were dyed with blood, and the lake filled

with dead bodies. The enemies, in different attacks, lost the greatest part of their troops. Archelaus continued a great while hid in the marshes, and escaped at last to Chalcis.

The news of all these defeats threw Mithridates into great consternation. However, as that prince was by nature fruitful in resources, he did not lose courage, and applied himself to repair his losses by making new levies. But, from the fear that his ill success might give birth to some revolt or conspiracy against his person, as had already happened, he took the bloody precaution of putting all he suspected to death, without sparing even his best friends.

<sup>1</sup> He was not more successful in Asia, himself, than his generals had been in Greece. Fimbria, who commanded a Roman army there, beat the remainder of his best troops. He pursued the vanquished as far as the gates of Pergamus, where Mithridates resided, and obliged him to quit that place himself, and retire to Pitane, a maritime place in the Troad. Fimbria pursued him thither, and invested him by land. But, as he had no fleet to do the same by sea, he sent to Lucullus, who was cruizing in the neighbouring seas with the Roman fleet, and represented to him, that he might acquire immortal glory by seizing the person of Mithridates, who could not escape him, and by putting an end to so important a war. Fimbria and Lucullus were of two different factions. The latter would not be concerned in the affairs of the other; so that Mithridates escaped by sea to Mitylene, and extricated himself out of the hands of the Romans. This fault cost them very dear, and is not unusual in states where misunderstandings subsist between the ministers, and generals of the army, which make them neglect the public good, lest they should contribute to the glory of their rivals.

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Sylla. p. 466—468. Id. in Lucul. p. 493. Appian. p. 204—210.

Lucullus afterwards twice defeated Mithridates's fleet and gained two great victories over him. This happy success was the more surprising, as it was not expected that Lucullus would distinguish himself by military exploits. He had passed his youth in the studies of the bar; and, during his being quæstor in Asia, the province had always enjoyed peace. But so happy a genius as his did not want to be taught by experience, which is not to be acquired by lessons, and is generally the growth of many years. He supplied that defect in some measure, by employing the whole time of his journies, by land and sea, partly in asking questions of persons experienced in the art of war, and partly in instructing himself by the reading of history. So that he arrived in Asia a complete general, though he had left Rome with only a moderate knowledge in the art of war.\* Let our young warriors consider this with due attention, and observe in what manner great men are formed.

Whilst Sylla was very successful in Greece, the faction that opposed him, and at that time engrossed all power at Rome, had declared him an enemy of the commonwealth. Cinna and Carbo treated the noblest and most considerable persons with every kind of cruelty and injustice. Most of these, to avoid this insupportable tyranny, had chosen to retire to Sylla's camp, as to a port of safety; so that in a small time Sylla had a little senate about him. His wife Metella, having escaped with great difficulty with her children, brought him an account that his enemies had burnt his house and ravaged his lands, and begged

\* *Ad Mithridaticum bellum missus à senatu, non modò opinionem vicit omnium quæ de virtute ejus erat, sed etiam gloriam superiorum. Idque cõsuet mirabilis, quòd ab eo laus imperatoria non expectabatur, qui adolescentiam in forensi operâ, quæstura diuturnam tempus, Murendâ bellum in Ponto gerente, in Asia pace consumpserat. Sed incredibilis quædam ingenii magnitudo non desideravit indocilem usûs disciplinam. Itaque cùm totum iter & navigationem consumpsisset, partim in percontando à peritis, partim in rebus gestis legendis; in Asiam factus imperator venit, cùm esset Româ projectus rãzilitatis rudis. Cic. Acad. Quæst. I. vi. n. 2.*

him to depart immediately to the relief of those who remained in Rome, and were upon the point of being made victims of the same fury.

Sylla was in the greatest perplexity. On the one side, the miserable condition to which his country was reduced, inclined him to march directly to its relief; on the other, he could not resolve to leave imperfect so great and important an affair as the war with Mithridates. Whilst he was under this cruel embarrassment, a merchant came to him to treat with him in secret from the general Archelaus, and to make him some proposals of an accommodation. He was so exceedingly rejoiced when this man had explained his commission, that he made all possible haste to have a conference with that general.

They had an interview upon the sea-coast, near the little city of Delium. Archelaus, who was not ignorant how important it was to Sylla to have it in his power to repass into Italy, proposed to him the uniting his interests with those of Mithridates; and added, that his master would supply him with money, troops, and ships, to maintain a war against the faction of Cinna and Marius.

Sylla, without seeming offended at first with such proposals, exhorted him on his side to withdraw himself from the slavery in which he lived, under an imperious and cruel prince. He added, that he might take upon him the title of king in his government, and offered to have him declared the ally and friend of the Roman people, if he would deliver up to him Mithridates's fleet under his command. Archelaus rejected such a proposal with indignation, and even expressed to the Roman general, how much he thought himself affronted by the supposition of his being capable of such treachery. Upon which Sylla, assuming the air of grandeur and dignity so natural to the Romans, said to him: "If, being only a slave, and at best but an officer of a Barbarian king, you look upon it as a baseness to quit the service of your master, how dared you to propose the aban-

“ doing the interests of the republic to such a Roman  
 “ as myself? Do you imagine our condition and  
 “ state of affairs to be equal? Have you forgotten  
 “ my victories? Do you not remember, that you  
 “ are the same Archelaus, whom I have defeated in  
 “ two battles, and forced in the last to hide himself  
 “ in the marshes of Orchomenus?”

Archelaus, confounded by so haughty an answer, sustained himself no longer in the sequel of the negotiation. Sylla got the ascendant entirely, and dictating the law as victor, proposed the following conditions: “ That Mithridates should renounce Asia  
 “ and Paphlagonia: that he should restore Bithynia  
 “ to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes:  
 “ that he should pay the Romans two thousand talents  
 “ (about three hundred thousand pounds sterling)  
 “ for the expences of the war, and deliver up to them  
 “ seventy armed gallies, with their whole equipment;  
 “ and that Sylla, on his side, should secure to Mithri-  
 “ dates the rest of his dominions, and cause him  
 “ to be declared the friend and ally of the Roman  
 “ people.” Archelaus seemed to approve those conditions, and dispatched a courier immediately to communicate them to Mithridates. Sylla set out for the Hellespont, carrying Archelaus with him, whom he treated with great honours.

He received Mithridates’s ambassadors at Larissa, who came to declare to him that their master accepted and ratified all the other articles, but that he desired he would not deprive him of Paphlagonia; and that as to the seventy gallies, he could by no means comply with that article. Sylla offended at this refusal, answered them in an angry tone: “ What  
 “ say you? Would Mithridates keep possession of  
 “ Paphlagonia, and does he refuse me the gallies  
 “ I demanded? I expected to have seen him return  
 “ me thanks upon his knees, if I should have only left  
 “ him the hand with which he butchered an hundred  
 “ thousand Romans. He will change his note when  
 “ I go over to Asia, though at present, in the midst

“ of his court at Pergamus, he meditates plans for a war he never saw.” Such was the lofty style of Sylla, who gave Mithridates to understand at the same time that he would not talk such language had he been present at the past battles.

The ambassadors, terrified with this answer, made no reply. Archelaus endeavoured to soften Sylla, and promised him that he would induce Mithridates to consent to all the articles. He set out for that purpose, and Sylla, after having laid waste the country, returned into Macedonia.

A. M. 390.  
Ant. J.C. 84.

Archelaus, upon his return, joined him at the city of Philippi, and informed him that Mithridates would accept the proposed conditions; but that he exceedingly desired to have a conference with him. What made him earnest for this interview was his fear of Fimbria, who, having killed Flaccus, of whom mention has been made before, and put himself at the head of that consul's army, was advancing by great marches against Mithridates; which determined that prince to make peace with Sylla. They had an interview at Dardania, a city of the Troad. Mithridates had with him two hundred galleys, twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and a great number of chariots armed with scythes: and Sylla had only four cohorts, and two hundred horse in his company. When Mithridates advanced to meet him, and offered him his hand, Sylla asked him, whether he accepted the proposed conditions? As the king kept silence, Sylla continued, “ Do you not know, Mithridates, that it is for suppliants to speak, and for the victorious to hear and be silent?” Upon this Mithridates began a long apology, endeavouring to ascribe the cause of the war, partly to the gods, and partly to the Romans. Sylla interrupted him, and after having made a long detail of the violences and inhumanities he had committed, he demanded of him a second time, whether he would ratify the conditions which Archelaus had laid before him. Mithridates, surprised at the haughtiness and pride of the Roman

general, having answered in the affirmative, Sylla then received his embraces, and afterwards presenting the kings Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes to him, he reconciled them to each other. Mithridates, after the delivery of the seventy galleys entirely equipped, and five hundred archers, re-embarked.

Sylla saw plainly that this treaty of peace was highly disagreeable to his troops. They could not bear that a prince, who of all kings was the most mortal enemy to Rome, and who in one day had caused a hundred thousand Roman citizens, dispersed in Asia, to be put to the sword, should be treated with so much favour and even honour, and declared the friend and ally of the Romans, whilst almost still reeking with their blood. Sylla, to justify his conduct, gave them to understand, that if he had rejected his proposals of peace, Mithridates, on his refusal, would not have failed to treat with Fimbria; and that, if those two enemies had joined their forces, they would have obliged him either to abandon his conquests, or hazard a battle against troops, superior in number, under the command of two great captains, who in one day might have deprived him of the fruit of all his victories.

Thus ended the first war with Mithridates, which had lasted four years, and in which Sylla had destroyed more than an hundred and sixty thousand of the enemy; recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia, and many other provinces, of which Mithridates had possessed himself; and, having deprived him of a great part of his fleet, compelled him to confine himself within the bounds of his hereditary dominions. \* But what is most to be admired in Sylla is, that, during three years, whilst the factions of Marius and

\* *Vix quidquam in Syllæ operibus clarius iluxerim, quàm quòd, cum per triennium Cinnaræ Mariusque partes Italiam obsiderent, neque illaturum se bellum iis dissimulavit, nec quod erat in manibus omisit; existimavitque antè frangendum hostem. quàm ulciscendum civem; repulsoque externa metu, ubi quod alienum esset vicisset, superaret quod erat domesticum.* VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 24.

Cinna had enslaved Italy, he did not dissemble his intending to turn his arms against them, and yet did not discontinue the war he had begun, convinced that it was necessary to conquer the foreign enemy, before he reduced and punished those at home. He was also highly laudable for his constancy in not hearkening to any proposals from Mithridates, who offered him considerable aid against his enemies, till that prince had accepted the conditions of peace he prescribed him.

Some days after, Sylla began his march against Fimbria, who was encamped under the walls of Thyatira, in Lydia, and, having marked out a camp near his, he began his entrenchments. Fimbria's soldiers, coming out, unarmed, ran to salute and embrace those of Sylla, and assisted them with great pleasure in forming their lines. Fimbria, seeing this change in his troops, and fearing Sylla as an irreconcilable enemy from whom he could expect no mercy, after having attempted in vain to get him assassinated, killed himself.

Sylla condemned Asia in general to pay twenty thousand \* talents, and besides that fine, rifled individuals exceedingly, by abandoning their houses to the insolence and rapaciousness of his troops, whom he quartered upon them, and who lived at discretion as in conquered cities. For he gave orders that every host should pay each soldier quartered on him four drachmas † a day, and entertain at table himself, and as many of his friends as he should think fit to invite; that each captain should have fifty ‡ drachmas, and besides that a robe to wear in the house, and another when he went abroad.

\* After having thus punished Asia, he set out from Ephesus with all his ships, and arrived the third day at the Piræus. Having been initiated in the great mys-

\* Plut. in Syll. p. 468. Strab. l. xiii. p. 609. Athen. l. vii. p. 214. Laert. in Theoph.

\* About three millions sterling. † About two shillings.

‡ About five-and-twenty shillings.



teries, he took for his own use the library of Apellicon, in which were the works of Aristotle. That philosopher, at his death, had left his writings to Theophrastus, one of his most illustrious disciples. The latter had transferred them to Neleus of Scepsis, a city in the neighbourhood of Pergamus in Asia; after whose death those works fell into the hands of his heirs, ignorant persons, who kept them shut up in a chest. When the kings of Pergamus began to collect industriously all sorts of books for their library, as the city of Scepsis was dependent upon them, those heirs apprehending these works would be taken from them, thought proper to hide them in a vault underground, where they remained almost an hundred and thirty years; till the heirs of Neleus's family, who after several generations were fallen into extreme poverty, brought them out to sell to Apellicon, a rich Athenian, who sought every where after the most curious books for his library. As they were very much damaged by the length of time, and the damp place where they had lain, Apellicon had copies immediately taken of them, in which there were many chasms; because the originals were either rotted in many places, or worm-eaten and obliterated. These blanks, words, and letters, were filled up as well as they could be by conjecture, and that in some places with sufficient want of judgement. From hence arose the many difficulties in those works which have ever since exercised the learned world. Apellicon being dead some small time before Sylla's arrival at Athens, he seized upon his library, and with these works of Aristotle, which he found in it, enriched his own at Rome. A famous grammarian of those times, named Tyrannion, who lived then at Rome, having a great desire for these works of Aristotle, obtained permission from Sylla's librarian to take a copy of them. That copy was communicated to Andronicus, the Rhodian, who afterwards imparted it to the public, and to him the world is obliged for the works of that great philosopher.

SECT. II. *Second war against Mithridates, under Murena, of only three years' duration. Mithridates prepares to renew the war. He concludes a treaty with Sertorius. Third war with Mithridates. Lucullus the consul sent against him. He obliges him to raise the siege of Cyzicum, and defeats his troops. He gains a complete victory over him, and reduces him to fly into Pontus. Tragical end of the sisters and wives of Mithridates. He endeavours to retire to Tigranes, his son-in-law. Lucullus regulates the affairs of Asia.*

A. M.  
3921.  
Aut. J. C.  
83.

<sup>1</sup> SYLLA, on setting out for Rome, had left the government of Asia to Murena, with the two legions that had served under Fimbria, to keep the province in obedience. This Murena is the father of him for whom Cicero made the fine oration which bears his name. His son at this time made his first campaigns under him.

After Sylla's departure, Mithridates, being returned into Pontus, turned his arms against the people of Colchis and the Bosphorus, who had revolted against him. They first demanded his son Mithridates for their king, and having obtained him, immediately returned to their duty. The king, imagining their conduct to proceed from his son's intrigues, took umbrage at it, and having caused him to come to him, he ordered him to be bound with chains of gold, and soon after put him to death. That son had done him great services in the war against Fimbria. We see here a new instance of the jealousy which the excessive love of power is apt to excite, and to what an height the prince, who abandons himself to it, is capable of carrying his sus-

<sup>1</sup> Appian. p. 213—216.

pitions against his own blood; always ready to proceed to the most fatal extremities, and to sacrifice whatever is dearest to him to the slightest distrust. As for the inhabitants of the Bosphorus, he prepared a great fleet and a numerous army, which gave reason to believe his designs were against the Romans. He had not indeed restored all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, but reserved part of it in his own hands; and he began to suspect Archelaus, as having engaged him in a peace equally shameful and disadvantageous.

When Archelaus perceived it, well knowing the master he had to deal with, he took refuge with Murena, and solicited him warmly to turn his arms against Mithridates. Murena, who passionately desired to obtain the honour of a triumph, suffered himself to be easily persuaded. He made an irruption into Cappadocia, and made himself master of Comana, the most powerful city of that kingdom. Mithridates sent ambassadors to him to complain of his violating the treaty the Romans had made with him. Murena replied that he knew of no treaty made with their master. There was, in reality, nothing reduced to writing on Sylla's part, the whole having passed by verbal agreement. In consequence, he continued to ravage the country, and took up his winter-quarters in it. Mithridates sent ambassadors to Rome, to make his complaints to Sylla and the senate.

There came a commissioner from Rome, but without a decree of the senate, who publicly ordered Murena not to molest the king of Pontus. But, as they conferred together in private, this was looked upon as a mere collusion, and indeed Murena persisted in ravaging his country. Mithridates therefore took the field, and, having passed the river Halys, gave Murena battle, defeated him, and obliged him to retire into Phrygia with very great loss.

Sylla, who had been appointed dictator, not being able to suffer any longer that Mithridates, contrary

A. M.  
3922.  
Aut. J. C.  
82.

A. M.  
3923.  
Aut J.C.  
81.

to the treaty he had granted him, should be disquieted, sent Gabinius to Murena to order him in earnest to desist from making war with that prince, and to reconcile him with Ariobarzanes. He obeyed. Mithridates having put one of his sons, only four years old, into the hands of Ariobarzanes, as an hostage, under that pretext retained the cities in which he had garrisons, promising no doubt to restore them in time. He then gave a great feast, in which he promised prizes for such as should excel the rest in drinking, eating, singing, and rallying: fit objects of emulation! Gabinius was the only one who did not think proper to enter these lists. Thus ended the second war with Mithridates, which lasted only three years. Murena, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph, to which he had no great claim.

A. M. 3926.  
Ant. J. C. 78. Mithridates at length restored Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, being compelled so to do by Sylla, who died the same year. But he contrived a stratagem to deprive him entirely of it. Tigranes had lately built a great city in Armenia, which, from his own name, he called Tigranocerta. Mithridates persuaded his son-in-law to conquer Cappadocia, and to transport the inhabitants into the new city, and the other parts of his dominions, that were not well peopled. He did so, and took away three hundred thousand souls. From thenceforth, wherever he carried his victorious arms, he acted in the same manner for the better peopling of his own dominions.

A. M. 3928.  
Ant. J. C. 76. <sup>m</sup> The extraordinary reputation of Sertorius, who had given the Romans terrible employment in Spain, made Mithridates conceive the thought of sending an embassy to him, in order to engage him to join forces against the common enemy. The flatterers, who compared him to Pyrrhus, and Sertorius to Hannibal, insinuated, that the Romans, attacked at the same time on different sides, would never be able to

¶ Appian. p. 216, 217. Plut. in Sertor. p. 580, 581.

oppose two such formidable powers, when the most able and experienced of generals should act in concert with the greatest of kings. He therefore sent ambassadors to Spain, with letters and instructions for treating with Sertorius; to whom they offered, in his name, a fleet and money to carry on the war, upon condition that he would suffer that prince to recover the provinces of Asia, which the necessity of his affairs had reduced him to abandon by the treaty he had made with Sylla.

As soon as those ambassadors arrived in Spain, and had opened their commission to Sertorius, he assembled his council, which he called *the senate*. They were unanimously of opinion, that he should accept that prince's offers with joy; and the rather, because so immediate and effective an aid, as the offered fleet and money, would cost him only a vain consent to an enterprise which it did not in any manner depend upon him to prevent. But Sertorius, with a truly Roman greatness of soul, protested, that he would never consent to any treaty injurious to the glory or interests of his country; and that he would not even desire a victory over his own enemies, that was not acquired by just and honourable methods. And, having made Mithridates's ambassadors come into the assembly, he declared to them, that he would suffer his master to keep Bithynia and Cappadocia, which were accustomed to be governed by kings, and to which the Romans could have no just pretensions; but he would never consent that he should ever set his foot in Asia Minor, which appertained to the republic, and which he had renounced by a solemn treaty.

When this answer was related to Mithridates, it struck him with amazement; and he is affirmed to have said to his friends, "What orders may we not expect from Sertorius, when he shall sit in the senate in the midst of Rome; who, even now, confined upon the coast of the Atlantic ocean, dictates bounds to our dominions, and declares

“ war against us, if we undertake any thing against Asia?” A treaty was however concluded, and sworn between them to this effect: that Mithridates should have Bithynia and Cappadocia; that Sertorius should send him troops for that purpose, and one of his captains to command them; and that Mithridates, on his side, should pay Sertorius\* three thousand talents down, and give him forty gallees.

The captain sent by Sertorius into Asia was a banished senator of Rome, who had taken refuge with him, named Marcus Marius, to whom Mithridates paid great honours. For, when Marius entered the cities, preceded by the fasces and axes, Mithridates followed him, well satisfied with the second place, and with only making the figure of a powerful, but inferior, ally in this proconsul's company. Such was at that time the Roman greatness, that the name alone of that potent republic obscured the splendour and power of the greatest kings. Mithridates however found his interest in this conduct. Marius, as authorised by the Roman people and senate, discharged most of the cities from paying the exorbitant taxes which Sylla had imposed on them; expressly declaring, that it was from Sertorius they received, and to him they were indebted for that favour. So moderate and politic a conduct opened the gates of the cities to him without the help of arms, and the name alone of Sertorius made more conquests than all the forces of Mithridates.

A. M.     <sup>n</sup> Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, died this year,  
3929.     and made the Roman people his heirs. His coun-  
Ant. J.C. try became thereby, as I have observed elsewhere,  
75.     a province of the Roman empire. Mithridates im-  
mediately formed a resolution to renew the war  
against them upon this occasion, and employed the  
greatest part of the year in making the necessary  
preparations for carrying it on with vigour. He

<sup>n</sup> Appian. de Bello Mithrid. p. 175.

\* About four hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

believed, that, after the death of Sylla, and during the troubles with which the republic was agitated, the conjuncture was favourable for re-entering upon the conquests he had given up.

° Instructed by his misfortunes and experience, he banished from his army all armour adorned with gold and jewels, which he began to consider as the allure-ment of the victor, and not as the strength of those who wore them. He caused swords to be forged after the Roman fashion, with solid and weighty bucklers; he collected horses, rather well made and trained than magnificently adorned; assembled an hundred and twenty thousand foot, armed and disciplined like the Roman infantry, and sixteen thousand horse well equipped for service, besides an hundred chariots armed with long scythes, and drawn by four horses. He also fitted out a considerable number of galleys, which glittered no longer, as before, with gilt flags, but were filled with all sorts of arms, offensive and defensive, and provided immense sums of money for the pay and subsistence of the troops.

Mithridates had begun by seizing Paphlagonia and Bithynia. The province of Asia, which found itself exhausted by the exactions of the Roman tax-gatherers and usurers, to deliver themselves from their oppression, declared a second time for him. Such was the cause of the third Mithridatic war, which subsisted almost twelve years.

The two consuls, Lucullus and Cotta, were sent against him, each of them with an army under him. Lucullus had Asia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, for his province; the other Bithynia and Propontis.

Whilst Lucullus was employed in reforming the rapaciousness and violence of the tax-gatherers and usurers, and in reconciling the people of the countries through which he passed, by giving them good hopes for the time to come, Cotta, who was already arrived,

A.M.  
3930.  
Ant. J. C.  
74.

° Plut. in Lucul. p. 496.

thought he had a favourable opportunity, in the absence of his colleague, to signalise himself by some great exploit. He therefore prepared to give Mithridates battle. The more he was told that Lucullus was approaching, that he was already in Phrygia, and would soon arrive, the greater haste he made to fight, believing himself already assured of a triumph, and desirous of preventing his colleague from having any share in it. But he was beaten by sea and land. In the naval battle he lost sixty of his ships, with their whole complements; and in that by land he had four thousand of his best troops killed, and was obliged to shut himself up in the city of Chalcedon, with no hope of any other relief than what his colleague should think fit to give him. All the officers of his army, enraged at Cotta's rash and presumptuous conduct, endeavoured to persuade Lucullus to enter Pontus, which Mithridates had left without troops, and where he might assure himself of finding the people inclined to revolt. He answered generously, that he would always esteem it more glorious to preserve a Roman citizen than to possess himself of the whole dominions of an enemy; and without resentment against his colleague, he marched to assist him with all the success he could have hoped. This was the first action by which he distinguished himself, and which ought to do him more honour than the most splendid victories.

<sup>p</sup> Mithridates, encouraged by the double advantage he had gained, undertook the siege of Cyzicum, a city of Propontis, which strenuously supported the Roman party in this war. In making himself master of this place, he would have opened himself a passage from Bithynia into Asia Minor, which would have been very advantageous to him, by giving him an opportunity of carrying the war thither with all possible ease and security. It was for this reason he desired to take it. In order to succeed,

<sup>p</sup> Plut. in Lucul. p. 497—499. Appian. p. 219—222.



he invested it by land with three hundred thousand men, divided into ten camps; and by sea with four hundred ships. Lucullus soon followed him thither, and began by seizing a post upon an eminence of the highest importance to him, because it facilitated his receiving convoys, and gave him the means of cutting off the enemy's provisions. He had only thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. The superiority of the enemy in number, far from dismaying, encouraged him, for he was convinced, that so innumerable a multitude would soon be in want of provisions. Hence, in haranguing his troops, he promised them in a few days a victory that would not cost them a single drop of blood. It was in that he placed his glory; for the lives of the soldiers were dear to him.

The siege was long, and carried on with extreme vigour. Mithridates battered the place on all sides with innumerable machines. The defence was no less vigorous. The besieged did prodigies of valour, and employed all means that the most industrious capacity could invent, to repulse the enemy's attacks, either by burning their machines, or rendering them useless by a thousand different obstacles which they opposed to them. What inspired them with so much courage was their exceeding confidence in Lucullus, who had let them know, that, if they continued to defend themselves with the same valour, they might assure themselves that the place would not be taken.

Lucullus was indeed so well posted, that, without coming to a general action, which he always carefully avoided, he made Mithridates' army suffer infinitely, by intercepting his convoys, charging his foraging parties with advantage, and beating the detachments he sent out from time to time. In a word, he knew so well how to improve all occasions that offered, he weakened the army of the besiegers so much, and used such address in cutting off their provisions, having shut up all avenues by

which they might be supplied, that he reduced them to extreme famine. The soldiers could find no other food but the herbage, and some went so far as to support themselves upon human flesh. Mithridates\*, who passed for the most artful captain of his times, in despair that a general, who could not yet have had much experience, should so often have deceived him by false marches and feigned movements, and had defeated him without drawing his sword, was at length obliged to raise the siege shamefully, after having spent almost two years before the place. He fled by sea, and his lieutenants retired with his army by land to Nicomedia. Lucullus pursued them, and, having come up with them near the Granicus, he killed twenty thousand of them upon the spot, and took an infinite number of prisoners. It is said, that in this war there perished almost three hundred thousand men, either soldiers and servants, or other followers of the army.

After this new success, Lucullus returned to Cyzicum, entered the city, and, after having enjoyed for some days the pleasure of having preserved it, and the honours which he derived from that success, he made a rapid march along the coasts of the Hellespont, to collect ships and form a fleet.

Mithridates, after having raised the siege of Cyzicum, repaired to Nicomedia, from whence he passed by sea into Pontus. He left part of his fleet, and ten thousand men of his best troops, in the Hellespont, under three of his most able generals. Lucullus, with the Roman fleet†, beat them twice;

\* *Cum totius impetus belli ad Cyzicorum mania constitisset, eamque urbem sibi Mithridates Asiae januam fore putavisset, quæ effractâ & revulsâ lata pateret provincia: perfecta ab Luculla hæc sunt omnia, ut urbs fidelissimorum sociorum defenderetur, ut omnes copiæ regis diuturnitate obsidionis consumerentur.* Cic. in Orat. pro Mur. n. 33.

† *Ab eodem imperatore classem magnam & ornatum, quæ ducebus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio inflammato raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam.* Cic. pro lege Manil. n. 21.

the first time at Tenedos, and the other at Lemnos, when the enemy thought of nothing less than making sail for Italy, and of alarming and plundering the coasts of Rome itself. He killed almost all their men in these two engagements; and in the last took their three generals, one of whom was M. Marius, the Roman senator, whom Sertorius had sent from Spain to the aid of Mithridates. Lucullus ordered him to be put to death, because it was not consistent with the Roman dignity that a senator of Rome should be led in triumph. One of the two others poisoned himself, and the third was reserved for the triumph. After having cleared the coasts by these two victories, Lucullus turned his arms towards the continent; reduced Bithynia first, then Paphlagonia; marched afterwards into Pontus, and carried the war into the heart of Mithridates's dominions.

He suffered at first so greatly from a want of provisions in this expedition, that he was obliged to make thirty thousand Galatians follow the army, each with a quantity of wheat upon his shoulders. But, upon his advancing into the country, and subjecting the cities and provinces, he found such abundance of all things, that an ox sold for\* only one drachma, and a slave for no more than four.

Mithridates had suffered almost as much by the tempest, in his passage on the Euxine sea, as in the campaign wherein he had been treated so roughly. He lost in it almost all the remainder of his fleet and the troops he had brought thither for the defence of his ancient dominions. When Lucullus arrived, he was making new levies with the utmost expedition, to defend himself against that invasion which he had foreseen.

Lucullus, upon arriving in Pontus, without loss

*Quid? illam pugnam navalem ad Tenedum, cum tanto concursu, acerrimis ducibus, hostium classis Italiam spe atque animis inflata peteret, mediocri certamine & parvâ dimicatione commissam arbitraris? Cic. pro Marcellâ, n. 33.*

\* Ten-pence.

of time, besieged Amisus and Eupatoria, two of the principal cities in the country, very near each other.

The latter, which had been very lately built, was called Eupatoria, from the surname of Eupator, given to Mithridates; this place was his usual residence, and he had designed to make it the capital of his dominions. Not contented with these two sieges at once, Lucullus sent a detachment of his army to form that of Themiscyra, upon the river Thermodon, which place was not less considerable than the two others.

The officers of Lucullus's army complained, that their general amused himself too long in sieges which were not worth his trouble, and that in the mean time he gave Mithridates opportunity to augment his army and gather strength. To which he answered in his justification: "That is directly what I want; I act designedly thus that our enemy may take new courage, and assemble so numerous an army, as may embolden him to expect us in the field, and fly no longer before us. Do you not observe, that he has behind him immense wildernesses, and infinite deserts, in which it will be impossible for us either to pursue or come up with him? Armenia is but a few days' march from these deserts. There Tigranes keeps his court, that king of kings, whose power is so great that he subdues the Parthians, transports whole cities of Greeks into the heart of Media, has made himself master of Syria and Palestine, exterminated the kings descended from Seleucus, and carried their wives and daughters into captivity. This powerful prince is the ally and son-in-law of Mithridates. Do you think when he has him in his palace as a suppliant, that he will abandon him, and not make war against us? Hence, in hastening to drive away Mithridates, we shall be in great danger of drawing Tigranes upon our hands, who has long sought pretexts for declaring against us, and who can never find one more specious, legitimate, and honourable, than that of assisting his

“ father-in-law, and a king reduced to the last ex-  
 “ tremity. Why therefore should we serve Mithri-  
 “ dates against ourselves, or show him to whom he  
 “ should have recourse for the means of supporting  
 “ the war with us, by pushing him, against his will,  
 “ and at a time perhaps when he looks upon such a  
 “ step as unworthy his valour and greatness, into the  
 “ arms and protection of Tigranes? Is it not infi-  
 “ nitely better, by giving him time to take courage,  
 “ and strengthen himself with his own forces, to have  
 “ only upon our hands the troops of Colchis, the  
 “ Tibarenians, and Cappadocians, whom we have so  
 “ often defeated, than to expose ourselves to have  
 “ the additional force of the Armenians and Medes  
 “ to contend with?”

Whilst the Romans attacked the three places we have mentioned, Mithridates, who had already formed a new army, took the field very early in the spring. Lucullus left the command of the sieges of Amisus and Eupatoria to Murena, the son of him whom we have spoken of before, whom Cicero represents in a very favourable light. \**“ He went into Asia, “ a province abounding with riches and pleasures, “ where he left behind him no traces either of “ avarice or luxury. He behaved in such a man- “ ner in this important war, that he did many great “ actions without the general, the general none “ without him.”* Lucullus marched against Mithridates, who lay encamped in the plains of Cabiræ. The latter had the advantage in two actions, but was entirely defeated in the third, and obliged to fly without either servant or equerry to attend him, or a single horse of his stable. It was not till very late, that one of his eunuchs, seeing him on foot in

A. M.  
 5933.  
 Ant. J. C.  
 71.

\* *Asiam istam refertam & eandem delicatam, sic obiit, ut in eâ neque avaritiæ, neque luxuriæ vestigiū reliquerit. Maximo in bello sic est versatus, ut hic multas res & magnas sine imperatore gesserit, nullam sine hoc imperator.* Cic. pro Muræna, n. 20.

the midst of the flying crowd, got from his horse and gave it him. The Romans were so near him, that they almost had him in their hands, and it was owing entirely to themselves that they did not take him. The avarice alone of the soldiers lost them a prey which they had pursued so long, through so many toils, dangers, and battles, and deprived Lucullus of the sole reward of all his victories. Mithridates, says \* Cicero, artfully imitated the manner in which Medea, in the same kingdom of Pontus, formerly escaped the pursuit of her father. That princess is said to have cut in pieces the body of Absyr-tus, her brother, and to have scattered his limbs in the places through which her father pursued her; in order that his care in taking up those dispersed members, and the grief so sad a spectacle would give him, might stop the rapidity of his pursuit. Mithridates in like manner, as he fled, left upon the way a great quantity of gold, silver, and precious effects, which had either descended to him from his ancestors, or had been amassed by himself in preceding wars; and whilst the soldiers employed themselves in gathering those treasures, the king escaped their hands. So that the father of Medea was stopped in his pursuit by sorrow, but the Romans by joy.

After this defeat of the enemy, Lucullus took the city of Cabiræ, with several other places and castles, in which he found great riches. He found also the prisons full of Greeks, and princes nearly

\* *Ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur: quam prædicant, in fugâ, fratris sui membra in iis locis, quâ se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa, mærorque patrius, celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim auri atque argenti, pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas et à majoribus acceperat, & ipse bello superiore ex totâ Asiâ directas in suum regnum congegerat in Ponto, omnem reliquit. Hæc dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse è manibus effugit. Ita illum in persequendi studio mæror, hos lætitia retardavit. Cic. de leg. Manil. n. 22.*

related to the king, who were confined in them. As those unhappy persons had long given themselves over for dead, the liberty they received from Lucullus seemed less a deliverance than new life to them. In one of these castles, a sister of the king's, named Nyssa, was also taken, which was to her a great instance of good fortune. For the other sisters of that prince, with his wives, who had been sent farther from the danger, and who believed themselves in safety and repose, all died miserably, Mithridates on his flight having sent them orders to die by Bacchidas the eunuch.

Among the other sisters of the king were Roxana and Statira, both unmarried, and about forty years of age, with two of his wives, Berenice and Monima, both of Ionia. All Greece spoke much of the latter, whom they admired more for her wisdom than beauty, though exquisite. The king having fallen desperately in love with her, had forgotten nothing that might incline her to favour his passion : he sent her at once fifteen thousand pieces of gold. She was always averse to him, and refused his presents, till he gave her the quality of wife and queen, and sent her the royal tiara, or diadem, an essential ceremony in the marriage of the kings of those nations. Nor did she then comply without extreme regret, and in compliance with the wishes of her family, who were dazzled with the splendour of a crown and the power of Mithridates, who was at that time victorious, and at the height of his glory. From the time of her marriage to the instant of which we are now speaking, that unfortunate princess had passed her life in continual sadness and affliction, lamenting her fatal beauty which instead of a husband had given her a master, and instead of procuring her an honourable abode and the endearments of conjugal society, had confined her in a close prison, under a guard of Barbarians ; where, far removed from the delightful regions of Greece, she had only enjoyed a dream of the happiness with which she had been flattered, and had

really lost that solid and essential good she possessed in her own beloved country.

When Bacchidas arrived, and had signified to the princesses the order of Mithridates, which favoured them no further than to leave them at liberty to choose the kind of death they should think most gentle and immediate, Monima, taking the diadem from her head, tied it round her neck, and hung herself up by it. But that wreath not being strong enough, and breaking, she cried out, " Ah, fatal trifle, you might at least do me this mournful office ! " Then, throwing it away with indignation, she presented her throat to Bacchidas.

As for Berenice, she took a cup of poison, and as she was going to drink it, her mother, who was present, desired to share it with her. They accordingly drank both together. The half of that poison sufficed to carry off the mother, worn out and feeble with age; but was not enough to surmount the strength and youth of Berenice. That princess struggled long with death in the most violent agonies, till Bacchidas, tired with waiting the effects of the poison, ordered her to be strangled.

Of the two sisters, Roxana is said to have swallowed poison, venting a thousand reproaches and imprecations against Mithridates. Statira, on the contrary, was pleased with her brother, and thanked him, that, being in so great danger for his own person, he had not forgotten them, and had taken care to supply them with the means of dying free, and of withdrawing from the indignities their enemies might else have made them suffer.

Their deaths extremely afflicted Lucullus, who was of a gentle and humane disposition. He continued his march in pursuit of Mithridates; but, having received advice that he was four days' journey before him, and had taken the road to Armenia, to retire to his son-in-law Tigranes, he returned directly; and, after having subjected some countries, and taken some cities in the neighbourhood, he sent Appius



Clodius to Tigranes, to demand Mithridates of him ; and in the mean time returned against Amisus, which place was not yet taken. Callimachus, who commanded in it, and was the most able engineer of his times, had alone prolonged the siege. When he saw that he could hold out no longer, he set fire to the city, and escaped in a ship that waited for him. Lucullus did his utmost to extinguish the flames, but in vain ; and, to increase his concern, saw himself obliged to abandon the city to be plundered by the soldiers, from whom the place had as much to fear as from the flames themselves. His troops were insatiable for booty, and he not capable of restraining them. A shower of rain which then happened to fall, preserved a great number of buildings, and Lucullus, before his departure, caused those which had been burnt to be rebuilt. This city was an ancient colony of the Athenians. Such of the Athenians, during Aristion's being master of Athens, as desired to fly from his tyranny, had retired thither, and enjoyed there the same rights and privileges with the natives.

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Lucullus, when he left Amisus, directed his march towards the cities of Asia, whom the avarice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-gatherers held under the most dreadful oppression : insomuch that those poor people were obliged to sell their children of both sexes, and even set up to auction the paintings and statues consecrated to the gods. And, when these would not suffice to pay the duties, taxes and interest of their arrears, they were given up without mercy to their creditors, and often exposed to such barbarous tortures, that slavery, in comparison with their miseries, seemed a kind of redress and tranquillity to them.

These immense debts of the province arose from the fine of twenty thousand \* talents which Sylla had imposed on it. They had already paid the sum

\* About three millions sterling.

twice over: but those insatiable usurers, by heaping interest upon interest, had run it up to a hundred and twenty thousand \* talents; so that they still owed triple the sums they had already paid.

Tacitus † had reason to say, that usury was one of the most ancient evils of the Roman common-wealth, and the most frequent cause of sedition; but at the time we now speak of, it was carried to an excess not easy to be credited.

The interest of money amongst the Romans was paid every month, and was one *per cent.* hence it was called *usura centesima*, or *unciarium fœnus*; because in reckoning the twelve months, twelve *per cent.* was paid: *Uncia* is the twelfth part of an whole.

‡ The † law of the twelve tables prohibited the raising interest to above twelve *per cent.* This law was revived by the two tribunes of the people, in the 396th year of Rome.

† Ten years after, interest was reduced to half that sum, in the 406th year of Rome, *semiunciarium fœnus*.

‡ At length, in the 411th year of Rome, all interest was prohibited by decree: *Ne fœnerari liceret*.

All these decrees were ineffectual. § Avarice was always too strong for the laws: and whatever regulations were made to suppress it, either in the time of the republic or under the emperors, it always found means to elude them. Nor has it paid more regard to the laws of the Church, which has never entered into any composition on this point, and severely condemns all usury, even the most moderate; because, God having forbidden any, she never

‡ Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 16. Liv. l. vii. n. 16.

† Liv. l. vii. n. 27. § Ibid. n. 42.

\* About eighteen millions sterling.

§ *Sanè rectus urbi fœnebre malum. & seditionum discordiarumque creberrima causa.* Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 16.

† *Nequis unciario fœnore amplius exerceto.*

‡ *Multis plebiscitis obviam itum fraudibus: quæ toties repressæ miras per artes rursum oriebantur.* Tacit. Ibid.

believed she had a right to permit it in the least. It is remarkable, that usury has always occasioned the ruin of the states where it has been tolerated ; and it was this disorder which contributed very much to subvert the constitution of the Roman commonwealth, and gave birth to the greatest calamities in all the provinces of that empire.

Lucullus, at this time, applied himself in procuring for the provinces of Asia some relaxation ; which he could only effect by putting a stop to the injustice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-gatherers. The latter, finding themselves deprived by Lucullus of the immense gain they made, raised a great outcry, as if they had been excessively injured, and by the force of money animated many orators against him ; particularly confiding in having most of those, who governed the republic, in their debt, which gave them a very extensive and almost unbounded influence. But Lucullus despised their clamours with a constancy the more admirable from its being very uncommon.

SECT. III. *Lucullus causes war to be declared with Tigranes, and marches against him. Vanity and ridiculous self-sufficiency of that prince. He loses a great battle. Lucullus takes Tigranocerta, the capital of Armenia. He gains a second victory over the joint forces of Tigranes and Mithridates. Mutiny and revolt in the army of Lucullus.*

**TIGRANES**, to whom Lucullus had sent an ambassador, though of no great power in the beginning of his reign, had enlarged it so much by a series of successes, of which there are few examples, that he was commonly surnamed *king of kings*. After

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\* Plut. in Lucul. p. 504—512. Memn. c. xlvi. —lvii. Ap-  
pian. in Mithrid. p. 228—232.

having overthrown, and almost ruined the family of the kings, successors of the great Seleucus; after having very often humbled the pride of the Parthians, transported whole cities of Greeks into Media, conquered all Syria and Palestine, and given laws to the Arabians, called Scenites; he reigned with an authority respected by all the princes of Asia. The people paid him honours after the manner of the East, even to adoration. His pride was inflamed and supported by the immense riches he possessed, by the excessive and continual praises of his flatterers, and by a prosperity that had never known any interruption.

Appius Claudius was introduced to an audience of this prince, who appeared with all the splendour he could display, in order to give the ambassador an higher idea of the royal dignity; who, on his side, uniting the haughtiness of his natural disposition with that which particularly characterised his republic, perfectly supported the dignity of a Roman ambassador.

After having explained, in a few words, the subjects of complaint which the Romans had against Mithridates, and that prince's breach of faith in breaking the peace, without so much as attempting to give any reason or colour for it, he told Tigranes, that he came to demand his being delivered up to him, as due by every sort of title to Lucullus's triumph; that he did not believe, as a friend to the Romans, which he had been till then, that he would make any difficulty in giving up Mithridates; and that, in case of his refusal, he was instructed to declare war against him.

That prince who had never been contradicted, and who knew no other law nor rule than his own will and pleasure, was extremely offended at this Roman freedom. But he was much more so with Lucullus's letter, when it was delivered to him. The title of king only, which it gave him, did not satisfy him. He had assumed that of *king of kings*, of which he was very fond, and had carried his pride

in that respect so far, as to cause himself to be served by crowned heads. He never appeared in public without having four kings attending him; two on foot on each side of his horse, when he went abroad: at table, in his chamber, in short, every where, he had always some of them to do the lowest offices for him; but especially when he gave audience to ambassadors. For, at that time, to give strangers a greater idea of his glory and power, he made them all stand in two ranks, one on each side of his throne, where they appeared in the habit and posture of common slaves. A pride so full of absurdity offends all the world. One more refined shocks less, though much the same at bottom.

It is not surprising that a prince of this character should bear the manner in which Clodius spoke to him with impatience. It was the first free and sincere speech he had heard during the five and twenty years he had governed his subjects, or rather tyrannized over them with excessive insolence. He answered, that Mithridates was the father of Cleopatra, his wife; that the union between them was of too strict a nature to admit his delivering him up for the triumph of Lucullus; and that if the Romans were unjust enough to make war against him, he knew how to defend himself, and to make them repent it. To express his resentment by his answer, he directed it only to Lucullus, without adding the usual title of Imperator, or any other commonly given to the Roman generals.

Lucullus, when Clodius reported the result of his commission, and that war had been declared against Tigranes, returned with the utmost diligence into Pontus to begin it. The enterprise seemed rash, and the terrible power of the king astonished all those who relied less upon the valour of the troops and the conduct of the general, than upon a multitude of soldiers. After having made himself master of Sinope, he gave that place its liberty, as he did also to Amisus, and made them both free and in-

dependent cities. <sup>u</sup> Cotta did not treat Heraclæa, which he took after a long siege by treachery, in the same manner. He enriched himself out of its spoils, treated the inhabitants with excessive cruelty, and burnt almost the whole city. On his return to Rome, he was at first well received by the senate, and honoured with the surname of Ponticus, upon account of taking that place. But, soon after, when the Heraclæans had laid their complaints before the senate, and represented, in a manner capable of moving the hardest hearts, the miseries Cotta's avarice and cruelty had made them suffer, the senate contented themselves with depriving him of the *latus clavus*, which was the robe worn by the senators, a punishment in no wise proportioned to the flagrant excesses proved upon him.

Lucullus left Sornatius, one of his generals, in Pontus, with six thousand men, and marched with the rest, which amounted only to twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse, through Cappadocia to the Euphrates. He passed that river in the midst of winter, and afterwards the Tigris, and came before Tigranocerta, which was at some small distance, to attack Tigranes in his capital, where he had lately arrived from Syria. Nobody dared speak to that prince of Lucullus and his march, after his cruel treatment of the person who brought him the first news of it, whom he put to death in reward for so important a service. He listened to nothing but the discourses of flatterers, who told him Lucullus must be a great captain if he only dared wait for him at Ephesus, and did not betake himself to flight and abandon Asia, when he saw the many thousands of which his army was composed. So true it is, says Plutarch, that as all constitutions are not capable of bearing much wine, all minds are not strong enough to bear great prosperity without loss of reason and infatuation.

<sup>u</sup> Memn. c. li—lxi.

Tigranes, at first, had not deigned so much as to see or speak to Mithridates, though his father-in-law, but treated him with the utmost contempt and arrogance, kept him at a distance, and placed a guard over him as a prisoner of state, in marshy unwholesome places. But after Clodius's embassy, he had ordered him to be brought to court with all possible honours and marks of respect. In a private conversation which they had together without witnesses, they cured themselves of their mutual suspicions, to the great misfortune of their friends, upon whom they cast all the blame.

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In the number of those unfortunate persons was Metrodorus, of the city of Scepsis, a man of extraordinary merit, who had so much influence with Mithridates, that he was called the king's father. That prince had sent him on an embassy to Tigranes, to desire aid against the Romans. When he had explained the occasion of his journey, Tigranes asked him: "And for you, Metrodorus, what would you advise me to do, with respect to your master's demands?" Upon which Metrodorus replied, out of an excess of ill-timed sincerity, "As an ambassador, I advise you to do what Mithridates demands of you; but as your counsel, not to do it." This was a criminal prevarication, and a kind of treason. It cost him his life, when Mithridates had been apprized of it by Tigranes.

Lucullus was continually advancing against that prince, and was already in a manner at the gates of his palace, without his either knowing or believing any thing of the matter, so much was he blinded by his presumption. Mithrobarzanes, one of his favourites, ventured to carry him that news. The reward he had for it was to be charged with a commission, to go immediately with some troops and bring Lucullus prisoner; as if the question had been only to arrest one of the king's subjects. The favourite, with the greatest part of the troops given him, lost their lives,

in endeavouring to execute that dangerous commission.

This ill success opened the eyes of Tigranes, and made him recover from his infatuation. Mithridates had been sent back into Pontus with ten thousand horse, to raise troops there, and to return and join Tigranes, in case Lucullus entered Armenia. For himself, he had chosen to continue at Tigranocerta, in order to give the necessary orders for raising troops throughout his whole dominions. After this check he began to be afraid of Lucullus, quitted Tigranocerta, retired to mount Taurus, and gave orders to all his troops to repair thither to him.

Lucullus marched directly to Tigranocerta, took up his quarters around the place, and formed the siege of it. This city was full of all sorts of riches; the inhabitants of all orders and conditions having emulated each other in contributing to its embellishment and magnificence, in order to make their court to the king: for this reason Lucullus pressed the siege with the utmost vigour; believing that Tigranes would never suffer it to be taken, and that he would come on in a transport of fury to offer him battle, and oblige him to raise the siege. And he was not mistaken in his conjecture. Mithridates sent every day couriers to Tigranes, and wrote him letters, in the strongest terms, to advise him not to hazard a battle, and to make use of his cavalry alone in cutting off Lucullus's provisions. Taxiles himself was sent by him with the same instructions, who, staying with him in his camp, earnestly intreated him, every day, not to attack the Roman armies, as they were excellently disciplined, veteran soldiers, and almost invincible.

At first he hearkened to this advice with patience enough. But when all his troops, consisting of a great number of different nations, were assembled, not only the king's feasts, but his councils resounded with nothing but vain bravadoes, full of insolence,



pride, and barbarian menaces. Taxiles was in danger of being killed, for having ventured to oppose the advice of those who were for a battle; and Mithridates himself was openly accused of opposing it, only out of envy, to deprive his son-in-law of the glory of so great a success.

In this conceit Tigranes determined to wait no longer, lest Mithridates should arrive, and share with him in the honour of the victory. He therefore marched with all his forces, telling his friends, that he was only sorry on one account, and that was, his having to engage with Lucullus alone, and not with all the Roman generals together. He measured his hopes of success by the number of his troops. He had twenty thousand archers or slingers, fifty-five thousand horse, seventeen thousand of which were heavy-armed cavalry, an hundred and fifty thousand foot, divided into companies and battalions, besides pioneers to clear the roads, build bridges, cleanse and turn the course of rivers, with other labourers of the same description necessary in armies, to the number of thirty-five thousand, who, being drawn up in battle behind the combatants, made the army appear still more numerous, and augmented its force and confidence.

When he had passed mount Taurus, and all his troops appeared together in the plains, the sight alone of his army was sufficient to strike terror into the most daring enemy. Lucullus, always intrepid, divided his troops. He left Murena with six thousand foot before the place, and with all the rest of his infantry, consisting of twenty-four cohorts, which together did not amount to more than ten or twelve thousand men, all his horse, and about a thousand archers or slingers, marched against Tigranes, and encamped in the plain, with a large river in his front.

This handful of men made Tigranes laugh, and supplied his flatterers with matter for pleasantry. Some openly jested upon them; others, by way of diversion, drew lots for their spoils; and of Tigranes's

generals, and the kings in his army, there was not one who did not intreat him to give the charge of that affair to him alone, and content himself with being only a spectator of the action. Tigranes himself to appear agreeable, and a delicate rallier, used an expression, which has been much admired; "If they come as ambassadors, they are a great many; but if as enemies, very few." Thus the first day passed in jesting and raillery.

The next morning at sun-rise, Lucullus made his army march out of their entrenchments. That of the Barbarians was on the other side of the river towards the East, and the river ran in such a manner, that it turned off short to the left towards the West, where it was easily fordable. Lucullus, in leading his army to this ford, inclined also to the left, towards the lower part of the river, hastening his march. Tigranes, who saw him, believed he fled; and calling for Taxiles, told him, with a contemptuous laugh—"Do you see those invincible Roman legions? You see they can run away." Taxiles replied, "I heartily wish your majesty's good fortune may this day work a miracle in your favour; but the arms and march of those legions do not indicate people running away."

Taxiles was still speaking, when he saw the eagle of the first legion move on a sudden to the right about, by the command of Lucullus, followed by all the cohorts, in order to pass the river. Tigranes, recovering then with difficulty, like one that had been long drunk, cried out two or three times, "How! Are those people coming to us?" They came on so fast, that his numerous troops did not post themselves, nor draw up in battle without abundance of disorder and confusion. Tigranes placed himself in the centre; gave the left wing to the king of the Adiabeniens, and the right to the king of the Medes. The greatest part of the heavy-armed horse covered the front of the right wing.

As Lucullus was preparing to pass the river, some of his general officers advised him not to engage

upon that day; because it was one of those unfortunate days which the Romans called *black days*. For it was the same upon which the army of \* Cepio had been defeated in the battle with the Cimbri. Lucullus made them this answer, which afterwards became so famous: "And for my part, I will make this an happy day for the Romans."

It was the sixth day of October, (the day before the nones of October).

After having made that reply, and exhorted them not to be discouraged, he passed the river, and marched foremost against the enemy. He was armed with a steel cuirass, made in the form of scales, which glittered surprisingly, under which was his coat of arms, bordered all round with a fringe. He brandished his naked sword in his hand, to intimate to his troops, that it was necessary to join an enemy immediately, who were accustomed to fight only at a distance with their arrows; and to deprive them, by the swiftness and impetuosity of the attack, of the space required for the use of them.

Perceiving that the heavy armed cavalry, upon whom the enemy very much relied, were drawn up at the foot of a little hill, the summit of which was flat and level, and the declivity of not above five hundred paces, neither much broken, nor very difficult, he saw at first glance what use he had to make of it. He commanded his Thracian and Galatian horse to charge that body of the enemies' cavalry in flank, with orders only to turn aside their lances with their swords. For the principal, or rather whole force of those heavy-armed horse, consisted in their lances, and when they had not room to use these, they could do nothing either against the enemy, or for themselves; their arms being so heavy, stiff, and cumbersome, that they could not turn themselves, and were almost immoveable.

\* The Greek text says, *the army of Scipio*, which Monsieur de Thou justly corrected in the margin of his Plutarch, *the army of Cepio*.

Whilst his cavalry marched to execute his orders, he took two cohorts of foot, and went to gain the eminence. The infantry followed courageously, excited by the example of their general, whom they saw marching foremost on foot, and ascending the hill. When he was at the top, he shewed himself from the highest part of it, and seeing from thence the whole order of the enemy's battle, he cried out, "The victory is ours, fellow-soldiers, the victory is ours!" At the same time, with his two cohorts, he advanced against that heavy-armed cavalry, and ordered his men not to make use of their pikes, but join the troopers sword in hand, and strike upon their legs and thighs, which were the only unarmed parts about them. But his soldiers had not so much trouble with them. That cavalry did not stay their coming on, but shamefully took to flight; and howling as they fled, fell with their heavy unwieldy horses upon the ranks of their foot, without joining battle at all, or so much as making a single thrust with their lances. The slaughter did not begin until they began to fly, or rather to endeavour to fly; for they could not do so, being prevented by their own battalions, whose ranks were so close and deep, that they could not break their way through them. Tigranes, that king so lofty and brave in words, had taken to flight from the beginning with a few followers; and seeing his son the companion of his fortune, he took off his diadem, weeping, and giving it him, exhorted him to save himself as well as he could by another route. That young prince was afraid to put the diadem upon his head, which would have been a dangerous ornament at such a time, and gave it into the hands of one of the most faithful of his servants, who was taken a moment after, and carried to Lucullus.

It is said, that in this defeat more than an hundred thousand of the enemy's foot perished, and that very few of their horse escaped: on the side of the Romans only five were killed, and an hundred wounded. They

had never engaged in a pitched battle so great a number of enemies with so few troops; for the victors did not amount to the twentieth part of the vanquished. The greatest and most able Roman generals, who had seen most wars and battles, gave Lucullus particular praises for having defeated two of the greatest and most powerful kings in the world, by two entirely different methods, delay and expedition. For, by protraction and spinning out the war, he exhausted Mithridates when he was strongest and most formidable; and ruined Tigranes by making haste, and not giving him time to look about him. It has been remarked, that few captains have known how, like him, to make slowness active, and haste sure.

It was this latter conduct that prevented Mithridates from being present in the battle. He imagined Lucullus would use the same precaution and protraction against Tigranes as he had done against himself. So that he marched but slowly and by small days' journies to join Tigranes. But having met some Armenians upon the way, who fled with the utmost terror and consternation, he suspected what had happened; and afterwards meeting a much greater number of fugitives naked and wounded, was fully informed of the defeat, and went in search of Tigranes. He found him at length, abandoned by all the world, and in a very deplorable condition. Far from returning his ungenerous treatment, and insulting him in his misfortunes, as Tigranes had done to him, he quitted his horse, lamented their common disgrace, gave him the guard which attended, and the officers who served him, consoled, encouraged him, and revived his hopes; so that Mithridates, upon this occasion, shewed himself not entirely void of humanity. Both together engaged in raising new troops on all sides.

In the mean time a furious sedition arose in Tigranocerta; the Greeks having mutinied against the Barbarians, and being determined at all events to

deliver the city to Lucullus. That sedition was at the highest when he arrived there. He took advantage of the occasion, ordered the assault to be given, took the city, and after having seized all the king's treasures, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers; who, besides other riches, found in it eight thousand talents of coined silver (about one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling). Besides this plunder, he gave each soldier eight hundred drachmas\*, which, with all the booty they had taken, was not sufficient to satisfy their inordinate avidity.

\* As this city had been peopled by colonies, which had been carried away by force from Cappadocia, Cilicia, and other places, Lucullus permitted them all to return into their native countries. They received that permission with extreme joy, and quitted it in so great numbers, that from one of the greatest cities in the world, Tigranocerta became in an instant almost a desert.

† If Lucullus had pursued Tigranes after his victory, without giving him time to raise new troops, he would either have taken or driven him out of the country, and the war would have been at an end. His having failed to do so was very ill taken both in the army and at Rome, and he was accused, not of negligence, but of having intended by such conduct to make himself necessary, and to retain the command longer in his own hands. This was one of the reasons that prejudiced the generality against him, and induced them to think of giving him a successor, as we shall see in the sequel.

After the great victory he had gained over Tigranes, several nations came to make their submissions to him. He received also an embassy from the king of the Parthians, who demanded the amity and alliance of the Romans. Lucullus received this proposal favourably, and sent also ambassadors to him, who,

\* Strab. l. xi. p. 532, & l. xii. p. 539.

† Dion Cas. l. xxxv. p. 1.

\* About twenty pounds.

being arrived at the Parthian court, discovered that the king, uncertain which side to take, wavered between the Romans and Tigranes, and had secretly demanded Mesopotamia of the latter, as the price of the aid he offered him. Lucullus, informed of this secret intrigue, resolved to leave Mithridates and Tigranes, and to turn his arms against the king of the Parthians; flattered with the grateful thought, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to have entirely reduced, in one expedition, the three most powerful princes under the sun. But the opposition this proposal met with from the troops obliged him to renounce his enterprise against the Parthians, and to confine himself to the pursuit of Tigranes.

During this delay, Mithridates and Tigranes had been indefatigable in raising new troops. They had sent to implore aid of the neighbouring nations, and especially of the Parthians, who were the nearest, and at the same time in the best condition to assist them in the present extremity. Mithridates wrote a letter to their king, which Sallust has preserved, and which is to be found amongst his fragments. I shall insert a part of it in this place.

*Letter of Mithridates to \* Arsaces King of the Parthians.*

“ ALL those † who, in a state of prosperity, are  
 “ invited to enter as confederates into a war, ought  
 “ first to consider whether peace be at their own  
 “ option; and next, whether what is demanded of

\* Arsaces was a common name to all the kings of Parthia.

† *Omnes, qui secundis rebus suis ad belli societatem orantur, considerare debent, liceatne tum pacem agere: dein quod quaritur, satisne pium, tutum, gloriosum, an indecorum sit. Tibi perpetuam pacem frui liceret nisi hostes opportuni & scelestissimi. Egregia fama, si Romanos oppresseris, futura est. Neque petere uideam societatem, & frustra mala mea cum tuis bonis misceri sperem.*

“ them is consistent with justice, their interest,  
 “ safety, and glory. You might enjoy perpetual  
 “ peace and tranquillity, were not the enemy always  
 “ intent upon seizing occasions of war, and undeter-  
 “ red by any crimes. In reducing the Romans, you  
 “ cannot but acquire the highest reputation. It may  
 “ seem inconsistent in me, to propose to you either  
 “ an alliance with Tigranes, or that you, powerful as  
 “ you are, should join a prince in my unfortu-  
 “ nate condition. But I dare assert, that those two  
 “ motives, your resentment against Tigranes upon  
 “ account of his late war with you, and the disad-  
 “ vantageous situation of my affairs, if you judge  
 “ rightly, far from opposing my demand, ought to  
 “ support it. For as to Tigranes, as he knows he  
 “ has given you just cause of complaint, he will ac-  
 “ cept, without difficulty, whatever conditions you  
 “ shall think fit to impose upon him; and for me, I  
 “ can say, that fortune, by having deprived me of  
 “ almost all I possessed, has enabled me to give  
 “ others good counsels, and, which is much to be  
 “ desired by persons in prosperity, I can, even  
 “ from my own misfortunes, supply you with ex-  
 “ amples, and induce you to take better measures  
 “ than I have done. For, do not deceive yourself,  
 “ it is with all the nations, states and kingdoms of  
 “ the earth, that the Romans are at war; and two  
 “ motives, as ancient as powerful, put their arms into  
 “ their hands: the unbounded ambition of extending  
 “ their conquests, and the insatiable thirst of riches.”  
 Mithridates afterwards enumerates at large the princes  
 and kings whom they had reduced one after another,

*Atqui ea, quæ te morari posse videntur, ira in Tigranem recentis  
 belli, & meæ res parùm prosperæ, si vera æstimare voles, maximè  
 hortabuntur. Ille enim obnoxius, qualem tu voles societatem ac-  
 cipiet: mihi fortuna, multis rebus ereptis, usum dedit bene sua-  
 dendendi, & quod florentibus optabile est, ego non validissimus præbeo  
 exemplum, quo rectiùs tua componas. Namque Romanis cum  
 nationibus, populis, regibus cunctis, una & ea vetus causa bellandi  
 est, cupido profunda imperii & divitiarum.*



and often by means of one another. He repeats also his first successes against the Romans, and his late misfortunes. He goes on to this effect: "Examine now\*, I beg you, whether, when we are finally ruined, you will be in a condition to resist the Romans, or can believe, that they will confine their conquests to my country? I know you are powerful in men, in arms, and treasure; it is for that reason we desire to strengthen ourselves by your alliance; they, to grow rich by your spoils. For the rest, it is the intention of Tigranes, to avoid drawing the war into his own country, that we shall go with all my troops, which are certainly well disciplined, to carry our arms far from home, and attack the enemy in person in their own country. We cannot therefore either conquer or be conquered, without your being in danger. Do you not know, that the Romans, when they found

\* *Nunc quæso, considera, nobis oppressis, utrùm firmiorem te ad resistendum, an finem belli futurum putes? Scio equidem tibi magnas opes virorum, armorum, & auri esse: & eâ re nobis ad societatem, ab illis ad prædam peteris. Cæterùm consilium est Tigranis, regno integro, meis militibus belli prudentibus, præcul ab domo, præculo labore, per nostra corpora bellum conficere: quando neque vincere neque vincî sine periculo tuo possumus. An ignoras Romanos, postquam ad occidentem pergentibus finem oceanus fecit, arma huc convertisse? Neque quicquam à principio nisi raptum habere; domum, conjuges, agros, imperium? Contenas; olim sine patriâ, sine parentibus, peste conditos orbis terrarum: quibus non humana ulli neque divina obstant, quin socios, amicos, præcul juxtâque sitos, inopes, potentesque trahant, exciduntque; omniique non serva, & maximè regna, hostilia ducant. Namque pauci libertatem, pars magna justos dominos volunt. Nos suspecti sumus æmuli, & in tempore vindices affuturi. Tu verd cui Seleucia maxima urbium, regnumque Persidis inclitis divitiis est, quid ab illis, nisi dolam in præsens, & postea bellum expectas? Romani in omnes arma habent, acerrima in eos quibus spolia maxima sunt. Audendo & fallendo, et bellu ex bellis serendo, magni facti. Per hunc morem extinguunt omnia, aut occidunt: quod difficile non est, si tu Mesopotamiâ, nos Armeniâ, circumgredimur exercitum sine frumento, sine auxiliis. Fortuna autem nostris vitis adhuc incolumis. Teque illa fama sequetur, auxilio profectum magnis regibus latrones gentium oppressisse. Quod uti facias moneo hortorque, neu malis pernicie nostrâ unum imperium probare, quàm societate victor fieri.*

“ themselves stopped by the ocean in the West,  
“ turned their arms this way? That to look back  
“ to their foundation and origin, whatever they  
“ have, they have from violence: home, wives,  
“ lands, and dominions. A vile herd of every  
“ kind of vagabonds, without country, without fore-  
“ fathers, they established themselves for the mis-  
“ fortune of the human race. Neither divine, nor  
“ human laws restrain them from betraying and de-  
“ stroying their allies and friends, remote nations  
“ or neighbours, the weak or the powerful. They  
“ reckon as enemies all that are not their slaves;  
“ and especially whatever bears the name of king.  
“ For few nations affect a free and independent  
“ government; the generality prefer just and equit-  
“ able masters. They suspect us, because we are  
“ said to emulate their power, and may in time  
“ avenge their oppressions. But for you, who have  
“ Seleucia, the greatest of cities, and Persia, the  
“ richest and most powerful of kingdoms, what can  
“ you expect from them but deceit at present, and  
“ war hereafter? The Romans are at war with all  
“ nations; but especially with those from whom the  
“ richest spoils are to be expected. They are be-  
“ come great by boldly enterprising, betraying, and  
“ by making one war bring forth another. By this  
“ means, they will either destroy all others, or be  
“ destroyed themselves. It will not be difficult to  
“ ruin them, if you, on the side of Mesopotamia, and  
“ we on that of Armenia, surround their army, which  
“ will be without provisions or auxiliaries. The  
“ prosperity of their arms has subsisted hitherto  
“ solely by our fault, who have not been so pru-  
“ dent as to appreciate the views of this common  
“ enemy, and to ally ourselves against him. It will  
“ be for your immortal glory to have supported  
“ two great kings, and to have conquered and  
“ destroyed those robbers of the world. This is  
“ what I earnestly advise and exhort you to do:  
“ by warning you to choose rather to share with

“ us, by a salutary alliance, in the conquest of the  
 “ common enemy, than to suffer the Roman empire  
 “ to extend itself universally by our ruin.”

It does not appear that this letter had the effect upon Phraates, which Mithridates might have hoped from it. So that the two kings contented themselves with their own troops.

<sup>z</sup> One of the means made use of by Tigranes to assemble a new army was to recal Megalates from Syria, who had governed it fourteen years in his name: to him he sent orders to join him with all the troops in that country. Syria<sup>a</sup> being thereby entirely ungarrisoned, Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eupator, to whom it of right appertained, as lawful heir of the house of Seleucus, took possession of some part of the country, and reigned there peaceably during four years.

<sup>b</sup> The army of Tigranes and Mithridates was at last formed. It consisted of seventy thousand chosen men, whom Mithridates had trained well in the Roman discipline. It was about midsummer before it took the field. The two kings took particular care, in all the movements they made, to choose an advantageous ground for their camp, and to fortify it well, to prevent Lucullus's attacking them in it; nor could all the stratagems he used engage them to come to a battle. Their design was to reduce him gradually; to harass his troops on their marches, in order to weaken them; to intercept his convoys, and oblige him to quit the country for want of provisions. Lucullus not being able, by all the arts he could use, to bring them into the open field, employed a new plan, which succeeded. Tigranes had left at Artaxata, the capital of Armenia before the foundation of Tigranocerta, his wives and children; and there he had deposited almost all his treasures. Lucullus marched that way with all his troops, rightly

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<sup>z</sup> Appian. in Syr. p. 118, 119.      <sup>a</sup> Justin. lib. xl. c. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Plut. in Lucul. p. 513—515.

foreseeing that Tigranes would not remain quiet, when he saw the danger to which his capital was exposed. That prince accordingly decamped immediately, followed Lucullus to disconcert his design; and by four great marches having got before him, posted himself behind the river Arsamia\*, which Lucullus was obliged to pass in his way to Artaxata, and resolved to dispute the passage with him. The Romans passed the river without being prevented by the presence or efforts of the enemy, a great battle ensued, in which the Romans again obtained a complete victory. There were three kings in the Armenian army, of whom Mithridates behaved the worst. For not being able to look the Roman legions in the face, as soon as they charged, he was one of the first who fled; which threw the whole army into such a consternation, that it entirely lost courage; and this was the principal cause of the loss of the battle.

° Lucullus, after this victory, determined to continue his march to Artaxata, which was the certain means to put an end to the war. But as that city was still several days' journey from thence towards the north, and winter was approaching with its train of snows and storms, the soldiers †, already fatigued by a sufficiently rough campaign, refused to follow him into that country, where the cold was too severe for them. He was obliged to lead them into a warmer climate, by returning the way he came.

He therefore repassed mount Taurus, and entered Mesopotamia, where he took the city Nisibis, a place of considerable strength, and put his troops into winter-quarters.

° Dion Cas. l. xxxvii. p. 3--7.

\* Or Arsania.

† *Noster exercitus, etsi urbem ex Tigranis regno ceperat, & praeliis usus erat secundis, tamen nimia longinquitate locorum, ac desiderio suorum commovebatur.* Cic. pro leg. Man. n. 23.

It was there that the spirit of mutiny began to show itself openly in the army of Lucullus. That general's severity, and the insolent liberty of the Roman soldiers, and still more the malignant practices of Clodius, had given occasion for this revolt. Clodius, so well known by the invectives of Cicero his enemy, is hardly better treated by historians. They represent him as a man abandoned to all kind of vices, and infamous for his debaucheries, which he carried so far as to commit incest with his own sister, the wife of Lucullus; to these he added unbounded audacity, and uncommon cunning in the contrivance of seditions: in a word, he was one of those dangerous persons, born to disturb and ruin every thing, by the unhappy union in himself of the most wicked inclinations with the talents necessary for putting them in execution. He gave a proof of this upon the occasion of which we are now speaking. Discontented with Lucullus, he secretly spread reports against him, well calculated to render him odious. He affected to lament extremely the fatigues of the soldiers, and to enter into their interests. He told them every day, that they were very unfortunate, in being obliged to serve so long under a severe and avaricious general, in a remote climate, without lands or rewards, whilst their fellow-soldiers, whose conquests were very moderate in comparison with theirs, had enriched themselves under Pompey. Discourses of this kind, attended with obliging and affable behaviour, which he knew how to assume occasionally without the appearance of affectation, made such an impression upon the soldiers, that it was no longer in the power of Lucullus to govern them.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had re-entered Pontus with four thousand of his own troops, and four thousand given him by Tigranes. \* Several

\* *Mithridates & suam manum jam confirmarat, & eorum qui se ex ejus regno collegerant, & magnis adventitiis multorum regum*

inhabitants of the country joined him again, as well out of hatred to the Romans, who had treated them with great rigour, as the remains of affection for their king, reduced to the mournful condition in which they saw him from the most splendid fortune and exalted greatness. For the misfortunes of princes naturally excite compassion, and there is generally a profound respect engraven in the hearts of the people for the name and person of kings. Mithridates, encouraged and strengthened by these new aids, and the troops which several neighbouring states and princes sent him, resumed courage, and saw himself, more than ever, in a condition to make head against the Romans. † So that not contented with being re-established in his dominions, which a moment before he did not so much as hope ever to see again, he had the boldness to attack the Roman troops so often victorious, beat a body of them, commanded by Tabius, and after having put them to the rout, pressed Triarius and Sornatius, two other of Lucullus's lieutenants in that country, with great vigour.

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Lucullus at length engaged his soldiers to quit their winter-quarters, and to go to their aid. But they arrived too late. Friarius had imprudently ventured a battle, in which Mithridates had defeated him, and killed him seven thousand men; amongst whom were reckoned an hundred and fifty centurions and

*& nationum copiis jurabatur. Hoc jam ferè sic fieri solere accepimus; ut regum afflictæ fortunæ faciliè multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam, maximèque eorum qui aut reges sunt, aut vivunt in regno: quòd regale iis nomen magnum & sanctum esse videatur.*  
Cic. pro leg. Manil. n. 24.

† *Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis nunquam est ausus optare. Nam cum se in regnum recepisset suum, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei præter spem acciderat, ut eam, postea quam pulsus erat, terram unquam attingeret: sed in exercitum vestrum clarum atque victorem impetum fecit.*—Cic. pro leg. Manil. n. 25.

twenty-four tribunes\*, which made this one of the greatest losses the Romans had sustained for a great while. The army would have been entirely defeated, but for a wound Mithridates had received, which exceedingly alarmed his troops, and gave the enemy time to escape. Lucullus, upon his arrival, found the dead bodies upon the field of battle, and did not give orders for their interment: which still more exasperated his soldiers against him. The spirit of revolt rose so high, that, without any regard for his character as general, they treated him no longer but with insolence and contempt; and though he went from tent to tent, and almost from man to man, to conjure them to march against Mithridates and Tigranes, he could never prevail upon them to quit the place where they were. They answered him brutally, that as he had no thoughts but of enriching himself alone out of the spoils of the enemy, he might march alone, and fight them if he thought fit.

\* *Quæ calamitas tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures L. Luculli, non ex prælio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor afferret. Cic. pro leg. Manil. n. 25.*

SECT. IV. *Mithridates, taking advantage of the discord which had arisen in the Roman army, recovers all his dominions. Pompey is chosen to succeed Lucullus. He overthrows Mithridates in several battles. The latter flies in vain to Tigranes his son-in-law for refuge, who is engaged in a war with his own son. Pompey marches into Armenia against Tigranes, who comes to him and surrenders himself. Weary of pursuing Mithridates to no purpose, he returns into Syria, makes himself master of that kingdom, and puts an end to the empire of the Seleucidæ. He marches back to Pontus. Pharnaces makes the army revolt against his father Mithridates, who kills himself. That prince's character. Pompey's expeditions into Arabia and Judæa, where he takes Jerusalem. After having reduced all the cities of Pontus, he returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph.*

**MANIUS** Acilius Glabrio and C. Piso had been elected consuls at Rome. The first had Bithynia and Pontus for his province, where Lucullus commanded. The senate, at the same time, disbanded Fimbria's legions, which were part of his army. All this news augmented the disobedience and insolence of the troops towards Lucullus.

<sup>d</sup> It is true, his rough, austere, and frequently haughty disposition gave some room for such usage. He cannot be denied the glory of having been one of the greatest captains of his age; and of having had almost all the qualities that form a complete general. But one was wanting which diminished the merit of all the rest; I mean the art of gaining the

<sup>d</sup> Dion Cass. l. xxxv. p. 7.



affections, and making himself beloved by the soldiers. He was difficult of access; rough in commanding; carried exactitude, in point of duty, to an excess that made it odious; was inexorable in punishing offences; and did not know how to conciliate good will by praises and rewards opportunely bestowed, an air of kindness and favour, and insinuating manners, still more efficacious than either gifts or praises. And what proves that the sedition of the troops was in a great measure his own fault, was their being very docile and obedient under Pompey.

In consequence of the letters which Lucullus had written to the senate, in which he acquainted them, that Mithridates was entirely defeated, and utterly incapable of retrieving himself, commissioners had been nominated to regulate the affairs of Pontus, as of a kingdom totally reduced. They were much surprised to find, upon their arrival, that far from being master of Pontus, he was not so much as master of his army, and that his own soldiers treated him with the utmost contempt.

The arrival of the consul Acilius Glabrio still added to their licentiousness. \* He informed them, that Lucullus had been accused at Rome of protracting the war for the sake of continuing his command; that the senate had disbanded part of his troops, and forbade them paying him any further obedience. So that he soon found himself almost entirely abandoned by the soldiers; Mithridates, taking advantage of this disorder, had time to recover his whole kingdom, and to make great ravages in Cappadocia.

Whilst the affairs of the army were in this condition, great noise was made at Rome against Lucullus. † Pompey had just put an end to the war with the

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\* Plut. in Pomp. p. 634. App. p. 238. Dion Cass. l. xxxv. p. 20.

† *In ipso illo malo gravissimâque belli offensione, L. Lucullus qui tamen aliquâ ex parte iis incommodis mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, quod imperii diuturnitati modum statuendum, veteri exemplo, putavistis, partem militum, qui jam stipendiis confectis erant, dimisit, partem Glabrioni tradidit.* Cic. pro leg. Manil. n. 26,

pirates, for which an extraordinary power had been granted to him. Upon this occasion, one of the tribunes of the people, named Manilius, proposed a decree to this effect: "That Pompey, taking upon  
 " him the command of all the troops and provinces  
 " which were under Lucullus, and adding to them  
 " Bithynia, where Acilius commanded, should be  
 " charged with the conduct of the war against the  
 " kings Mithridates and Tigranes, retaining under  
 " him all the naval forces, and continuing to com-  
 " mand at sea with the same conditions and preroga-  
 " tives as had been granted him in the war against  
 " the pirates: That is to say, that he should have  
 " absolute power on all the coasts of the Mediterra-  
 " nean, to thirty leagues' distance from the sea." This was, in effect, subjecting the whole Roman empire to one man. For all the provinces which had not been granted him by the first decree, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, the higher Colchis, and Armenia, were conferred upon him by this second, which included also all the armies and forces, with which Lucullus had defeated the two kings, Mithridates and Tigranes.

Consideration for Lucullus, who was deprived of the glory of his great exploits, and in the place of whom a general was appointed to succeed more to the honours of his triumph than the command of his armies, was not, however, what gave the nobility and senate most concern. They were well convinced that great wrong was done him, and that his services were not treated with the gratitude they deserved: But what gave them most pain, and what they could not support, was that high degree of power to which Pompey was raised, which they considered as a tyranny already formed. For this reason they exhorted each other in private, and mutually encouraged one another to oppose this decree, and not abandon their expiring liberty.

Cæsar and Cicero, who were very powerful at Rome, supported Manilius, or rather Pompey, with

all their credit. It was upon this occasion, that the latter pronounced that fine oration before the people, entitled, "For the law of Manilius." After having demonstrated, in the two first parts of his discourse, the necessity and importance of the war in question, he proves, in the third, that Pompey is the only person capable of terminating it successfully. For this purpose, he enumerates at length the qualities necessary to form a general of an army, and shows that Pompey possesses them all in a supreme degree. He insists principally upon his probity, humanity, innocence of manners, integrity, disinterestedness, love of the public good: "Virtues, by so much the more necessary (says he) as the \*Roman name is become infamous and hateful amongst foreign nations, and our allies, in consequence of the debauches, avarice, and unheard-of oppressions of the generals and magistrates we send amongst them. †Instead of which, the wise, moderate, and irreproachable conduct of Pompey will make him be regarded, not as sent from Rome, but descended from heaven, for the happiness of the nations. People begin to believe, that all which is related of the noble disinterestedness of those ancient Romans is real and true; and that it was not without reason, under such magistrates, that nations chose rather to obey the Roman people than to command others."

Pompey was at that time the idol of the people, wherefore the fear of displeasing the multitude kept

\* *Difficile est dictu, Quirites quanto in odio simus apud ceteras nationes, propter eorum, quos ad eas hoc anno cum imperio misimus, injurias ac libidines. Cic. pro leg. Man. n. 61.*

† *Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeium, sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de caelo delansum intuentur. Nunc denique incipiunt credere, fuisse homines Romanos hanc quondam abstinentiam, quod jam nationibus ceteris incredibile ac falsum memoriam proditum videbatur. Nunc imperii nostri splendor illis gentibus lucret: nunc intelligunt, non sine causa majores suos tum, cum hac temperantia magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano, quam imperare illis voluisse. Ibid. l. 41.*

those grave senators silent, who had appeared so well inclined, and so full of courage. The decree was authorised by the suffrages of all the tribes, and Pompey, though absent, declared absolute master of almost all Sylla had usurped by arms, and by making a cruel war upon his country.

<sup>f</sup> We must not imagine, says a very judicious historian, that either Cæsar or Cicero, who took so much pains to have this law passed, acted from views of the public good. Cæsar, full of ambition and great projects, endeavoured to make his court to the people, whose authority he knew was at that time much greater than the senate's: he thereby opened himself a way to the same power, and familiarised the Romans to extraordinary and unlimited commissions: in heaping upon the head of Pompey so many favours and glaring distinctions, he flattered himself that he should at length render him odious to the people, who would soon take offence at them. So that in lifting him up, he had no other design than to prepare a precipice for him. Cicero also had in view only his own greatness. His weakness was to desire to bear sway in the commonwealth, not indeed by guilt and violence, but by the method of persuasion. Besides his wish to support himself by the influence of Pompey, he was very well pleased with showing the nobility and people, who formed two parties, and, in a manner, two republics in the state, that he was capable of making the balance incline to the side he espoused. It was always his policy to conciliate equally both parties, in declaring sometimes for the one, and sometimes for the other.

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<sup>g</sup> Pompey, who had lately terminated the war with the pirates, was still in Cilicia, when he received letters to inform him of all the people had decreed in his favour. When his friends, who were

<sup>f</sup> Dion Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 20, 21.

<sup>g</sup> Plut. in Pomp. 634—636. Dion Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 22—23. App. p. 233.

present, congratulated him, and expressed their joy, it is said, that he knit his brows, struck his thigh, and cried out as if oppressed by, and sorry for, that new command; "Gods! what endless labours am I devoted to? Should I not have been more happy as a man unknown and inglorious? Shall I never cease to make war, nor ever have my arms off my back? Shall I never escape the envy that persecutes me, nor live at peace in the country with my wife and children!"

This is usually enough the language of the ambitious, even of those who are most inordinately actuated by that passion. But, however, successful they may be in imposing upon themselves, it seldom happens that they deceive others; and the public is far from mistaking them. The friends of Pompey, and even those who were most intimate with him, could not support his dissimulation at this time. For there was not one of them who did not know, that his natural ambition and passion for command, still more inflamed by his quarrel with Lucullus, made him find a more refined and sensible satisfaction in the new charge conferred upon him; and his actions soon took off the mask, and discovered his real sentiments.

The first step which he took upon arriving in the provinces of his government was to forbid any obedience whatsoever to the orders of Lucullus. In his march he altered every thing which his predecessor had decreed. He exonerated some from the penalties Lucullus had laid upon them; deprived others of the rewards he had given them; in short, his sole view in every thing was to let the partisans of Lucullus see that they adhered to a man who had neither authority nor power. <sup>b</sup> Strabo's uncle, by the mother's side, highly discontented with Mithridates for having put to death several of his relations, to avenge himself for that cruelty, had gone over to Lucullus,

<sup>b</sup> Strab. l. xii. p. 557—558. ,

and had given up fifteen places in Cappadocia to him. Lucullus loaded him with honours, and promised to reward him as such considerable services deserved. Pompey, far from having any regard for such just and reasonable engagements, which his predecessor had entered into solely from the view of the public good, affected an universal opposition to them, and looked upon all those as his enemies who had contracted any friendship with Lucullus.

It is not uncommon for a successor to endeavour to lessen the value of his predecessor's actions, in order to arrogate all the honour to himself; but certainly none ever carried that conduct to such monstrous excess as Pompey did at this time. His great qualities and innumerable conquests are exceedingly extolled; but so base and odious a jealousy ought to sully, or rather totally eclipse the glory of them. Such was the manner in which Pompey thought fit to begin.

Lucullus made bitter complaints of this conduct. Their common friends, in order to a reconciliation, concerted an interview between them. It passed at first with all possible politeness, and with reciprocal marks of esteem and amity. But these were only compliments, and a language that extended no farther than the lips, which costs the great nothing. The heart soon explained itself. The conversation growing warm by degrees, they proceeded to invectives; Pompey reproaching Lucullus with his avarice, and Lucullus Pompey with his ambition, in which they spoke the truth of each other. They parted more incensed, and greater enemies than before.

Lucullus set out for Rome, whither he carried a great quantity of books, which he had collected in his conquests. Of these he formed a library, which was open to all the learned and curious, whom it drew about him in great numbers. They were received at his house with all possible politeness and generosity. The honour of a triumph was granted to Lucullus, but not without being long contested.

<sup>1</sup> It was he who first brought cherries to Rome, which, till then, had been unknown in Europe. They were thus called from Cerasus, a city in Cappadocia.

Pompey began, by engaging Phraates king of the Parthians in the Roman interest. He has been spoken of already, and is the same who was surnamed *the god*. He concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with him. He offered peace also to Mithridates; but that prince, believing himself sure of the amity and aid of Phraates, would not so much as hear it mentioned. When he was informed that Pompey had anticipated him, he sent to treat with him. But Pompey having demanded by way of preliminary, that he should lay down his arms, and give up all deserters, those proposals were very near occasioning a mutiny in Mithridates's army. As there were abundance of deserters in it, they could not suffer any thing to be said upon delivering them up to Pompey; nor would the rest of the army consent to see themselves weakened by the loss of their comrades. To appease them Mithridates was obliged to tell them, that he had sent his ambassadors only to inspect the condition of the Roman army; and to swear that he would not make peace with the Romans either on those or on any other conditions.

Pompey, having distributed his fleet in different stations, to guard the whole sea between Phœnicia and the Bosphorus, marched by land against Mithridates, who had still thirty thousand foot, and two or three thousand horse; but did not dare however to come to a battle. That prince was encamped very strongly upon a mountain, where he could not be forced; but he abandoned it on Pompey's approach, for want of water. Pompey immediately took possession of it, and conjecturing, from the nature of the plants and other signs, that there was an abundance of springs within it, he ordered wells

<sup>1</sup> Plin. l. xv. c. 25.

to be dug, and in an instant the camp had water in abundance. Pompey could not sufficiently wonder how Mithridates, for want of attention and curiosity, had been so long ignorant of so important and necessary a resource.

Soon after he followed him, encamped near him, and shut him up within strong walls, which he carried quite round his camp. They were almost eight \* leagues in circumference, and were fortified with strong towers, at proper distances from each other. Mithridates, either through fear or negligence, suffered him to finish his works. Pompey's plan was to starve him out. And in fact he reduced him to such a want of provisions, that his troops were obliged to subsist upon the carriage-beasts in their camp. The horses alone were spared. After having sustained this kind of siege for almost fifty days, Mithridates escaped by night undiscovered, with all the best troops of his army, having first ordered all the useless and sick persons to be killed.

Pompey immediately pursued him, came up with him near the Euphrates, encamped near him; and apprehending, that, in order to escape, he would make haste to pass the river, he quitted his entrenchments, and advanced against him by night in order of battle. His design was merely to surround the enemy, to prevent their flying, and to attack them at day-break the next morning. But all his old officers made such intreaties and remonstrances to him, that they induced him to fight without waiting till day; for the night was not very dark, the moon giving light enough for distinguishing objects, and knowing one another. Pompey could not withstand the ardour of his troops, and led them on against the enemy. The Barbarians were afraid to stand the attack, and fled immediately in the utmost consternation. The Romans made a great slaughter of them, killed above ten thousand men, and took their whole camp.

\* One hundred and fifty stadia.



Mithridates, with eight hundred horse, in the beginning of the battle; opened himself a way sword in hand through the Roman army, and went off. But those eight hundred horse soon quitted their ranks and dispersed, and left him with only three followers, of which number was Hypsicratia, one of his wives, a woman of masculine courage and warlike boldness; which occasioned her being called Hypsicrates<sup>k</sup>, by changing the termination of her name from the feminine to the masculine. She was mounted that day upon a Persian horse, and wore the habit of a soldier of that nation. She continued to attend the king, without giving way to the fatigues of his long journies, or being weary of serving him, though she took care of his horse herself, till they arrived at a fortress; where the king's treasures and most precious effects lay. There, after having distributed the most magnificent of his robes to such as were assembled about him, he made a present to each of his friends of a mortal poison, that none of them might fall alive into the hands of their enemies, but by their own consent.

<sup>1</sup> That unhappy fugitive saw no other hopes for him, than from his son-in-law Tigranes. He sent ambassadors to demand his permission to take refuge in his dominions, and aid for the re-establishment of his entirely ruined affairs. Tigranes was at that time at war with his son. He caused those ambassadors to be seized, and thrown into prison, and set a price upon his father-in-law's head, promising an hundred \* talents to whosoever should seize or kill him; under pretence, that it was Mithridates who had made his son take up arms against him; but in reality to make his court to the Romans, as we shall soon see.

Pompey, after the victory he had gained, marched

<sup>k</sup> *Ultra fœminam ferox.* TACIT.

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Pomp. p. 636, 637. Appian. l. 242. Dion Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 25, 26.

\* A hundred thousand crowns.

into Armenia Major against Tigranes. He found him at war with his son who bore the same name with himself. We have already mentioned that the king of Armenia had espoused Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates. He had three sons by her, two of whom he had put to death without reason. The third, to escape the cruelty of so unnatural a father, had fled to Phraates, king of Parthia, whose daughter he had married. His father-in-law carried him back to Armenia at the head of an army, where they besieged Artaxata. But finding the place very strong, and provided with every thing necessary for a good defence, Phraates left him part of the army to carry on the siege, and returned with the rest into his own dominions. Tigranes, the father, soon after fell upon the son with all his troops, beat his army, and drove them out of the country. That young prince, after this misfortune, had designed to withdraw to his grandfather Mithridates. But on the way he was informed of his defeat, and, having lost all hope of obtaining aid from him, he resolved to throw himself into the arms of the Romans. Accordingly, he entered their camp, and went to Pompey to implore his protection. Pompey gave him a very good reception, and was glad of his coming; for, being to carry the war into Armenia, he had occasion for such a guide as he. He therefore caused that prince to conduct him directly to Artaxata.

Tigranes, terrified at this news, and sensible that he was not in a condition to oppose so powerful an army, resolved to have recourse to the generosity and clemency of the Roman general. He put into his hands the ambassadors sent to him by Mithridates, and followed them directly himself. Without taking any precaution, he entered the Roman camp, and went to submit his person and crown to the discretion of Pompey and the Romans. \* He said,

\* *Mox ipse supplex & præsens se regnumque ditioni ejus permisit, præfatus: neminem alium neque Romanum neque ullius gentis virum futurum fuisse, cujus se fidei commissurus foret quam Cn. Pom-*

That of all the Romans, and of all mankind, Pompey was the only person in whose faith he could confide; that, in whatsoever manner he should decide his fate, he should be satisfied; that he was not ashamed to be conquered by a man whom none could conquer; and that it was no dishonour to submit to him, whom fortune had made superior to all others.

When he arrived on horseback near the entrenchments of the camp, two of Pompey's lictors came out to meet him, and ordered him to dismount and enter on foot; telling him that no stranger had ever been known to enter a Roman camp on horseback. Tigranes obeyed, ungirt his sword, and gave it to the lictors; and afterwards, when he approached Pompey, taking off his diadem, he would have laid it at his feet, and prostrated himself to the earth to embrace his knees. But Pompey ran to prevent him, and taking him by the hand, carried him into his tent, made him sit on the right, and his son, the young Tigranes, on the left side of him. After which he deferred hearing what he had to say to the next day, and invited the father and son to sup with him that evening. The son refused to be there with his father; and as he had not shown him the least mark of respect during the interview, and had treated him with the same indifference as if he had been a stranger, Pompey was very much offended at that behaviour. He did not, however, entirely neglect his interests in determining upon the affair of Tigranes. After having condemned Tigranes to pay the Romans \* six thousand talents for the charges of the war he had made against them without cause, and to relinquish to them all his conquests on the hither side of the Euphrates, he decreed, that he should reign in his

*peium. Proinde omnem sibi vel adversam vel secundam, cujus auctor ille esset, fortunam, tolerabilem futuram. Non esse turpe ab eo vinci, quem vincere esset nefas: neque ei in honestè aliquem summitti, quem fortuna super omnes extulisset. VEL. PATIRC. l. ii. c. 37.*

\* About 900,000 l. sterling.

ancient kingdom Armenia Major, and that his son should have Gordiana and Sophena, two provinces upon the borders of Armenia, during his father's life, and all the rest of his dominions after his death; reserving, however, to the father the treasures he had in Sophena, without which it would have been impossible for him to have paid the Romans the sum which Pompey required of him.

The father was well satisfied with these conditions, which still left him a crown. But the son, who had entertained chimerical hopes, could not relish a decree which deprived him of what had been promised him. He was even so much discontented with it, that he wanted to escape, in order to excite new troubles. Pompey, who suspected his design, ordered him to be always kept in view; and, upon his absolutely refusing to consent that his father should withdraw his treasures from Sophena, he caused him to be put into prison. Afterwards, having discovered that he solicited the Armenian nobility to take up arms, and endeavoured to engage the Parthians to do the same, he put him amongst those whom he reserved for his triumph.

A short time after, Phraates, king of the Parthians, sent to Pompey, to claim that young prince as his son-in-law; and to represent to him, that he ought to make the Euphrates the boundary of his conquests. Pompey made answer, that the younger Tigranes was more related to his father than his father-in-law; and that as to his conquests, he should give them such bounds as reason and justice required; but without being prescribed them by any one.

When Tigranes had been suffered to possess himself of his treasures in Sophena, he paid the six thousand talents, and besides that, gave every private soldier in the Roman army fifty \* drachmas, a † thou-

\* About 22s.

† About 25l. sterling.

sand to each centurion, and ten thousand to each \* tribune; and by that liberality obtained the title of friend and ally of the Roman people. This would have been pardonable, had he not added to it abject behaviour and submissions unworthy of a king.

Pompey gave all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and added to it Sophena and Gordiana, which he had designed for young Tigranes.

<sup>m</sup> After having regulated every thing in Armenia, Pompey marched northwards in pursuit of Mithridates. Upon the banks of the † Cyrus he found the Albanians and Iberians, two powerful nations, situate between the Caspian and Euxine seas, who endeavoured to stop him; but he beat them, and obliged the Albanians to demand peace. He granted it, and passed the winter in their country.

The next year he took the field very early against the Iberians. This was a very warlike nation, and had never hitherto been conquered. It had always retained its liberty, during the time that the Medes, Persians, and Macedonians, had successively possessed the empire of Asia. Pompey found means to subdue this people, though not without very considerable difficulties, and obliged them to demand peace. The king of the Iberians sent him a bed, a table, and a throne all of massy gold; desiring him to accept those presents as earnest of his amity. Pompey put them into the hands of the quæstors for the public treasury. He also subjected the people of Colchis, and made their king Olthaces prisoner, whom he afterwards led in triumph. From thence he returned into Albania, to chastise that nation for having taken up arms again, whilst he was engaged with the Iberians and people of Colchis.

The army of the Albanians was commanded by Cosis, the brother of king Orodes. That prince, as

<sup>n</sup> Plut. in Pomp. p. 637. Dion Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 28—33.

Appian. p. 242, 245.

\* About 250l. sterling. † Called also Cyrnus by some authors.

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soon as the two armies came to blows, singled out Pompey, and spurring furiously up to him, darted his javelin at him. But Pompey received him so vigorously with his spear, that it went through his body, and laid him dead at his horse's feet. The Albanians were overthrown, and a great slaughter was made of them. This victory obliged king Orodes to buy a second peace upon the same terms with that which he had made with the Romans the year before, at the price of great presents, and by giving one of his sons as an hostage for his observing it better than he had done the former.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had passed the winter at Dioscurias, in the north-east of the Euxine sea. Early in the spring he marched to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, through several nations of the Scythians, some of which suffered him to pass voluntarily, and others were obliged to it by force. The kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus is the same which is now called Crim Tartary, and was at that time a province of Mithridates's empire. He had assigned it as an establishment to one of his sons, named Machares. But that young prince had been so vigorously pressed by the Romans, whilst they besieged Sinope, and their fleet was in possession of the Euxine sea, which lay between that city and his kingdom, that he had been obliged to make a peace with them, and had inviolably observed it till then. He well knew that his father was extremely displeased with such conduct, and therefore very much dreaded meeting him. In order to a reconciliation, he sent ambassadors to him upon his route, who represented to him, that he had been reduced to act in that manner, contrary to his inclination, by the necessity of his affairs. But finding that his father would not hearken to his reasons, he endeavoured to escape by sea, and was taken by vessels sent expressly by Mithridates to cruise in his way. He chose rather to die than fall into his father's hands.

Pompey, having terminated the war in the North,

and seeing it impossible to follow Mithridates in the remote country into which he had retired, led back his army to the south, and on his march subjected Darius, king of the Medes, and Antiochus, king of Comagena. He went on to Syria, and made himself master of the whole empire. Scaurus reduced Cœlo-syria and Damascus, and Gabinius all the rest of the country, as far as the Tygris; they were two of his lieutenant-generals. <sup>a</sup> Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eusebes, heir of the house of the Seleucidæ, who, by Lucullus's permission, had reigned four years in part of that country, of which he had taken possession when Tigranes abandoned it, came to solicit him to re-establish him upon the throne of his ancestors. But Pompey refused to give him audience, and deprived him of all his dominions, which he made a Roman province. Thus, whilst Tigranes was left in possession of Armenia, who had done the Romans great hurt, during the course of a long war, Antiochus was dethroned, who had never committed the least hostility, and by no means deserved such treatment. The reason given for it was, that the Romans had conquered Syria from Tigranes: that it was not just that they should lose the fruit of their victory; that Antiochus was a prince who had neither the courage nor capacity necessary for the defence of the country; and that to put it into his hands would be to expose it to the perpetual ravages and incursions of the Jews and Arabians, which Pompey took care not to do. In consequence of this way of reasoning, Antiochus lost his crown, and was reduced to the necessity of passing his life as a private person. In him ended the empire of the Seleucidæ, after a duration of almost two hundred and fifty years.

During these expeditions of the Romans in Asia, great revolutions happened in Egypt. The Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up

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<sup>a</sup> Appian. in Syr. p. 133. Justin. l. xl. c. 2.

arms, and, after having expelled him, called in Ptolemy Auletes to supply his place. That history will be treated at large in the ensuing article.

° Pompey afterwards went to Damascus, where he regulated several affairs relating to Egypt and Judea. During his residence there, twelve crowned heads went thither to make their court to him, and were all in the city at the same time.

° A fine contention between the love of a father and the duty of a son was seen at this time, a very extraordinary contest in those days, when the most horrid murders and parricides frequently opened the way to thrones. Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, voluntarily resigned the crown in favour of his son, and put the diadem on his head in the presence of Pompey. The most sincere tears flowed in abundance from the eyes of the son, who was truly afflicted for what others would have highly rejoiced. It was the sole occasion in which he thought disobedience allowable; and he would have \* persisted in refusing the sceptre, if Pompey's orders had not interfered, and obliged him at length to submit to paternal authority. This is the second example Cappadocia has displayed of such a contest of generosity. We have spoken in its place of a similar contest between the two Ariarathes.

As Mithridates was in possession of several strong places in Pontus and Cappadocia, Pompey judged it necessary to return thither in order to reduce them. He made himself master of almost all of them upon his arrival, and afterwards wintered at Aspis, a city of Pontus.

Stratonice, one of Mithridates's wives, surrendered a castle of the Bosphorus, which she had in her keeping, to Pompey, with the treasures concealed in it, demanding only for recompence, that if her son

° Plut. in Pomp. p. 638, 639. P Val. Max. l. v. c. 7.

\* *Nec ullum finem tam egregium certamen habuisset, nisi patrię voluntati auctoritas Pompeii adfuisset.* Val. Max.



Xiphares should fall into his hands, he should be restored to her. Pompey accepted only such of those presents as would serve for the ornaments of temples. When Mithridates knew what Stratonice had done, to revenge her facility in surrendering that fortress, which he considered as a treason, he killed Xiphares in his mother's sight, who beheld that sad spectacle from the other side of the strait.

Caina, or the new city, was the strongest place in Pontus, and therefore Mithridates kept the greatest part of his treasures, and whatever he had of greatest value, in that place, which he conceived impregnable. Pompey took it, and with it all that Mithridates had left in it. Amongst other things were found secret memoirs, written by himself, which gave a very good light into his character. - In one part he had noted down the persons he had poisoned, amongst whom were his own son Ariarathes, and Alcæus of Sardis; the latter, because he had carried the prize in the chariot-race against him. What fantastical records were these! Was he afraid that the public and posterity should not be informed of his monstrous crimes, and his motives for committing them?

<sup>9</sup> His memoirs of physic were also found there, which Pompey caused to be translated into Latin by Lenæus, a good grammarian, one of his freedmen; and they were afterwards made public in that language. For, amongst the other extraordinary qualities of Mithridates, he was very skilful in medicine. It was he who invented the excellent antidote which still bears his name, and from which Physicians have experienced such effects, that they continue to use it successfully to this day.

<sup>r</sup> Pompey, during his stay at Aspis, made such regulations in the affairs of the country, as the state

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<sup>9</sup> Plin. l. xxv. c. 20.

<sup>r</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. 5, 6. Plut. in Pomp. p. 639—641.  
Dion Cas. l. xxxvii. p. 34—36. Appian. p. 246—251.

of them would admit. As soon as the spring returned, he marched back into Syria for the same purpose. He did not think it adviseable to pursue Mithridates in the kingdom of Bosphorus, whither he was returned. To do that, he must have marched round the Euxine sea with an army, and passed through many countries, either inhabited by barbarous nations, or entirely desert; a very dangerous enterprise, in which he would have run great risk of perishing. So that all Pompey could do was to post the Roman fleet in such a manner as to intercept any convoys that might be sent to Mithridates. He believed, by that means, he should be able to reduce him to the last extremity; and said, on setting out, that he left Mithridates more formidable enemies than the Romans, which were hunger and necessity.

What carried him with so much ardour into Syria was his excessive and vain-glorious ambition to push his conquests as far as the Red-sea. In Spain, and before that in Africa, he had carried the Roman arms as far as the western ocean on both sides of the straits of the Mediterranean. In the war against the Albanians, he had extended his conquests to the Caspian sea, and believed there was nothing wanting to his glory, but to push them on as far as the Red-sea. Upon his arrival in Syria, he declared Antioch and Seleucia, upon the Orontes, free cities, and continued his march towards Damascus; from whence he designed to have gone on against the Arabians, and afterwards to have conquered all the countries to the Red-sea. But an accident happened which obliged him to suspend all his projects, and to return into Pontus.

Some time before, an embassy had come to him from Mithridates, who demanded peace. He proposed, that he should be suffered to retain his hereditary dominions, as Tigranes had been, upon condition of paying a tribute to the Romans, and resigning all his other provinces. Pompey replied,

that then he should also come in person, as Tigranes had done. Mithridates could not consent to such a meanness, but proposed sending his children, and some of his principal friends. Pompey would not agree to that. The negociation broke off, and Mithridates applied himself to making preparations for war with as much vigour as ever. Pompey, who received advice of this activity, judged it necessary to be upon the spot, in order to have an eye to every thing. For that purpose, he went to pass some time at Amisus, the ancient capital of the country. There, through the just punishment of the gods, says Plutarch, his ambition made him commit faults, which drew upon him the blame of all the world. He had publicly charged and reproached Lucullus, for having, while the war still raged, disposed of provinces, given rewards, decreed honours, and acted in all things as victors are not accustomed to act, till a war is finally terminated; and now he fell into the same inconsistency himself. For he disposed of governments, and divided the dominions of Mithridates into provinces, as if the war had been at an end. But Mithridates still lived, and every thing was to be apprehended from a prince inexhaustible in resources, whom the greatest defeats could not disconcert, and whom losses themselves seemed to inspire with new courage, and to supply with new strength. And indeed at that very time, when he was believed to be irretrievably ruined, he was actually meditating a terrible invasion into the very heart of the Roman empire with the troops he had lately raised.

Pompey, in the distribution of rewards, gave Armenia Minor to Dejotarus, prince of Galatia, who had always continued firmly attached to the Roman interests during this war, to which he added the title of king. It was this Dejotarus who, by always persisting, through gratitude, in his adherence to Pompey, incurred the resentment of Cæsar, and had

occasion for the eloquence of Cicero to defend him.

He made Archelaus also high-priest of the Moon, who was the supreme goddess of the Comanians in Pontus, and gave him the sovereignty of the place, which contained at least six thousand persons, all devoted to the worship of that deity. I have already observed, that this Archelaus was the son of him who had commanded in chief the troops sent by Mithridates into Greece in his first war with the Romans, and who, being disgraced by that prince, had, with his son, taken refuge amongst them. They had always, from that time, continued their firm adherents, and had been of great use to them in the wars of Asia. The father being dead, the high-priesthood of Comana, and the sovereignty annexed to it, was given to the son, in recompence for the services of both.

During Pompey's stay in Pontus, Aretas, king of Arabia Petraea, took advantage of his absence to make incursions into Syria, which very much distressed the inhabitants. Pompey returned thither. Upon his way he came to the place where lay the dead bodies of the Romans killed in the defeat of Triarius. He caused them to be interred with great solemnity, which gained him the hearts of his soldiers. From thence he continued his march towards Syria, with the view of executing the projects he had formed for the war of Arabia; but news of importance interrupted those designs.

Though Mithridates had lost all hopes of peace, ever since Pompey had rejected the overtures he had caused to be made to him; and though he saw many of his subjects abandon his party, far from losing courage, he had formed the design of crossing Pannonia, and passing the Alps to attack the Romans in Italy itself, as Hannibal had done before him: a project more bold than prudent, with which his inveterate hatred and blind despair had inspired him. A great number of the neighbouring Scythians had en-

tered themselves in his service, and considerably augmented his army. He had sent deputies into Gaul to solicit that people to join him, when he should approach the Alps. As great passions are always credulous, and men easily flatter themselves in what they ardently desire, he was in hopes that the flame of the revolt among the slaves in Italy and Sicily, perhaps ill extinguished, might suddenly rekindle upon his presence: that the pirates would soon repossess themselves of the empire of the sea, and involve the Romans in new difficulties; and that the provinces, oppressed by the avarice and cruelty of the magistrates and generals, would be anxious to throw off the yoke by his aid, under which they had so long groaned. Such were the thoughts that he had revolved in his mind.

But, as in order to execute this project, it was necessary to march more than five hundred leagues, and traverse the countries now called Little Tartary, Podolia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, Hungary, Styria, Carinthia, the Tirol, and Lombardy, and pass three great rivers, the Borysthenes, Danube, and Po, the bare idea of so toilsome and dangerous a march threw his army into such terror, that, to prevent the execution of his design, they conspired against him, and chose Pharnaces, his son, king, who had been active in exciting the soldiers to this revolt. Mithridates then, seeing himself abandoned by all the world, and that even his son would not suffer him to escape where he could, retired to his apartment, and, after having given poison to such of his wives, concubines, and daughters as were with him at that time, he took the same himself; but, when he perceived that it had not its effect upon him, he had recourse to his sword. The wound he gave himself not sufficing, he was obliged to desire a Gaulish soldier to put an end to his life. Dion says, he was killed by his own son.

Mithridates had reigned sixty years, and lived seventy-two. His greatest fear was of falling into the hands of the Romans, and of being led in triumph.

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To prevent that misfortune, he always carried poison about him, in order to escape that way if other means should fail. The apprehension he was in, lest his son should deliver him up to Pompey, occasioned his taking the fatal resolution which he executed so suddenly. It is generally said, that the reason that the poison which he drank did not kill him was his having taken antidotes so much, that his constitution was proof against it. But this is believed an error, and that it is impossible any remedy should be an universal antidote against all the different species of poison.

Pompey was at Jericho in Palestine whither the differences between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, of which we have spoken elsewhere, had carried him, when he received the first news of Mithridates's death. It was brought him by expresses dispatched on purpose from Pontus with letters from his lieutenants. Those expresses arriving with their lances crowned with laurels, which was customary only when they brought advice of some victory, or news of great importance and advantage, the army was very eager and solicitous to know what it was. As they had only begun to form their camp, and had not erected the tribunal from which the general harangued the troops, without staying to raise one of turf, as was usual, because that would take up too much time, they made one of the packs of their carriage horses, upon which Pompey mounted without ceremony. He acquainted them with the death of Mithridates and the manner of his killing himself, that his son Pharnaces submitted himself and his dominions to the Romans, and that thereby that tedious war, which had endured so long, was at length terminated. This was a subject of great joy to both the army and general.

Such was the end of Mithridates; a prince, says \*an historian, of whom it is difficult either to speak

\* *Vir neque silendus neque dicendus sine cura: bello acerrimus: virtute eximius; aliquando fortunâ, semper animo maximus: consiliis*

or be silent: full of activity in war, of distinguished courage; sometimes very great through the favours of fortune, and always through his invincible resolution; truly a general in his prudence and counsel, and a soldier by his bold and hazardous exploits, a second Hannibal in his hatred of the Romans.

Cicero says of Mithridates, that after Alexander he was the greatest of kings: *Ille rex post Alexandrum maximus*. It is certain that the Romans never had such a king in arms against them. Nor can we deny that he had his great qualities, a vast extent of mind, that embraced every subject; a superiority of genius, capable of the greatest undertakings; a constancy of soul, that the severest misfortunes could not depress: an industry and bravery, inexhaustible in resources, and which, after the greatest losses, brought him on a sudden again on the stage, more powerful and formidable than ever. I cannot, however, believe, that he was a consummate general; that idea does not seem to result from his actions. He obtained great advantages at first; but against generals without either merit or experience. When Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey, opposed him, it does not appear he acquired any great honour, either by his address in posting himself to advantage, by his presence of mind in unexpected emergencies, or intrepidity in the heat of action. But, should we admit him to have all the qualities of a great captain, he cannot but be considered with horror, when we reflect upon the innumerable murders and parricides with which he polluted his reign, and that inhuman cruelty which regarded neither mother, wives, children, nor friends, and which sacrificed every thing to his insatiable ambition.

Pompey, being arrived in Syria, went directly

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*dux, miles manu: odio in Romanos Annibal.* Vel. Paterc. l. ii. Ant. J. C.

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<sup>1</sup> Academ. Quest. l. iv. n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv

c. 4, 8, & de Bell. Jud. 1, 5. Plut. in Pomp. p. 641. Appian.

p. 250. Dion Cas. l. xxxvi. p. 35 & 36.

to Damascus, with design to set out from thence to begin at length the war with Arabia. When Aretas, the king of that country, saw him upon the point of entering his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submissions.

The troubles of Judea employed Pompey some time. He returned afterwards into Syria, from whence he set out for Pontus. Upon his arrival at Amisus, he found the body of Mithridates there, which Pharnaces his son had sent to him; no doubt, to convince Pompey by his own eyes of the death of an enemy who had occasioned him so many difficulties and fatigues. He had added great presents, in order to conciliate his favour. Pompey accepted the presents; but for the body of Mithridates, looking upon their enmity as extinguished by death, he did it all the honours due to the remains of a king, sent it to the city of Sinope to be interred there with the kings of Pontus, his ancestors, who had long been buried in that place, and ordered the sums that were necessary for the solemnity of a royal funeral.

In this last journey he took possession of all the places in the hands of those to whom Mithridates had confided them. He found immense riches in some of them, especially at Telauros, where part of Mithridates's most valuable effects and precious jewels were kept: his principal arsenal was also in the same place. Amongst these were two thousand cups of onyx, set and adorned with gold; with so prodigious a quantity of all kinds of plate, furniture, and military accoutrements for man and horse, that it cost the quæstor or treasurer of the army thirty entire days in taking the inventory of them.

Pompey granted Pharnaces the kingdom of Bosphorus, as a reward for his parricide, declared him the friend and ally of the Roman people, and marched into the province of Asia, in order to winter at Ephesus. Here he distributed rewards to his victorious army. He gave each of his soldiers fifteen



hundred drachmas (about 37*l.* sterling) and to the officers according to their several posts. The total sum to which his liberalities amounted, all raised out of the spoils of the enemy, was sixteen thousand talents; that is to say, about two millions four hundred thousand pounds; besides which, he had twenty thousand more (three millions), to put into the treasury at Rome, upon the day of his entry.

His triumph continued two days, and was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. Pompey caused three hundred and twenty-four captives of the highest distinction to march before his chariot; amongst whom were Aristobulus, king of Judæa, with his son Antigonus; Olthaces, king of Colchis, Tigranes, the son of Tigranes, king of Armenia; the sister, five sons, and two daughters, of Mithridates. In the place of that king's person, his throne, sceptre, and a colossal busto of gold of eight cubits, or twelve feet, in height, were carried in triumph.

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## BOOK THE TWENTY-THIRD.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
E G Y P T.

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SECT. I. *Ptolemy Auletes placed upon the throne of Egypt in the room of Alexander. He is declared the friend and ally of the Roman people by the credit of Cæsar and Pompey, which he had purchased at a very great price. In consequence, he loads his subjects with imposts. He is expelled the throne. The Alexandrians make his daughter Berenice queen. He goes to Rome, and, by money, obtains the voices of the heads of the commonwealth for his re-establishment. He is opposed by an oracle of the Sibyl's; notwithstanding which, Gabinius sets him upon the throne by force of arms, where he remains till his death. The famous Cleopatra, and her brother, very young, succeed him.*

A. M. 3939.  
Ant. J. C. 65.

\* **W**E have seen in what manner Ptolemy Auletes ascended the throne of Egypt. Alexander, his predecessor, upon his being expelled by his subjects, withdrew to Tyre, where he died some time after. As he left no issue, nor any other legitimate prince of the blood-royal, he made the Roman people his heirs. The senate, for the reasons I have repeated

elsewhere, did not judge it proper at that time to take possession of the dominions left them by Alexander's will; but, to show that they did not renounce their right, they resolved to call in part of the inheritance, and sent deputies to Tyre to demand a sum of money left there by that king at his death.

The pretensions of the Roman people were under no restrictions; and it would have been a very insecure establishment to possess a state to which they believed they had so just a claim, unless some means were found to make them renounce it. All the kings of Egypt had been friends and allies of Rome. For Ptolemy to get himself declared an ally by the Romans was a certain means to his being authentically acknowledged king of Egypt by them. But, by how much the more important that qualification was to him, so much the more difficult was it for him to obtain it. His predecessor's will was still fresh in the memory of every body; and as princes are seldom pardoned for defects which do not suit their condition, though they are often spared for those that are much more hurtful, the surname of *Player on the Flute*, which he had drawn upon himself, had ranked him as low in the esteem of the Romans as in that of the Egyptians.

“ He did not, however, despair of success in his undertakings. All the methods, which he took for the attainment of his end, were a long time ineffectual; and it is likely they would always have been so, if Cæsar had never been consul. That ambitious spirit, who believed all means and expedients just that conduced to his ends, being immensely in debt, and finding that king disposed to merit by money what he could not obtain by right, sold him the alliance of Rome at as dear a price as he was willing to buy it; and received for the purchase, as

“ Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. liv. Dion Cass. l. xxxix. p. 97. Strab. l. xvii. p. 796.

well for himself as for Pompey, whose credit was necessary to him for obtaining the people's consent, almost six thousand talents, that is to say, almost nine hundred thousand pounds. At this price he was declared the friend and ally of the Roman people.

A. M. 3946.  
Ant. J.C. 58.

Though that prince's yearly revenues were twice the amount of this sum, he could not immediately raise the money without exceedingly over-taxing his subjects. They were already highly discontented by his not claiming the isle of Cyprus as an ancient dependence of Egypt, and, in case of refusal, declaring war against the Romans. In this disposition, the extraordinary imposts he was obliged to exact having finally exasperated them, they rose with so much violence, that he was forced to fly for the security of his life. He concealed his route so well, that the Egyptians either believed, or feigned to believe, that he had perished. They declared Berenice, the eldest of his three daughters, queen, though he had two sons, because they were both much younger than she.

\* Ptolemy, however, having landed at the isle of Rhodes, which was in his way to Rome, was informed that Cato, who, after his death, was called Cato of Utica, was also arrived there some time before. That prince, being glad of the opportunity to confer with him upon his own affairs, sent immediately to let him know his arrival, expecting that he would come directly to visit him. We may here see an instance of Roman grandeur, or rather haughtiness. Cato ordered him to be told, that, if he had any thing to say to him, he might come to him, if he thought fit. Cato did not vouchsafe so much as to rise when Ptolemy entered his chamber, and, saluting him only as a common man, bade him sit down. The king, though in some confusion upon this reception, could not but inwardly wonder how

\* Plut. in Cato. Utic. p. 776.

so much haughtiness and state could unite in the same person with the simplicity and modesty that appeared in his habit and all his equipage. But he was still more surprised, when, upon entering upon business, Cato blamed him, in direct terms, for quitting the finest kingdom in the world, to expose himself to the pride and insatiable avarice of the Roman *graudees*; and to suffer a thousand indignities. He did not scruple to tell him, that, though he should sell all Egypt, he would not have sufficient to satisfy their avidity. He advised him, therefore, to return to Egypt, and reconcile himself with his subjects; adding, that he was ready to accompany him thither, and offering him his mediation and good offices for that purpose.

Ptolemy, upon this discourse, recovered as out of a dream, and having maturely considered what the wise Roman had told him, perceived the error he had committed in quitting his kingdom, and entertained thoughts of returning to it. But the friends he had with him, being gained by Pompey to make him go to Rome (one may easily guess with what views) dissuaded him from following Cato's good advice. He had full time to repent it, when he found himself, in that proud city, reduced to solicit the magistrates upon his business from door to door like a private person.

<sup>y</sup> Cæsar, upon whom his principal hopes were founded, was not at Rome: he was at that time making war in Gaul. But Pompey, who was there, gave him an apartment in his house, and omitted nothing to serve him. Besides the money which he had received from that prince, in conjunction with Cæsar, Ptolemy had formerly cultivated his friendship by various services which he had rendered him during the war with Mithridates, and had maintained at his own charge eight thousand horse for him in that

<sup>y</sup> Dion Cass. l. xxxix. p. 97, 98. Plin l. xxxiii. c. 10. Cic. ad Famil. l. i. ep. 1—4. Id. in Piso. n. 48—50. Id. pro Cæl. n. 23, 24.

of Judæa. Having, therefore, made his complaint to the senate of the rebellion of his subjects, he demanded that they should oblige them to return to their obedience, as the Romans were engaged to do by the alliance granted him. Pompey's faction obtained for him a compliance with his request. The consul Lentulus, to whom Cilicia, separated from Egypt only by the coast of Syria, had fallen by lot, was charged with the re-establishment of Ptolemy upon the throne.

A.M.  
3947.  
Aut. J. C.  
57.

But, before his consulship expired, the Egyptians having been informed that their king was not dead, as they believed, and that he was gone to Rome, sent thither a solemn embassy, to justify their revolt before the senate. That embassy consisted of more than an hundred persons, of whom the chief was a celebrated philosopher, named Dion, who had considerable friends at Rome. Ptolemy, having received advice of this, found means to destroy most of those ambassadors, either by poison or the sword, and intimidated those so much whom he could neither corrupt nor kill, that they were afraid either to acquit themselves of their commission, or to demand justice for so many murders. But, as all the world knew this cruelty, it made him as highly odious as he was before contemptible: and his immense profusion, in gaining the poorest and most self-interested senators, became so public, that nothing else was talked of throughout the city.

So notorious a contempt of the laws, and such an excess of audacity, excited the indignation of all the persons of integrity in the senate. M. Favonius, the stoic philosopher, was the first in it who declared himself against Ptolemy. Upon his motion it was resolved, that Dion should be ordered to attend, in order to their knowing the truth from his own mouth. But the king's party, composed of that of Pompey and Lentulus, of such as he had corrupted with money, and of those who had lent him sums to corrupt others, acted so openly in his

favour, that Dion did not dare to appear; and Ptolemy, having caused him also to be killed some short time after, though he who did the murder was accused in due form of law, the king was exculpated, upon maintaining, that he had just cause for the action.

Whether that prince thought that he had nothing further to transact at Rome, that demanded his presence, or apprehended receiving some affront, hated as he was, if he continued there any longer, he set out from thence some few days after, and retired to Ephesus, into the temple of the goddess, to wait there the decision of his destiny.

His affair, in fact, made more noise than ever at Rome. One of the tribunes of the people, named C. Cato, an active, enterprising young man, who did not want eloquence, declared himself, in frequent harangues, against Ptolemy and Lentulus, and was hearkened to by the people with singular pleasure and extraordinary applause.

In order to put a new engine in motion, he waited till the new consuls were elected, and as soon as Lentulus had quitted that office, he produced to the people an oracle of the Sibyl's, which ran thus, "If a king of Egypt, having occasion for aid, applies to you, you shall not refuse him your amity: but, however, you shall not give him any troops; for if you do, you will suffer and hazard much."

A. M.  
3948.  
Ant. J. C.  
56.

The usual form was to communicate this kind of oracles first to the senate, in order to examine whether they were proper to be divulged. But Cato, apprehending that the king's faction might occasion the passing a resolution there to suppress this, which was so opposite to that prince, immediately presented the priests, with whom the sacred books were deposited, to the people, and obliged them by the authority which his office of tribune gave him, to expose what they had found in them to the public, without demanding the senate's opinion.

This was a new thunder-stroke to Ptolemy and

Lentulus. The words of the Sibyl were too express not to make all the impression upon the vulgar, which their enemies desired. So that Lentulus, whose consulship was expired, not being willing to receive the affront to his face, of having the senate's decree revoked, by which he was appointed to reinstate Ptolemy, set out immediately for his province, in quality of proconsul.

He was not deceived. Some days after, one of the new consuls, named Marcellinus, the declared enemy of Pompey, having proposed the oracle to the senate, it was decreed, that regard should be had to it, and that it appeared dangerous for the commonwealth to re-establish the king of Egypt by force.

We must not believe there was any person in the senate so simple, or rather so stupid, as to have any faith in such an oracle. Nobody doubted, but that it had been expressly contrived for the present conjuncture, and was the work of some secret political intrigue. But it had been published and approved in the assembly of the people, credulous and superstitious to excess, and the senate could pass no other judgment upon it.

This new incident obliged Ptolemy to change his measures. Seeing that Lentulus had too many enemies at Rome, he abandoned the decree by which he had been commissioned for his re-establishment, and demanded by Ammonius, his ambassador, whom he had left at Rome, that Pompey should be appointed to execute the same commission; because, it not being possible to execute it with open force, upon account of the oracle, he judged, with reason, that it was necessary to substitute, in the room of force, a person of great authority: and Pompey was at that time at the highest pitch of his glory, occasioned by his success in having destroyed Mithridates, the greatest and most powerful king Asia had seen since Alexander.

The affair was discussed in the senate, and debated



with great vivacity by the different parties that rose up in it. <sup>z</sup> The difference of opinions caused several sittings to be spent without any determination. Cicero never quitted the interest of Lentulus, his intimate friend, who during his consulship, had infinitely contributed to his recall from banishment. But what means were there to render him any service, in the condition things stood? And what could that proconsul do against a great kingdom, without using force of arms, which was expressly forbidden by the oracle? In this manner, people of little wit and subtilty, that were not used to consider things in different lights, would have thought. The oracle only prohibited giving the king any troops for his re-establishment. Could not Lentulus have left him in some place near the frontiers, and go, however, with a good army to besiege Alexandria. After he had taken it he might have returned, leaving a strong garrison in the place, and then sent the king thither, who would have found all things disposed for his reception without violence or troops. This was Cicero's advice; to confirm which, I shall repeat his own words, taken from a letter written by him at that time to Lentulus: " You are the best judge (says he) as you are master of Cilicia and Cyprus, of what you can undertake and effect. If it seems practicable for you to take Alexandria, and possess yourself of the rest of Egypt, it is, without doubt, both for your own honour and that of the commonwealth, that you should go thither with your fleet and army, leaving the king at Ptolemais, or in some other neighbouring place: in order that, after you have appeased the revolt, and left strong garrisons where necessary, that prince may safely return thither. \* In this manner you will re-

<sup>z</sup> Cic. ad Famil. l. i. Epist. 7.

\* *Ita fore ut per te restituatur, quemadmodum initio senatus censuit; & sine multitudine reducatur, quemadmodum homines religiosi Sibyllæ placere dixerunt.*

“ instate him, according to the senate’s first decree,  
 “ and he be restored without troops, which our zea-  
 “ lots assure us is the sense of the Sibyl.” Would  
 one believe that a grave magistrate, in an affair so  
 important as that at present in question, should be  
 capable of an evasion, which appears so little consis-  
 tent with the integrity and probity upon which Cicero  
 valued himself? It was, because he reckoned the  
 pretended oracle of the Sybil, to be what indeed  
 it was, that is to say, a mere contrivance and im-  
 posture.

Lentulus, stopped by the difficulties of that enter-  
 prise, which were great and real, was afraid to engage  
 in it, and took the advice Cicero gave him in the con-  
 clusion of his letter, where he represented, “ That all  
 “ \* the world would judge of his conduct from the  
 “ event: that therefore he had only to take his  
 “ measures so well, as to assure his success; and,  
 “ that otherwise, he would do better not to under-  
 “ take it.”

Gabinus, who commanded in Syria in the quality  
 of proconsul, was less apprehensive and less cautious.  
 Though every proconsul was prohibited by a positive  
 law to quit his province, or declare any war whatso-  
 ever, even upon the nearest borderer, without an ex-  
 press order of the senate, he had marched to the aid  
 of Mithridates, prince of Parthia, who had been ex-  
 pelled by the king, his brother, from Media, which  
 kingdom had fallen to his share. <sup>a</sup> He had already  
 passed the Euphrates with his army for that purpose,  
 when Ptolemy joined him with letters from Pompey,  
 their common friend and patron, who had very lately  
 been declared consul for the year ensuing. By those  
 letters he conjured Gabinus to do his utmost in fa-  
 vour of the proposals that prince should make him,

A. M.  
 3949.  
 Ant. J. C.  
 55.

<sup>c</sup> Appian. in Syr. p. 120. & in Parth. p. 134. Plut. in Antow.  
 p. 916, 917.

\* *Ex eventu homines de tuo consilio esse judicatuos, videmus — Nos quidem hoc sentimus; si exploratum tibi sit, posse te illius regni potiri, non esse cunctandum; sin dubium, non esse conandum.*

with regard to his re-establishment in his kingdom. However dangerous that conduct might be, the authority of Pompey, and, still more, the hope of considerable gain, made Gabinius begin to waver. The pressing remonstrances of Antony, who sought occasions to signalize himself, and was besides inclined to please Ptolemy, whose intreaties flattered his ambition, fully determined him. This was the famous Mark Antony, who afterwards formed the second triumvirate with Octavius and Lepidus. Gabinius had engaged him to follow him into Syria, by giving him the command of his cavalry. The more dangerous the enterprize, the more Gabinius thought he had a right to make Ptolemy pay dear for it. The latter, who found no difficulty in agreeing to any terms, offered him for himself and the army ten thousand talents, or fifteen hundred thousand pounds, the greatest part to be advanced immediately in ready money, and the rest as soon as he should be re-instated. Gabinius accepted the offer without hesitation.

<sup>b</sup> Egypt had continued under the government of queen Berenice. As soon as she ascended the throne, the Egyptians had sent to offer the crown, and Berenice, to Antiochus Asiaticus, in Syria, who, by his mother Selene's side, was the nearest heir male. The ambassadors found him dead, and returned: they brought an account, that his brother Seleucus, surnamed Cybiosactes, was still alive. The same offers were made to him, which he accepted. He was a prince of mean and sordid inclinations, and had no thoughts but of amassing money. His first care was to cause the body of Alexander the Great to be put into a coffin of glass, in order to seize that of gold, in which it had lain untouched till then. This action, and many others of a like nature, having

<sup>b</sup> Strab. l. xii. p. 538. Id. l. xvii. p. 794—796. Dion Cass. l. xxxix. p. 115, 117. Cic. in Pison. n. 49, 50.

rendered him equally odious to his queen and subjects, she caused him to be strangled soon after. He was the last prince of the race of the Seleucidæ. She afterwards espoused Archelaus, high-priest of Comana, in Pontus, who called himself the son of the great Mithridates, though, in fact, he was only the son of that prince's chief general.

<sup>c</sup> Gabinius, after having re-passed the Euphrates, and crossed Palestine, marched directly into Egypt. What was most to be feared in this war, was the way by which they must necessarily march to arrive at Pelusium; for they could not avoid passing plains, covered with sands of such a depth as was terrible to think on, and so dry, that there was not a single drop of water the whole length of the moors of Serbonis. Antony, who was sent before with the horse, not only seized the passes, but having taken Pelusium, the key of Egypt on that side, with the whole garrison, he made the way secure for the rest of the army, and gave his general great hopes of success in the expedition.

The enemy derived considerable advantage from the desire of glory which possessed Antony. For Ptolemy had no sooner entered Pelusium, than out of the violence of his hate and resentment, he would have put all the Egyptians in it to the sword. But Antony, who rightly judged that that act of cruelty would disgrace himself, opposed it, and prevented Ptolemy from executing his design. In all the battles and encounters which immediately followed one another, he not only gave proofs of his great valour, but distinguished himself by all the conduct of a great general.

As soon as Gabinius received advice of Antony's good success, he entered the heart of Egypt. It was in winter, when the waters of the Nile are very low, and consequently the properest time for the

<sup>c</sup> Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

conquest of it. Archelaus, who was brave, able, and experienced, did all that could be done in his defence, and disputed his ground very well with the enemy. After he quitted the city, in order to march against the Romans, when it was necessary to encamp and break ground for the entrenchments, the Egyptians, accustomed to live an idle and voluptuous life, raised an outcry, that Archelaus should employ the mercenaries in such work at the expence of the public. What could be expected from such troops in a battle? They were, in fact, soon put to the rout. Archelaus was killed fighting valiantly. Antony, who had been his particular friend and guest, having found his body upon the field of battle, adorned it in a royal manner, and solemnized his obsequies with great magnificence. By this action he left behind him a great name in Alexandria, and acquired, amongst the Romans who served with him in this war, the reputation of a man of singular valour and exceeding generosity.

Egypt was soon reduced, and obliged to receive Auletes, who took entire possession of his dominions. In order to strengthen him in it, Gabinius left him some Roman troops for the guard of his person. Those troops contracted at Alexandria the manners and customs of the country, and gave into the luxury and effeminacy which reigned there more than in any other city. Auletes put his daughter Berenice to death, for having worn the crown during his exile; and afterwards got rid, in the same manner, of all the rich persons who had been of the adverse party. He had occasion for the confiscation of their estates, to make up the sum he had promised to Gabinius, to whose aid he was indebted for his re-establishment.

<sup>d</sup> The Egyptians suffered all these violences without murmuring. But, some days after, a Roman

<sup>d</sup> Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 74, 75.

soldier having accidentally killed a cat, neither the fear of Gabinius, nor the authority of Ptolemy, could prevent the people from tearing him to pieces upon the spot, to avenge the insult done to the gods of the country; for cats were of that number.

<sup>c</sup> Nothing further is known with respect to the life of Ptolemy Auletes, except that C. Rabirius Posthumus, who had either lent him, or caused to be lent him, the greatest part of the sums he had borrowed at Rome, having gone to him, in order to procure payment when he was entirely re-instated, that prince gave him to understand that he despaired of satisfying him, unless he would consent to take upon him the care of his revenues, by which means he might re-imburse himself by little and little with his own hands. The unfortunate creditor having accepted that offer out of fear of losing his debt if he refused it, the king soon found a pretence for causing him to be imprisoned, though one of the oldest and dearest of Cæsar's friends, and though Pompey was in some measure security for the debt, as the money was lent, and the obligations executed in his presence, and by his procurement, in a country house of his near Alba.

Rabirius thought himself too happy in being able to escape from prison and Egypt, more miserable than he had gone thither. To complete his disgrace, he was prosecuted in form as soon as he returned to Rome, for having aided Ptolemy in corrupting the senate, by the sums he had lent him for that purpose; of having dishonoured his quality of Roman knight, by the employment he had accepted in Egypt; and, lastly, of having shared in the money which Gabinius brought from thence, with whom, it was alledged, he had connived. Cicero's oration in his defence, which we still have,

<sup>c</sup> Cic. pro Rabir. Posth.

is an eternal monument of the ingratitude and perfidy of this unworthy king.

<sup>f</sup> Ptolemy Auletes died in the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Egypt, about four years after his re-establishment. He left two sons and two daughters. He bequeathed his crown to the eldest son and daughter, and ordered by his will that they should marry together, according to the custom of that house, and govern jointly. And because they were both very young (for the daughter who was the eldest, was only seventeen years of age) he left them under the tuition of the Roman senate. This was the famous Cleopatra, whose history it remains for us to relate. <sup>g</sup> We find the people appointed Pompey the young king's guardian, who some years after so basely ordered him to be put to death.

A. M.  
3953.  
Ant. J. C.  
51.

<sup>f</sup> Cæsar de Bello Civ. l. v.

<sup>g</sup> Eutrop. l. vi.

SECT. II. *Pothinus and Achilles, ministers of the young king, expel Cleopatra. She raises troops to re-establish herself. Pompey after having been overthrown at Pharsalia, retires into Egypt. He is assassinated there. Cæsar, who pursued him, arrives at Alexandria, where he is informed of his death, which he seems to lament. He endeavours to reconcile the brother and sister, and for that purpose sends for Cleopatra, of whom he soon becomes enamoured. Great commotions arise at Alexandria, and several battles are fought between the Egyptians and Cæsar's troops, wherein the latter have almost always the advantage. The king having been drowned in flying after a sea fight, all Egypt submits to Cæsar. He sets Cleopatra, with her younger brother, upon the throne, and returns to Rome.*

A. M.  
3956.  
Ant. J. C.  
48.

<sup>b</sup>LITTLE is known of the beginning of the reign of Cleopatra and her brother. That prince was a minor, under the tuition of Pothinus the eunuch, and of Achilles, the general of his army. Those two ministers, no doubt, to engross to themselves the whole administration of the public affairs, had deprived Cleopatra, in the king's name, of the share in the sovereignty left her by the will of Auletes. Injured in this manner, she went into Syria and Palestine to raise troops in those countries, in order to assert her rights, by force of arms.

It was exactly at this conjuncture of the quarrel between the brother and sister, that Pompey, after having lost the battle of Pharsalia, fled to Egypt; conceiving, that he should find there an open and secure asylum in his misfortunes. He had been

<sup>b</sup> Plut. in Pomp. p. 659—662. Id. in Cæs. p. 730, 731. Appian. de Bel. Civ. p. 480—484. Cæs. de Bel. Civ. l. iii. Dioc. l. xlii. p. 200—205.



the protector of Auletes, the father of the reigning king, and it was solely to his influence that he was indebted for his re-establishment. He was in hopes of finding the son grateful, and of being powerfully assisted by him. When he arrived, Ptolemy was upon the coast with his army, between Pelusium and mount Casius, and Cleopatra at no great distance at the head of her troops also. Pompey, on approaching the coast, sent to Ptolemy to demand permission to land, and enter his kingdom.

The two ministers, Pothinus and Achilles, consulted with Theodotus, the rhetorician, the young king's preceptor, and with some others, what answer they should make; Ptolemy in the mean time waited the result of that council, and chose rather to expose himself to be the foot-ball of three unworthy persons who governed the prince, than to owe his safety to Cæsar, who was his father-in-law, and the greatest of the Romans. This council differed in opinion; some were for receiving him, others for having him told to seek a retreat elsewhere. Theodotus approved neither of these methods, and displaying all his eloquence, undertook to demonstrate, that there was no other choice to be made, than that of ridding themselves of him. His reason was, because if they received him, Cæsar would never forgive the having assisted his enemy: if they sent him away without aid, and affairs should take a turn in his favour, he would not fail to revenge himself upon them for their refusal. That therefore there was no security for them, but in putting him to death, by which means they would gain Cæsar's friendship, and prevent the other from ever doing them any hurt; for, said he, according to the proverb, "Dead men do not bite."

This advice prevailed, as being in their opinion, the wisest and most safe. Septimius, a Roman officer in the service of the king of Egypt, and some others, were charged with putting it into execution. They went to take Pompey on board a shallop, under the

pretext that large vessels could not approach the shore without difficulty. The troops were drawn up on the sea-side, as with design to do honour to Pompey, with Ptolemy at their head. The perfidious Septimius tendered his hand to Pompey in the name of his master, and bade him come to a king, his friend, whom he ought to regard as his ward and son. Pompey then embraced his wife Cornelia, who was already in tears for his death; and, after having repeated these verses of Sophocles, "Every man who enters the court of a tyrant becomes his slave, though free before," he went into the shallop. When they saw themselves near the shore, they stabbed him before the king's eyes, cut off his head, and threw his body upon the strand, where it had no other funeral than what one of his freed-men gave it with the assistance of an old Roman, who was there by chance. They raised him a wretched funeral-pile, and covered him with some fragments of an old wreck, that had been driven ashore there.

Cornelia had seen Pompey massacred before her eyes. It is easier to imagine the condition of a woman in the height of grief from so tragical an object, than to describe it. Those who were in her galley, and in two other ships in company with it, made the coast resound with the cries they raised, and weighing anchor immediately, set sail before the wind, which blew fresh as soon as they got out to sea: this prevented the Egyptians, who were getting ready to chase them, from pursuing their design.

Cæsar made all possible haste to arrive in Egypt, whither he suspected Pompey had retired, and where he was in hopes of finding him still alive. That he might be there the sooner, he carried very few troops with him; only eight hundred horse, and three thousand two hundred foot. He left the rest of his army in Greece and Asia Minor, under his lieutenant-generals, with orders to make all the advantages of

his victory which it would admit, and to establish his authority in all those countries. \* As for his person, confiding in his reputation, and the success of his arms at Pharsalia, and reckoning all places secure for him, he made no scruple to land at Alexandria with the few people he had. He was very nigh paying dear for his temerity.

Upon his arrival he was informed of Pompey's death, and found the city in great confusion. Theodotus, believing he should do him an exceeding pleasure, presented him the head of that illustrious fugitive. He wept at seeing it, and turned away his eyes from a spectacle that gave him horror. He even caused it to be interred with all the usual solemnities. And the better to express his esteem for Pompey, and the respect he had for his memory, he received with great kindness, and loaded with favours, all who had adhered to him, and were then in Egypt; and wrote to his friends at Rome, that the highest and most grateful advantage of his victory was to find every day some new occasion to preserve the lives, and do services to some of those citizens, who had borne arms against him.

The commotions increased every day at Alexandria, and abundance of murders were committed there; the city having neither law nor government, because without a master. Cæsar, clearly perceiving that the small number of troops with him were far from being sufficient to awe an insolent and seditious populace, gave orders for the legions he had in Asia to march thither. It was not in his power to leave Egypt, because of the Etesian winds, which in that country blow continually during the dog-days, and prevent all vessels from quitting Alexandria; as those winds are then always full north. Not to lose time, he demanded the payment of the money due to him

\* *Cæsar confusus famâ rerum gestarum, infirmis auxiliis proficisci non dubitaverat; atque omnem sibi locum tutum fore existimabat.* CÆS.

from Auletes, and took cognizance of the dispute between Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra.

We have seen, that when Cæsar was consul for the first time, Auletes had gained him, by the promise of six thousand talents, and by that means had procured himself to be established upon the throne, and declared the friend and ally of the Romans. The king had paid him only a part of that sum, and had given him a bill for the remainder.

Cæsar therefore demanded what was unpaid, which he wanted for the subsistence of his troops, and urged his claim with rigour. Pothinus, Ptolemy's first minister, employed various stratagems to make this rigour appear still greater than it really was. He plundered the temples of all the gold and silver which was found in them, and made the king, and all the great persons of the kingdom; eat out of earthen or wooden vessels; insinuating underhand, that Cæsar had seized upon all their silver and gold plate, in order to render him odious to the populace by such reports, which were not destitute of probability in appearance, though entirely groundless.

But what finally incensed the Egyptians against Cæsar, and made them at last take arms, was the haughtiness with which he acted as judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, in causing them to be cited to appear before him for the decision of their dispute. We shall soon see upon what he founded his authority for proceeding in that manner. He therefore decreed in form that they should disband their armies, should appear and plead their cause before him, and receive such sentence as he should pass between them. This order was looked upon in Egypt as a violation of the royal dignity, which being independent, acknowledged no superior, and could be judged by no tribunal. Cæsar replied to these complaints, that he acted only in virtue of being appointed arbiter by the will of Auletes, who had put his children under the tuition of the senate and people of Rome, the

whole authority of which was then vested in his person, in quality of consul. That as guardian, he had a right to arbitrate between them; and that all he pretended to, was, as executor of the will, to establish peace between the brother and sister. This explanation having facilitated the affair, it was at length brought before Cæsar, and advocates were chosen to plead the cause.

But Cleopatra, who knew Cæsar's foible, believed that her presence would be more persuasive than any advocate she could employ with her judge. She caused him to be told, that she perceived, that those whom she employed in her behalf, betrayed her, and demanded his permission to appear in person. Plutarch says it was Cæsar himself who pressed her to come and plead her cause.

That princess took nobody with her, of all her friends, but Apollodorus the Sicilian, got into a little boat, and arrived at the bottom of the walls of the citadel of Alexandria, when it was quite dark at night. Finding that there were no means of entering without being known, she thought of this stratagem. She laid herself at length in the midst of a bundle of clothes. Apollodorus wrapped it up in a cloth, tied it up with a thong, and in that manner carried it through the gate of the citadel to Cæsar's apartment, who was far from being displeased with the stratagem. The first sight of so beautiful a person had all the effect upon him she had desired.

Cæsar sent the next day for Ptolemy, and pressed him to take her again, and be reconciled with her. Ptolemy saw plainly that his judge was become his adversary; and having learned that his sister was then in the palace, and even in Cæsar's own apartment, he quitted it in the utmost fury, and in the open street rent the diadem off his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground; crying out, with his face bathed in tears, that he was betrayed, and relating the circumstances to the multitude who assembled round him. In a moment the whole city was

in an uproar. He put himself at the head of the populace, and led them on tumultuously to charge Cæsar with all the fury natural on such occasions.

The Roman soldiers, whom Cæsar had with him, secured the person of Ptolemy. But as all the rest, who knew nothing of what was passing, were dispersed in the several quarters of that great city, Cæsar would inevitably have been overpowered, and torn to pieces by that furious populace, if he had not had the presence of mind to show himself to them from a part of the palace, so high, that he had nothing to fear upon it: From hence he assured them, that they would be fully satisfied with the judgment he should pass. Those promises appeased the Egyptians a little.

The next day he brought out Ptolemy and Cleopatra into an assembly of the people, summoned by his order. After having caused the will of the late king to be read, he decreed, as tutor and arbitrator, that Ptolemy and Cleopatra should reign jointly in Egypt, according to the intent of that will; and that Ptolemy the younger son, and Arsinoe the younger daughter, should reign in Cyprus. He added the last article to appease the people; for it was an absolute gift that he made them, as the Romans were actually in possession of that island. But he feared the effects of the Alexandrians' fury; and it was to extricate himself out of danger, that he made that concession.

A. M.  
3957.  
Ant. J. C.  
47.

Every one was satisfied and charmed with this decree, except Pothinus. As it was he who had occasioned the breach between Cleopatra and her brother, and the expulsion of that princess from the throne, he had reason to apprehend, that the consequences of this accommodation would prove fatal to him. To prevent the effect of Cæsar's decree, he inspired the people with new subjects of jealousy and discontent. He gave out, that it was only through fear and by force that Cæsar had granted this decree, which would not long subsist; and that his true design was to place Cleopatra alone upon the throne. This was what the Egyptians exceedingly feared, not

being able to endure that a woman should govern them alone, and have the sole authority. When he saw that the people came into his views, he made Achilles advance at the head of the army from Pelusium, in order to drive Cæsar out of Alexandria. The approach of that army put all things into their former confusion. Achilles, who had twenty thousand good troops, despised Cæsar's small number, and believed he should overpower him immediately. But Cæsar posted his men so well in the streets, and upon the avenues of the quarter in his possession, that he found no difficulty in supporting their attack.

When they saw they could not force him, they changed their measures, and marched towards the port, with design to make themselves masters of the fleet, to cut off his communication with the sea, and to prevent him, in consequence, from receiving succours and convoys on that side. But Cæsar again frustrated their design, by causing the Egyptian fleet to be set on fire, and by possessing himself of the tower of Pharos, which he garrisoned. By this means he preserved and secured his communication with the sea, without which he would have been ruined effectually. Some of the vessels on fire drove so near the quay, that the flames caught the neighbouring houses, from whence they spread throughout the whole quarter, called Bruchion. It was at this time that the famous library was consumed, which had been the work of so many kings, and in which there were four hundred thousand volumes. What a loss was this to literature!

Cæsar, seeing so dangerous a war upon his hands, sent into all the neighbouring countries for aid. He wrote, amongst others, to Domitius Calvinus, whom he had left to command in Asia Minor, and signified to him his danger. That general immediately detached two legions, the one by land, and the other by sea. That which went by sea arrived in time; the other that marched by land did not go thither

at all. Before it had got there the war was at an end. But Cæsar was best served by Mithridates the Pergamian, whom he sent into Syria and Cilicia. For he brought him the troops which extricated him out of the danger, as we shall see in the sequel.

Whilst he awaited the aid he had sent for, in order that he might not fight an army so superior in number, till he thought fit, he caused the quarter in his possession to be fortified. He surrounded it with walls, and flanked it with towers and other works. Those lines included the palace, a theatre very near it, which he made use of as a citadel, and the way that led to the port.

Ptolemy all this while was in Cæsar's hands; and Pothinus, his governor and first minister, who coincided with Achilles, gave him advice of all that passed, and encouraged him to push the siege with vigour. One of his letters was at last intercepted, and his treason being thereby discovered, Cæsar ordered him to be put to death.

Ganymedes, another eunuch of the palace, who educated Arsinoe the youngest of the king's sisters, apprehending the same fate, because he had shared in that treason, carried off the young princess, and escaped into the camp of the Egyptians; who not having had, till then, any of the royal family at their head, were overjoyed at her presence, and proclaimed her queen. But Ganymedes, who entertained thoughts of supplanting Achilles, caused that general to be accused of having given up the fleet to Cæsar that had been set on fire by the Romans, caused him to be put to death, and the command of the army to be transferred to himself. He took also upon him the administration of all other affairs; and undoubtedly did not want capacity for the office of a prime minister, probity only excepted, which is often reckoned little or no qualification. For he had all the necessary penetration and activity, and contrived a thousand artful stratagems to distress Cæsar during the continuance of this war.



For instance, he found means to spoil all the fresh water in his quarter, and was very near destroying him by that means. For there was no other fresh water in Alexandria, than that of the Nile. \*In every house were vaulted reservoirs, where it was kept. Every year, upon the great swell of the Nile, the water of that river came in by a canal, which had been cut for that purpose, and by a sluice made with that design, was turned into the vaulted reservoirs which were the cisterns of the city, where it grew clear by degrees. The masters of houses and their families drank of this water; but the poorer sort of people were forced to drink the running water, which was muddy and very unwholesome; for there were no springs in the city. Those caverns were made in such a manner, that they all had communication with each other. This provision of water made at one time served for the whole year. Every house had an opening like the mouth of a well, through which the water was taken up either in buckets or pitchers. Ganymedes caused all the communications with the caverns in the quarters of Cæsar to be stopped up: and then found means to turn the sea-water into the latter, and thereby spoiled all his fresh water. As soon as they perceived that the water was spoiled, Cæsar's soldiers made such a noise, and raised such a tumult, that he would have been obliged to abandon his quarter, very much to his disadvantage, if he had not immediately thought of ordering wells to be sunk, where, at last, springs were found, which supplied them with water enough to make them amends for that which was spoiled.

After that, upon Cæsar's receiving advice, that the legion which Calvinus had sent by sea was arrived upon the coast of Lybia, which was not very distant, he advanced with his whole fleet to convoy it safely

\* There are to this day exactly the same kind of caves at Alexandria, which are filled once a year, as at that time. *Thevenot's Travels.*

to Alexandria. Ganymedes was apprised of this, and immediately assembled all the Egyptian ships he could get, in order to attack him, upon his return. A battle actually ensued between the two fleets. Cæsar had the advantage, and brought his legion without danger into the port of Alexandria; and had not the night come on, the ships of the enemy would not have escaped.

To repair that loss, Ganymedes drew together all the ships from the mouths of the Nile, and formed a new fleet, with which he entered the port of Alexandria. A second action was unavoidable. The Alexandrians climbed in throngs to the tops of the houses next the port, to be spectators of the fight, and awaited the success with fear and trembling; lifting up their hands to heaven to implore the assistance of the gods. The all of the Romans was at stake, as they had no resource left if they lost this battle. Cæsar was again victorious. The Rhodians, by their valour and skill in naval affairs, contributed exceedingly to this victory.

Cæsar, to make the best of it, endeavoured to seize the isle of Pharos, where he landed his troops after the battle, and to possess himself of the mole, called the Heptastadion, by which it was joined to the continent. But after having obtained several advantages, he was repulsed with the loss of more than eight hundred men, and was very near falling himself in his retreat. For the ship in which he had designed to get off, being ready to sink on account of the great number of people who had entered it with him, he threw himself into the sea, and with great difficulty swam to the next ship. Whilst he was thus swimming, he held one hand above the water, in which were papers of consequence, and swam with the other, so that they were not wetted.

The Alexandrians seeing that ill success itself only served to give Cæsar's troops new courage, entertained thoughts of making peace, or at least pretended

such a disposition. They sent deputies to demand their king of him; assuring him, that his presence alone would put an end to all differences. Cæsar, who well knew their subtle and deceitful character, was not at a loss to comprehend their professions; but as he hazarded nothing in giving them up their king's person, and if they failed in their promises, the fault would be entirely on their side, he thought it incumbent on him to grant their demand. He exhorted the young prince to take advantage of this opportunity to inspire his subjects with sentiments of peace and equity; to redress the evils with which a war very imprudently undertaken had distressed his dominions; to approve himself worthy of the confidence he reposed in him, by giving him his liberty; and to show his gratitude for the services he had rendered his father. \* Ptolemy, early instructed by his masters in the art of dissimulation and deceit, begged of Cæsar, with tears in his eyes, not to deprive him of his presence, which was a much greater satisfaction to him, than to reign over others. The sequel soon explained how much sincerity there was in those tears and professions of amity. He was no-sooner at the head of his troops, than he renewed hostilities with more vigour than ever. The Egyptians endeavoured, by the means of their fleet, to cut off Cæsar's provisions entirely. This occasioned a new fight at sea, near Canopus, in which Cæsar was again victorious. When this battle was fought, Mithridates of Pergamus was upon the point of arriving with the army, which he was bringing to the aid of Cæsar.

<sup>1</sup> He had been sent into Syria and Cilicia to assemble all the troops he could, and to march them to Egypt. He acquitted himself of his commission with

<sup>1</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 14, & 15.

\* *Regius animus disciplinis fallacissimis eruditus, ne à gentis suæ moribus degeneraret, flens orare contra Casarem capit, ne se demitteret: non enim regnum ipsum sibi conspectu Casaris esse jucundius.* HIRT. de Bell. Alex.

such diligence and prudence, that he had soon formed a considerable army. Antipater, the Idumæan, contributed very much towards it. He had not only joined him with three thousand Jews, but engaged several neighbouring princes of Arabia and Cœlosyria, and the free cities of Phœnicia and Syria also to send him troops. Mithridates, with Antipater, who accompanied him in person, marched into Egypt, and upon arriving before Pelusium, they carried that place by storm. They were indebted principally to Antipater's bravery for the taking of this city. For he was the first that mounted the breach, and got upon the wall, and thereby opened the way for those who followed him to carry the town.

On their route from thence to Alexandria, it was necessary to pass through the country of Onion, of which the Jews, who inhabited it, had seized all the passes. The army was there put to a stand, and their whole design was upon the point of miscarrying, if Antipater, by his credit and that of Hyrcanus, from whom he brought them letters, had not engaged them to espouse Cæsar's party. Upon the spreading of that news, the Jews of Memphis did the same, and Mithridates received from both all the provisions his army had occasion for. When they were near the Delta, Ptolemy detached a flying army to dispute the passage of the Nile with them. A battle was fought in consequence. Mithridates put himself at the head of part of his army, and gave the command of the other to Antipater. Mithridates's wing was soon broken, and obliged to give way; but Antipater, who had defeated the enemy on his side, came to his relief. The battle began afresh, and the enemy were defeated. Mithridates and Antipater pursued them, made a great slaughter, and regained the field of battle. They took even the enemy's camp, and obliged those who remained to repass the Nile, in order to escape.

Ptolemy then advanced with his whole army, in order to overpower the victors. Cæsar also marched

to support them; and as soon as he had joined them, came directly to a decisive battle, in which he obtained a complete victory. Ptolemy in endeavouring to escape in a boat, was drowned in the Nile. Alexandria and all Egypt submitted to the victor.

Cæsar returned to Alexandria about the middle of our January; and not finding any further opposition to his orders, gave the crown of Egypt to Cleopatra, in conjunction with Ptolemy her other brother. This was in effect giving it to Cleopatra alone; for that young prince was only eleven years old. The passion which Cæsar had conceived for that princess was properly the sole cause of his embarking in so dangerous a war. He had by her one son, called Cæsario, whom Augustus caused to be put to death when he became master of Alexandria. His affection for Cleopatra kept him much longer in Egypt than his affairs required. For though every thing was settled in that kingdom by the end of January, he did not leave it till the end of April, according to Appian, who says he staid there nine months. Now he had arrived there only about the end of July the year before.

<sup>k</sup> Cæsar passed whole nights in feasting with Cleopatra. Having embarked with her upon the Nile, he carried her through the whole country with a numerous fleet, and would have penetrated into Ethiopia, if his army had not refused to follow him. He had resolved to bring her to Rome, and to marry her; and intended to have caused a law to pass in the assembly of the people, by which the citizens of Rome should be permitted to marry such and as many wives as they thought fit. Marius Cinna, the tribune of the people, declared, after his death, that he had prepared an harangue, in order to propose that law to the people, not being able to refuse his assistance upon the earnest solicitation of Cæsar.

<sup>k</sup> Suet. in J. Cæs. c. 52.

He carried Arsinoe, whom he had taken in this war, to Rome, and she walked in his triumph in chains of gold; but immediately after that solemnity he set her at liberty. He did not permit her, however, to return into Egypt, lest her presence should occasion new troubles, and frustrate the regulations he had made in that kingdom. She chose the province of Asia for her residence, at least it was there that Antony found her after the battle of Philippi, and caused her to be put to death at the instigation of her sister Cleopatra.

Before he left Alexandria, Cæsar, in gratitude for the aid he had received from the Jews, caused all the privileges they enjoyed to be confirmed; and ordered a column to be erected, on which, by his command, all those privileges were engraven with the decree confirming them.

<sup>1</sup> What at length made him quit Egypt, was the war with Pharnaces, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and son of Mithridates, the last king of Pontus. He fought a great battle with him near the city of \* Zela, defeated his whole army, and drove him out of the kingdom of Pontus. To denote the rapidity of his conquest, in writing to one of his friends, he made use of only these three words, *Veni, vidi, vici*; that is to say, *I came, I saw, I conquered*.

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Cæs. p. 731. \* This was a city of Cappadocia.

SECT. III. *Cleopatra causes her younger brother to be put to death, and reigns alone. The death of Julius Cæsar having made way for the triumvirate formed between Antony, Lepidus, and young Cæsar, called also Octavianus, Cleopatra declares herself for the triumvirs. She goes to Antony at Tarsus, gains an absolute ascendant over him, and brings him with her to Alexandria. Antony goes to Rome, where he espouses Octavia. He abandons himself again to Cleopatra, and after some expeditions returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph. He there celebrates the coronation of Cleopatra and her children. Open rupture between Cæsar and Antony. The latter repudiates Octavia. The two fleets put to sea. Cleopatra determines to follow Antony. Battle of Actium. Cleopatra flies and draws Antony after her. Cæsar's victory is complete. He advances some time after against Alexandria, which makes no long resistance. Tragical death of Antony and Cleopatra. Egypt is reduced into a province of the Roman Empire.*

CÆSAR, after the war of Alexandria, had re-established Cleopatra upon the throne, and, for form only, had associated her brother with her, who at that time was only eleven years of age. During his minority, all power was in her hands. <sup>m</sup> When he attained his fifteenth year, which was the time when, according to the laws of the country, he was to govern for himself, and have a share in the royal authority, she poisoned him, and remained sole queen of Egypt.

A. M.  
3961.  
Ant. J. C.  
43.

In this interval Cæsar had been killed at Rome by the conspirators, at the head of whom were Brutus and Cassius; and the triumvirate, between Antony,

<sup>m</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 4. Porphy. p. 226.

Lepidus, and Octavianus Cæsar, had been formed, to avenge the death of Cæsar.

A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42. <sup>a</sup> Cleopatra declared herself without hesitation for the triumvirs. She gave Albienus, the consul, Dolabella's lieutenant, four legions, which were the remains of Pompey's and Crassus's armies, and formed part of the troops which Cæsar had left with her for the defence of Egypt. She had also a fleet in readiness for sailing, but it was prevented by storms from setting out. Cassius made himself master of these four legions, and frequently solicited Cleopatra for aid, which she resolutely refused. She sailed some time after with a numerous fleet, to join Antony and Octavianus. A violent storm occasioned the loss of a great number of her ships, and falling sick, she was obliged to return into Egypt.

A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41. <sup>o</sup> Antony, after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius in the battle of Philippi, having passed over into Asia, in order to establish the authority of the triumvirate there, the kings, princes, and ambassadors of the East, came thither in throngs to make their court to him. He was informed that the governors of Phœnicia, which was dependent upon the kingdom of Egypt, had sent Cassius aid against Dolabella. He cited Cleopatra before him, to answer for the conduct of her governors; and sent one of his lieutenants to oblige her to come to him in Cilicia, whither he was going to assemble the states of that province. That step became very fatal to Antony in its consequences, and completed his ruin. His love for Cleopatra having awakened passions in him, till then concealed or asleep, inflamed them even to madness, and finally deadened and extinguished the few sparks of honour and virtue which he might perhaps still retain.

Cleopatra, assured of her charms by the proof

<sup>a</sup> Appian. l. iii. p. 576. l. iv. p. 623. l. v. p. 675.

<sup>o</sup> Plut. in Anton. p. 926, 932. Diod. l. xlviii. p. 371. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 671.



she had already so successfully made of them upon Julius Cæsar, was in hopes that she could also very easily captivate Antony; and the more, because the former had known her only when she was very young; and had no experience of the world; whereas she was going to appear before Antony, at an age wherein women, with the bloom of their beauty, unite the whole force of wit and address to manage and conduct the greatest affairs. Cleopatra was at that time five-and-twenty years old. She provided herself therefore with exceeding rich presents, great sums of money, and especially with most magnificent habits and ornaments; and with still higher hopes in her attractions and the graces of her person, more powerful than dress, or even gold, she began her voyage.

Upon her way she received several letters from Antony, who was at Tarsus, and from his friends, pressing her to hasten her journey; but she only laughed at their eagerness, and used never the more diligence for them. Having crossed the sea of Pamphylia, she entered the Cydnus, and going up that river, landed at Tarsus. Never was equipage more splendid and magnificent than her's. The stern of her ship flamed with gold, the sails were purple, and the oars inlaid with silver. A pavilion of cloth of gold was raised upon the deck, under which appeared the queen, robed like Venus, and surrounded with the most beautiful virgins of her court, of whom some represented the Nereides, and others the Graces. Instead of trumpets, were heard flutes, hautboys, harps, and other such instruments of music, warbling the softest airs, to which the oars kept time, and rendered the harmony more agreeable. Perfumes were burning on the deck, which spread their odours to a great distance upon the river, and on each side of its banks, that were covered with an infinitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn thither.

As soon as her arrival was known, the whole people of Tarsus went out to meet her: so that

Antony, who at that time was giving audience, saw his tribunal abandoned by every one, and not a single person with him, but his lictors and domestics. A rumour was spread, that it was the goddess Venus, who came in masquerade to make Bacchus a visit for the good of Asia.

She was no sooner landed, than Antony sent to compliment and invite her to supper. But she answered his deputies that she should be very glad to regale him herself, and that she would expect him in the tents she had caused to be got ready upon the banks of the river. He made no difficulty to go thither, and found the preparations of a magnificence not to be expressed. He admired particularly the beauty of the lights, which had been disposed with abundance of art, and whose brilliancy was such, that they made midnight seem bright day.

Antony invited her, in his turn, for the next day. But in spite of his utmost endeavours to exceed her in this entertainment, he confessed himself overcome, as well in the splendor as disposition of the feast, and was the first to rally the parsimony and plainness of his own, in comparison with the sumptuousness and elegance of Cleopatra's. The queen, finding nothing but what was gross in the pleasantries of Antony, and more expressive of the soldier than the courtier, repaid him in his own coin; but with so much wit and grace, that he was not in the least offended at it. For the beauties and charms of her conversation, attended with all possible sweetness and gaiety, had attractions in them still more irresistible than her form and features, and left upon his mind and heart an indelible impression. She charmed whenever she but spoke, such music and harmony were in her utterance, and the very sound of her voice.

Little or no mention was made of the complaints against Cleopatra, which were, besides, without foundation. She struck Antony so violently with her

charms, and gained so absolute an ascendant over him, that he could refuse her nothing. It was at this time that at her entreaty he caused Arsinoe her sister to be put to death, who had taken refuge in the temple of Diana at Miletus, as in a secure asylum.

<sup>p</sup> Great feasts were made every day. Some new banquet still out-did that which preceded it, and she seemed to study to excel herself. Antony, at a feast to which she had invited him, was astonished at seeing the riches displayed on all sides, and especially at the great number of gold cups enriched with jewels, and wrought by the most excellent workmen. She told him, with a disdainful air, that those were but trifles, and made him a present of them. The next day the banquet was still more superb. Antony, according to custom, had brought a good number of guests along with him, all officers of rank and distinction. She gave them all the vessels and plate of gold and silver used at the entertainment.

<sup>q</sup> Without doubt, in one of these feasts happened what Pliny, and, after him, Macrobius, relate. Cleopatra jested according to custom upon Antony's entertainment, as very niggardly and inelegant. Piqued with the raillery, he asked her with some warmth, what she thought would add to its magnificence? Cleopatra answered coldly, that she could expend \* more than a million of livres upon one supper. He affirmed, that she was merely bragging, that it was impossible, and that she could never make it appear. A wager was laid, and Plancus was to decide it. The next day they came to the banquet. The service was magnificent, but had nothing so very extraordinary in it. Antony calculated the expence, demanded of the queen the price of the several dishes, and with an air of raillery, as secure of victory, told her, that they were still far from a million. Stay, said the queen, this is only

<sup>p</sup> Athen. l. iv. p. 147, 148.    <sup>q</sup> Plin. l. ix. c. 35. Macrobius. Satur. l. ii. c. 13.

\* *Centies H. S. Hoc est, centies centena millies sestertium.* Which amounted to more than a million of livres, or 52,500*l.* sterling.

a beginning. I shall try whether I cannot spend a million only upon myself. A second \* table was brought, and, according to the order she had before given, nothing was set on it but a single cup of vinegar. Antony, surprised at such a preparation, could not imagine for what it was intended. Cleopatra had at her ears two pearls, the finest that ever were seen, each of which was valued at above fifty thousand pounds. One of these pearls she took off, threw it into † the vinegar, and after having dissolved it, swallowed it. She was preparing to do as much by the other †; Plancus stopped her, and, deciding the wager in her favour, declared Antony overcome. Plancus was much in the wrong, to envy the queen the singular and peculiar glory of having swallowed two millions in two draughts.

A. M. 3964.  
Ant. J. C. 40.  
- Antony was embroiled with Cæsar. Whilst his wife Fulvia was very active at Rome in supporting his interests, and the army of the Parthians was upon the point of entering Syria, as if those things did not concern him, he suffered himself to be drawn away by Cleopatra to Alexandria, where they passed their time in games, amusements, and voluptuousness, treating each other every day at excess

\* The ancients changed their tables at every course.

† Vinegar is strong enough to dissolve the hardest things. *Aceti succus domitor rerum*, as Pliny says of it, l. xxxiii. c. 3. Cleopatra had not the glory of the invention. Before her, to the disgrace of royalty, the son of a comedian (Clodius the son of Æsopus) had done something of the same kind, and often swallowed pearls dissolved in that manner, from the sole pleasure of making the expence of his meals enormous.

*Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ,  
Scilicet ut decies solidum exsorberet, aceto  
Diluit insignem baccam*————— Hor. l. ii. Sat. 5.

‡ This other pearl was afterwards consecrated to Venus by Augustus, who carried it to Rome on his return from Alexandria; and having caused it to be cut in two, its size was so extraordinary, that it served for pendants in the ears of that goddess. Plin. *ibid.*

sive and incredible expences; which may be judged of from the following circumstance.

† A young Greek, who went to Alexandria to study physic, upon the great noise those feasts made, had the curiosity to assure himself with his own eyes about them. Having been admitted into Antony's kitchen, he saw amongst other things eight wild boars roasting whole at the same time. Upon which he expressed surprise at the great number of guests that he supposed were to be at the supper. One of the officers could not forbear laughing, and told him, that they were not so many as he imagined, and that there would not be above ten in all; but that it was necessary every thing should be served in a degree of perfection, which every moment ceases and spoils. "For (added he) it often happens that Antony will order his supper, and a moment after forbid it to be served, having entered into some conversation that diverts him. For that reason not one but many suppers are provided, because it is hard to know at what time he will think fit to have it set on table."

Cleopatra, lest Antony should escape her, never lost sight of him, nor quitted him day or night, but was always employed in diverting and retaining him in her chains. She played with him at dice, hunted with him, and when he exercised his troops, was always present. Her sole attention was to amuse him agreeably, and not to leave him time to conceive the least disgust.

One day, when he was fishing with an angle, and caught nothing, he was very much vexed on that account, because the queen was of the party, and he was unwilling to seem to want skill or good fortune in her presence. It therefore came into his thoughts to order fishermen to dive secretly under water, and to fasten to his hook some of their large fishes, which they had taken before. That

† Plut. in Anton. p. 928.

order was executed immediately, and Antony drew up his line several times with a great fish at the end of it. This artifice did not escape the fair Egyptian. She affected great admiration and surprise at Antony's good fortune; but told her friends privately what had passed, and invited them to come the next day, and be spectators of a like pleasantry. They did not fail. When they were all got into the fishing boats, and Anthony had thrown his line, she commanded one of her people to dive immediately into the water, to prevent Antony's divers, and to make fast a large salt fish, one of those that came from the kingdom of Pontus, to his hook. When Antony perceived his line had its load, he drew it up. It is easy to imagine what bursts of laughter arose at the sight of that salt fish; and Cleopatra said to him, "Leave the line, good general, to us, the kings and queens of Pharos and Canopus: your business is to fish for cities, kingdoms, and kings."

Whilst Antony amused himself in these puerile sports and trifling diversions, the news he received of Labienus's conquests, at the head of the Parthian army, awakened him from his lethargy, and obliged him to march against them. But having received advice, upon his route, of Fulvia's death, he returned to Rome, where he reconciled himself to young Cæsar, whose sister Octavia he married, a woman of extraordinary merit, who was lately become a widow by the death of Marcellus. It was believed this marriage would make him forget Cleopatra. But having begun his march against the Parthians, his passion for the Egyptian, which had something of enchantment in it, rekindled with more violence than ever.

A. M.  
3965.  
Ant. J. C.  
39.

A. M.  
3966.  
Ant. J. C.  
38.

\* This queen, in the midst of the most violent passions and the intoxication of pleasures, still retained a taste for polite learning and the sciences. In the place where stood the famous library of Alex-

andria, which had been burnt some years before, as we have observed, she erected a new one, to the augmentation of which Antony very much contributed, by presenting her with the libraries of Pergamus, in which were above two hundred thousand volumes. She did not collect books merely for ornament, she made use of them. There were few barbarous nations to whom she spoke by an interpreter; she answered most of them in their own language; the Ethiopians, Troglodytæ, Hebrews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians. † She knew besides several other languages; whereas the kings who had reigned before her in Egypt had scarcely been able to learn the Egyptian, and some of them had even forgotten the Macedonian, their natural tongue.

Cleopatra, pretending herself to be the lawful wife of Antony, saw him marry Octavia with great emotion, whom she looked upon as her rival. Antony, to appease her, was obliged to make her magnificent presents. He gave her Phœnicia, the Lower Syria, the isle of Cyprus, with a great part of Cilicia. To these he added part of Judea and Arabia. These great presents, which considerably abridged the extent of the empire, very much afflicted the Romans, and they were no less offended at the excessive honours which he paid this foreign princess.

Two years passed, during which Antony made several voyages to Rome, and undertook some expeditions against the Parthians and Armenians, in which he acquired no great honour.

‡ It was in one of these expeditions that the temple of Anaitis was plundered, a goddess much celebrated amongst a certain people of Armenia. Her statue of massy gold was broken in pieces by the soldiers, with which several of them were considerably enriched. One of them, a veteran, who afterwards settled at Bologna, in Italy, had the good fortune to receive Augustus in his house, and to entertain him at

† Plut. in Anton. p. 927.

‡ Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 23.

supper. "Is it true," said that prince, during the repast, talking of this story, "that the man, who made the first stroke at the statue of this goddess, was immediately deprived of sight, lost the use of his limbs, and expired the same hour?" "If it were," replied the veteran with a smile, "I should not now have the honour of seeing Augustus beneath my roof, being myself the rash person who made the first attack upon her, which has been of great service to me. For, if I have any thing, I am entirely indebted for it to the good goddess; upon one of whose legs, my lord, you are now supping."

A. M. 3969.  
Ant. J. C. 35.  
Antony, believing he had made every thing secure in those countries, led back his troops. From his impatience to rejoin Cleopatra, he hastened his march so much, notwithstanding the rigour of the season and the continual snows, that he lost eight thousand men upon his route, and marched into Phœnicia with very few followers. He rested there in expectation of Cleopatra; and as she was slow in coming, he fell into anxiety, grief, and languor, that visibly preyed upon him. She arrived at length with clothes and great sums of money for his troops.

Octavia, at the same time, had quitted Rome to join him, and was already arrived at Athens. Cleopatra rightly perceived that she came to dispute Antony's heart with her. She was afraid that with her virtue, wisdom and gravity of her manners, if she had time to make use of her modest, but lively and insinuating attractions, to win her husband, that she would gain an absolute power over him. To avoid which danger she affected to die for love of Antony; and, with that view, made herself lean and wan, by taking very little nourishment. Whenever he entered her apartment, she looked upon him with an air of surprise and amazement; and when he left

\* Plut. in Anton. p. 949—942.



her, seemed to languish with sorrow and dejection. She often contrived to appear bathed in tears, and at the same moment endeavoured to dry and conceal them, as if to hide from him her weakness and disorder. Antony, who feared nothing so much as occasioning the least uneasiness to Cleopatra, wrote letters to Octavia, to order her to stay for him at Athens and to come no farther, because he was upon the point of undertaking some new expedition. And in fact, at the request of the king of the Medes, who promised him powerful succours, he was making preparations to renew the war against the Parthians.

That virtuous Roman lady, dissembling the wrong he did her, sent to him to know, where it would be agreeable to him to have the presents carried which she had designed for him, since he did not think fit to let her deliver them in person. Antony received this second compliment no better than the first; and Cleopatra, who had prevented his seeing Octavia, would not permit him to receive any thing from her. Octavia was obliged therefore to return to Rome, without having produced any other effect by her voyage than that of making Antony more inexcusable. This was what Cæsar desired, in order to have a just reason for breaking entirely with him.

When Octavia came to Rome, Cæsar, professing an high resentment of the affront she had received, ordered her to quit Antony's house, and to go to her own. She answered that she would not leave her husband's house; and that if he had no other reasons for a war with Antony than what related to her, she conjured him to renounce her interests. She accordingly always continued there, as if he had been present, and educated with great care and magnificence, not only the children he had by her, but also those whom he had had by Fulvia. What a contrast is here between Octavia and Cleopatra! In the midst of rebuffs and affronts, how worthy does the one seem of esteem and respect, and the other, with all

her grandeur and magnificence, of contempt and abhorrence.

Cleopatra omitted no kind of arts to retain Antony in her chains. Tears, caresses, reproaches, menaces, all were employed. By dint of presents she had gained all who approached him, and in whom he placed most confidence. Those flatterers represented to him, in the strongest terms, that it would be absolutely cruel and inhuman to abandon Cleopatra in the mournful condition she then was; and that it would be the death of that unfortunate princess, who loved and lived for him alone. They softened and melted the heart of Antony so effectually, that, for fear of occasioning Cleopatra's death, he returned immediately to Alexandria, and put off the Medes to the following spring.

A. M. 3970.  
Ant. J. C. 34.  
It was with great difficulty then that he resolved to leave Egypt, and remove himself from his dear Cleopatra. She agreed to attend him as far as the banks of the Euphrates.

A. M. 3971.  
Ant. J. C. 35.  
After having made himself master of Armenia, as much by treachery as force of arms, he returned to Alexandria, which he entered in triumph, dragging at his chariot-wheels the king of Armenia, laden with chains of gold, and presented him in that condition to Cleopatra, who was pleased to see a captive king at her feet. He unbent his mind at leisure after his great fatigues in feasts and parties of pleasure, in which Cleopatra and himself passed days and nights. That vain \* Egyptian woman, at one of these banquets, seeing Antony full of wine, presumed to ask him to give her the Roman empire, which he was not ashamed to promise her.

Before he set out on a new expedition, Antony, to bind the queen to him by new obligations, and to

\* *Hæc mulier Ægyptia ab ebrio imperatore, pretium libidinum, Romanum imperium petiit: & promisit Antonius.* FLOR. l. iv. c. ii.

give her new proofs of his being entirely devoted to her, resolved to solemnize the coronation of her and her children. A throne of massy gold was erected for that purpose in the palace, the ascent to which was by several steps of silver. Antony was seated upon this throne, dressed in a purple robe embroidered with gold, and with diamond buttons. On his side he wore a scymetar, after the Persian mode, the hilt and scabbard of which were loaded with precious stones: he had a diadem on his brows, and a sceptre of gold in his hand; in order, as he said, that in that equipage he might deserve to be the husband of a queen. Cleopatra sat on his right hand in a shining robe, made of the precious linen which was appropriated to the use of the goddess Isis, whose name and habit she had the vanity to assume. Upon the same throne, but a little lower, sat Cæsario, the son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, and the two other children, Alexander and Ptolemy, whom she had by Antony.

Every one having taken the place assigned them, the heralds, by the command of Antony, and in the presence of all the people to whom the gates of the palace had been thrown open, proclaimed Cleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Cœlosyria, in conjunction with her son Cæsario. They afterwards proclaimed the other princes kings of kings, and declared, that till they should possess a more ample inheritance, Antony gave Alexander, the eldest, the kingdoms of Armenia and Media, with that of Parthia, when he should have conquered it; and to the youngest, Ptolemy, the kingdoms of Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia. Those two young princes were dressed after the mode of the several countries over which they were to reign. After the proclamation, the three princes, rising from their seats, approached the throne, and putting one knee to the ground, kissed the hands of Antony and Cleopatra. They had soon after a train assigned them, proportioned to their new dignity, and each his regiment of

guards, drawn out of the principal families of his dominions.

Antony repaired early into Armenia, in order to act against the Parthians, and had already advanced as far as the banks of the Araxes; but the news of what passed at Rome against him prevented his going on, and induced him to abandon the Parthian expedition. He immediately detached Canidius with sixteen legions to the coast of the Ionian sea, and joined them himself soon after at Ephesus, where he might be ready to act in case of an open rupture between Cæsar and him; which there was great reason to expect.

Cleopatra was of the party; and that occasioned Antony's ruin. His friends advised him to send her back to Alexandria, till the event of the war should be known. But that queen apprehending, that by Octavia's mediation he might come to an accommodation with Cæsar, gained Canidius, by dint of money, to speak in her favour to Antony, and to represent to him, that it was neither just to remove a princess from this war, who contributed so much towards it on her side, nor useful to himself; because her departure would discourage the Egyptians, of whom the greatest part of his maritime forces consisted. Besides, continued those who talked in this manner, it did not appear that Cleopatra was inferior, either in prudence or capacity, to any of the princes or kings in his army: she, who had governed so great a kingdom so long, and who might have learnt, in her intercourse with Antony, how to conduct the most important and difficult affairs with wisdom and address. Antony did not oppose these remonstrances, which flattered at once his passion and vanity.

From Ephesus he repaired with Cleopatra to Samos, where the greatest part of their troops had their rendezvous, and where they passed their time in feasting and pleasure. The kings in their train exhausted themselves in making their court by extraordinary

expences, and displayed excessive luxury in their entertainments.

\* It was probably in one of these feasts that the circumstance happened which is related by Pliny. Whatever passion Cleopatra professed for Antony, as he perfectly knew her character for dissimulation, and that she was capable of the blackest crimes, he apprehended, I know not upon what foundation, that she might have thoughts of poisoning him, for which reason he never touched any dish at their banquet till it had been tasted. It was impossible that the queen should not perceive so manifest a distrust. She employed a very extraordinary method to make him sensible how ill founded his fears were; and if she had so bad an intention, how ineffectual all the precautions he took would be. She caused the extremities of the flowers to be poisoned, of which the wreaths, worn by Anthony and herself at table, according to the custom of the ancients, were composed. When their heads began to grow warm with wine, in the height of their gaiety, Cleopatra proposed to Antony to drink off those flowers. He made no difficulty; and after having plucked off the end of his wreath with his fingers, and thrown them into his cup filled with wine, he was upon the point of drinking it, when the queen, taking hold of his arm, said to him—"I am the poisoner against whom you take such mighty precaution. If it were possible for me to live without you, judge now whether I wanted either the opportunity or reason for such an action." Having ordered a prisoner, condemned to die, to be brought thither, she made him drink that liquor, upon which he died immediately.

The court went from Samos to Athens, where they passed many days in the same excesses. Cleopatra spared no pains to obtain the same marks of affection and esteem as Octavia had received during her resi-

\* Plin. l. xxi. c. 3.

dence in that city. But whatever she could do, she could extort from them only forced civilities, which terminated in a trifling deputation, which Antony obliged the citizens to send to her, and at the head of which he himself would be in quality of a citizen of Athens.

A. M. 3972.  
Ant. J. C. 32.     † The new consuls, Caius Sosius and Domitius Ænobarbus, having declared openly for Antony, quitted Rome and repaired to him. Cæsar, instead of seizing them, or causing them to be pursued, ordered it to be given out, that they went to him by his permission; and declared publicly, that all persons who were so disposed, had his consent to retire whither they thought fit. By that means he remained master at Rome, and was in a condition to decree and act whatever he thought proper for his own interests, or contrary to those of Antony.

When Antony was apprised of this, he assembled all the heads of his party; and the result of their deliberations was, that he should declare war against Cæsar, and repudiate Octavia. He did both. Antony's preparations for the war were so far advanced, that if he had attacked Cæsar vigorously without loss of time, the advantage must inevitably have been wholly on his side; for his adversary was not then in a condition to make head against him, either by sea or land. But voluptuousness prevailed, and the operations were put off to the next year. This was his ruin. Cæsar, by his delay, had time to assemble all his forces.

The deputies sent by Antony to Rome to declare his divorce from Octavia had orders to command her to quit his house, with all her children, and, in case of refusal, to turn her out by force, and to leave nobody in it but the son of Anthony by Fulvia; an indignity the more sensible to Octavia, as a rival was the cause of it. However, stifling her resentment, she answered the deputies only with her tears; and

† Plut. in Anton. p. 942—955.

unjust as his orders were, she obeyed them, and removed with her children. She even laboured to appease the people, whom so unworthy an action had incensed against him, and did her utmost to mollify the rage of Cæsar. She represented to them, that it was inconsistent with the wisdom and dignity of the Roman people to enter into such petty differences; that it was only a quarrel between women, which did not merit that they should resent it; and that she should be very wretched if she were the occasion of a new war; she who had consented to her marriage with Antony, solely from the hope that it would prove the pledge of an union between him and Cæsar. Her remonstrances had a different effect from her intentions, and the people, charmed with her virtue, had still more compassion for her misfortune, and detestation for Antony than before.

But nothing enraged them to such a height as Antony's will, which he had deposited in the hands of the Vestal virgins. This mystery was revealed by <sup>z</sup> two persons of consular dignity, who, incapable of suffering the pride of Cleopatra and the abandoned voluptuousness of Antony, had retired to Cæsar. As they had been witnesses of this will, and knew the secret, they declared it to Cæsar. The Vestals made great difficulty to give up an instrument confided to their care; alledging in their excuse the faith of trusts, which they were obliged to observe; and were determined to be forced to it by the authority of the people. The will accordingly being brought into the Forum, these three articles were read in it: I. That Antony acknowledged Cæsario, as lawful son of Julius Cæsar. II. That he appointed his sons by Cleopatra to be his heirs, with the title of kings of kings. III. That he decreed, in case he should die at Rome, that his body, after having been carried in pomp through the city, should be laid the same evening on a bed of state, in order to its being sent

<sup>z</sup> Titius and Plancus.

to Cleopatra, to whom he left the care of his funeral and interment.

There are some authors, however, who believe this will to be a forgery contrived by Cæsar to render Antony more odious to the people. And indeed what appearance was there, that Antony, who well knew to what a degree the Roman people were jealous of their rights and customs, should confide to them the execution of a testament, which violated them with so much contempt.

When Cæsar had an army and fleet ready, which seemed strong enough to make head against his enemy, he also declared war on his side. But in the decree granted by the people to that purpose, he caused it to be expressed, that it was against Cleopatra: it was from a refinement of policy, that he acted in that manner, and did not insert Antony's name in the declaration of war, though actually intended against him. For besides throwing the blame upon Antony, by making him the aggressor in a war against his country, he did not hurt the feelings of those who were still attached to him, whose number and credit might have proved formidable, and whom he would have been under the necessity of declaring enemies to the commonwealth, if Antony had been expressly named in the decree.

Antony returned from Athens to Samos, where the whole fleet was assembled. It consisted of five hundred ships of war of extraordinary size and structure, having several decks one above another, with towers upon the head and stern of a prodigious height; so that those superb vessels upon the sea might have been taken for floating islands. Such great crews were necessary for completely manning those heavy machines, that Antony, not being able to find mariners enough, had been obliged to take husbandmen, artificers, muleteers, and all sorts of people void of experience, and fitter to give trouble than do real service.



On board this fleet were two hundred thousand foot and twelve thousand horse. The kings of Lybia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Comagena, and Thrace, were there in person; and those of Pontus, Judæa, Lycæonia, Galatia, and Media, had sent their troops. A more splendid and pompous sight could not be seen than this fleet when it put to sea, and had unfurled its sails. But nothing equalled the magnificence of Cleopatra's galley, all flaming with gold; its sails of purple; its flags and streamers floating in the wind, whilst trumpets, and other instruments of war, made the heavens resound with airs of joy and triumph. Antony followed her close in a galley equally splendid. That queen\*, intoxicated with her fortune and grandeur, and hearkening only to her unbridled ambition, foolishly threatened the Capitol with approaching ruin, and prepared with her infamous troop of eunuchs utterly to subvert the Roman empire.

On the other side, less pomp and splendour was seen, but more utility. Cæsar had only two hundred and fifty ships, and fourscore thousand foot, with as many horse as Antony. But all his troops were chosen men, and on board his fleet were none but experienced seamen. His vessels were not so large as Antony's, but then they were much lighter and fitter for service.

\* ————— *Dum Capitolio*

*Regina dementes ruinas,*

*Tunus & imperio parabat,*

*Contaminato cum grege turpium*

*Morbo virorum; quidlibet impotens*

*Sperare, fortunæque dulci*

*Ebria*————— HOR. Od. xxxvii. l. 1.

Whilst drunk with fortune's heady wine,

Fill'd with vast hope, though impotent in arms,

The haughty queen conceives the wild design,

So much her vain ambition charms!

With her polluted band of supple slaves,

Her silken eunuchs, and her Pharian knaves,

The Capitol in dust to level low,

And give Rome's empire, and the world, a last and fatal blow!

Cæsar's rendezvous was at Brundisium, and Antony advanced to Corcyra. But the season of the year was over, and bad weather came on; so that they were both obliged to retire, and to put their troops into winter quarters, and their fleets into good ports till the approach of spring.

A. M. 3973. Ant. J. C. 31. Antony and Cæsar, as soon as the season would admit, took the field both by sea and land. The two fleets entered the Ambracian gulph in Epirus. Antony's bravest and most experienced officers advised him not to hazard a battle by sea, to send back Cleopatra into Egypt, and to make all possible haste into Thrace or Macedonia, in order to fight there by land; because his army, composed of good troops, and much superior in numbers to Cæsar's, seemed to promise him the victory; whereas, a fleet so ill manned as his, how numerous soever it might be, was by no means to be relied on. But it was long since Antony had been not susceptible of good advice, and had acted only to please Cleopatra. That proud princess, who judged of things solely from appearances, believed her fleet invincible, and that Cæsar's ships could not approach it without being dashed to pieces. Besides, she rightly perceived that in case of misfortune it would be easier for her to escape in her ships than by land. Her opinion, therefore, took place against the advice of all the generals.

\* The battle was fought upon the second of September, at the mouth of the gulph of Ambracia, near the city of Actium, in sight of both the land-armies; the one of which was drawn up in battle upon the north, and the other upon the south of that strait, expecting the event. The contest was doubtful for some time, and seemed as much in favour of Antony as Cæsar, till the retreat of Cleopatra. That queen, frightened with the noise of the battle, in which every thing was terrible to a woman, took to

\* The 4th before the nones of September.

flight when she was in no danger, and drew after her the whole Egyptian squadron, which consisted of sixty ships of the line; with which she sailed for the coast of Peloponnesus. Antony, who saw her fly, forgetting every thing, forgetting even himself, followed her precipitately, and yielded a victory to Cæsar, which, till then, he had exceedingly well disputed. It, however, cost the victor extremely dear. For Antony's ships fought so well after his departure, that, though the battle began before noon, it was not over when night came on; so that Cæsar's troops were obliged to pass it on board their ships.

The next day Cæsar, seeing his victory complete, detached a squadron in pursuit of Antony and Cleopatra. But that squadron despairing of ever coming up with them, because so far before it, soon returned to join the main body of the fleet. Antony having entered the admiral-galley, in which Cleopatra was, went and sat down at the head of it; where, leaning his elbows on his knees, and supporting his head with his two hands, he remained like a man overwhelmed with shame and rage; reflecting, with profound melancholy, upon his ill conduct, and the misfortunes it had brought upon him. He kept in that posture, and in those thoughts, during the three days they were going to \* Tanarus, without seeing or speaking to Cleopatra. At the end of that time, they saw each other again, and lived together as usual.

The land-army still remained entire, and consisted of eighteen legions, and two and twenty thousand horse, under the command of Canidius, Antony's lieutenant-general, and might have made head against Cæsar, and given him abundance of difficulty. But seeing themselves abandoned by their generals, they surrendered to Cæsar, who received them with open arms.

\* Promontory of Laconia.

From Tænarus Cleopatra took the route of Alexandria, it a and Antony that of Libya, where he had left a considerable army to guard the frontiers of that country. Upon his landing he was informed, that Scarpus, who commanded this army, had declared for Cæsar. He was so struck with this news, which he had no reason to expect, that he would have killed himself, and was with difficulty prevented from it by his friends. He therefore had no other choice to make than to follow Cleopatra to Alexandria, where she was arrived.

When she approached that port, she was afraid, if her misfortune should be known, that she should be refused entrance. She therefore caused her ships to be crowned, as if she was returned victorious; and no sooner landed, than she caused all the great lords of her kingdom, whom she suspected, to be put to death, lest they should excite seditions against her, when they were informed of her defeat. Antony found her in the midst of these bloody executions.

A. M. 3974.  
Ant. J. C. 30.  
Soon after she formed another very extraordinary design. To avoid falling into Cæsar's hands, who, she foresaw, would follow her into Egypt, she designed to have her ships in the Mediterranean carried into the Red Sea, over the isthmus between them, which is no more than thirty leagues broad; and afterwards to put all her treasures on board those ships and others which she already had in that sea, but the Arabians who inhabited the coast having burnt all the ships she had there, she was obliged to abandon her design.

Changing, therefore, her resolution, she thought only of gaining Cæsar, whom she looked upon as her conqueror, and to make him a sacrifice of Antony, whose misfortunes had rendered him indifferent to her. Such was this princess's disposition. Though she loved even to madness, she had still more ambition than love, and the crown being dearer to her than her husband, she entertained

thoughts of preserving it at the price of Antony's life. But concealing her sentiments from him, she persuaded him to send ambassadors to Cæsar, to negotiate a treaty of peace with him. She joined her ambassadors with his; but gave them instructions to treat separately for herself. Cæsar would not so much as see Antony's ambassadors. He dismissed Cleopatra's with a favourable answer. He passionately desired to make sure of her person and treasures; her person to adorn his triumph; her treasures to enable him to discharge the debts he had contracted upon account of this war. He therefore gave her reason to conceive great hopes, in case she would sacrifice Antony to him.

The latter, after his return from Libya, had retired into a country-house, which he had caused to be built expressly on the banks of the Nile, in order to enjoy the conversation of two of his friends, who had followed him thither. In his retirement it might have been expected, that he would hear with pleasure the wise discourses of those two philosophers. But as they could not banish from his heart his love for Cleopatra, the sole cause of all his misfortunes, that passion which they had only suspended, soon resumed its former empire. He returned to Alexandria, abandoned himself again to the charms and caresses of Cleopatra, and, with design to please her, sent deputies again to Cæsar to demand life of him, upon the shameful conditions of passing it at Athens as a private person; provided Cæsar would assure Egypt to Cleopatra and her children.

This second deputation not having met with a more favourable reception than the former, Antony endeavoured to extinguish in himself the sense of his present misfortunes, and the apprehension of those that threatened him, by abandoning himself immoderately to feasting and voluptuousness. Cleopatra and he regaled one another alternately, and strove with emulation to exceed each other in the incredible magnificence of their banquets.

The queen, however, who foresaw what might happen, collected all sorts of poisons, and to try which of them occasioned death with the least pain, she made the experiment of their virtues and strength upon criminals in the prisons condemned to die. Having observed that the strongest poisons caused death the soonest, but with great torment, and that those which were gentle brought on an easy but slow death, she tried the biting of venomous creatures, and caused various kinds of serpents to be applied in her presence to different persons. She made these experiments every day, and discovered at length that the aspick was the only one that caused neither torture nor convulsions; but merely throwing the persons bitten into an immediate heaviness and stupefaction, attended with a slight sweating upon the face and a numbness of all the organs of sense, gently extinguished life; so that those in that condition were angry when any one awakened them, or endeavoured to make them rise, like people exceedingly sleepy. This was the poison she fixed upon.

To dispel Antony's suspicions and subjects of complaint, she applied herself with more than ordinary solicitude in caressing him. Though she celebrated her own birth-day with little solemnity, and suitably to her present condition, she kept that of Antony with a splendour and magnificence above what she had ever displayed before; so that many of the guests who came poor to that feast went rich from it.

Cæsar knowing how important it was to him not to leave his victory imperfect, marched in the beginning of the spring into Syria, and from thence sat down before Pelusium. He sent to summon the governor to open the gates to him; and Seleucus, who commanded there for Cleopatra, having received secret orders upon that head, surrendered the place without waiting a siege. The rumour of this treason spread in the city. Cleopatra, to clear herself of the accusation, put the wife and children of Seleucus into

Antony's hands, in order that he might revenge his treachery by putting them to death. What a monster was this princess! The most odious of vices were united in her person; an avowed disregard of modesty, breach of faith, injustice, cruelty, and, what crowns all the rest, the false exterior of a deceitful friendship, which covers a design formed to deliver up to his enemy the person she loads with the most tender caresses, and with marks of the warmest and most sincere attachment. Such are the effects of ambition, which was her predominant vice.

Adjoining to the temple of Isis she had caused tombs and halls to be erected, superb as well for their beauty and magnificence, as their loftiness and extent. Thither she ordered her most precious effects and moveables to be carried; gold, silver, jewels, ebony, ivory, and a large quantity of perfumes and aromatic wood; as if she intended to raise a funeral pile, upon which she would consume herself with her treasures. Cæsar, alarmed for the latter, and apprehending lest her despair should induce her to burn them, dispatched every day some person to her, to give her great hopes of the most kind and generous treatment, and nevertheless advanced towards the city by great marches.

Upon arriving there he encamped near the Hippodrome. He was in hopes of making himself master of the city soon, by means of the intelligence which he held with Cleopatra, upon which he relied no less than upon his army.

Antony was ignorant of that princess's intrigues, and, being unwilling to believe what was told him of them, prepared for a good defence. He made a vigorous sally, and after having severely handled the besiegers, and warmly pursued to the gates of their camp a detachment of horse which had been sent against him, he returned victorious into the city. This was the last effort of expiring valour; for, after this exploit, his fortitude and sense of glory abandoned him, or were never after of any

service to him. Instead of making use of this advantage, and of applying himself seriously to his defence, by observing the motions of Cleopatra, who was betraying him, he came, completely armed as he was, to throw himself at her feet, and to kiss her hands. The whole palace of Alexandria immediately resounded with acclamations, as if the siege had been raised; and Cleopatra, who had no thoughts but of amusing Antony, ordered a magnificent feast to be prepared, at which they passed the rest of the day and part of the night together.

Early on the morrow, Antony resolved to attack Cæsar by sea and land. He drew up his land-army upon some eminences in the city; and from thence kept his gallies in view, which were going out of the port in order to charge those of Cæsar. He waited without making any motion to see the success of that attack; but was much astonished when he saw Cleopatra's admiral strike his flag when he came in view of Cæsar's, and surrender his whole fleet to him.

This treason opened Antony's eyes, and made him, when too late, give credit to what his friends had told him of the queen's perfidy. In this extremity he was for signaling himself by an extraordinary act of valour, capable, in his opinion, of doing him abundance of honour. He sent to challenge Cæsar to a single combat. Cæsar made answer, that if Antony was weary of life, there were other ways to die besides that. Antony, seeing himself ridiculed by Cæsar, and betrayed by Cleopatra, returned into the city, and was a moment after abandoned by all his cavalry. Seized with rage and despair, he then flew to the palace, with design to avenge himself upon Cleopatra, but did not find her there.

That artful princess, who had foreseen what happened, to escape the rage of Antony, had retired into the quarter where stood the tombs of the kings of Egypt, which was fortified with strong walls, and the gates of which she had ordered to be closed.



She caused Antony to be told, that preferring an honourable death to a shameful captivity, she had killed herself in the midst of her ancestors' tombs, where she had also chosen her own sepulchre. Antony, too credulous, did not give himself time to examine a piece of news which he ought to have suspected after all Cleopatra's other infidelities; and struck with the idea of her death, passed immediately from excess of rage to the most violent transports of grief, and thought only of following her to the grave.

Having taken this furious resolution, he shut himself up in his apartment with a slave, and having caused his armour to be taken off, he commanded him to plunge his dagger into his breast. But that slave, full of affection, respect, and fidelity for his master, stabbed himself with it, and fell dead at his feet. Antony, looking upon this action as an example for him to follow, thrust his sword into his body, and fell upon the floor, in a torrent of his blood, which he mingled with that of his slave. At that moment an officer of the queen's guards came to let him know that she was alive. He no sooner heard the name of Cleopatra pronounced, than he opened his dying eyes, and being informed that she was not dead, he suffered his wound to be dressed, and afterwards caused himself to be carried to the fort where she had shut herself up. Cleopatra would not permit the gates to be opened to give him entrance, for fear of some surprize; but she appeared at an high window, from whence she threw down chains and cords. Antony was made fast to these, and Cleopatra, assisted by two women who were the only persons she had brought with her, into the tomb, drew him up. Never was there a more moving sight. Antony, all bathed in his blood, with death painted in his face, was dragged up in the air, turning his dying eyes, and extending his feeble hands towards Cleopatra, as if to conjure her to receive his last breath; whilst she, with

her features distorted and her arms strained, pulled the cords with her whole strength ; the people below, who could give her no further aid, encouraging her with their cries,

When she had drawn him up to her, and had laid him on a bed, she tore her clothes upon him, and beating her breast, and wiping the blood from his wound, with her face close to his, she called him her prince, her lord, her dearest spouse. Whilst she made these mournful exclamations, she cut off Antony's hair, according to the superstition of the Pagans, who believed that it gave relief to those who died a violent death.

Antony, recovering his senses, and seeing Cleopatra's affliction, said to her, to comfort her, that he thought himself happy since he died in her arms; and that, as to his defeat, he was not ashamed of it, it being no disgrace for a Roman to be overcome by Romans. He afterwards advised her to save her life and kingdom, provided she could do so with honour; to be upon her guard against the traitors of her own court, as well as the Romans in Cæsar's train, and to trust only Proculeius. He expired with these words.

The same moment Proculeius arrived from Cæsar, who could not refrain from tears at the sad relation of what had passed, and at the sight of the sword still reeking with Antony's blood, which was presented to him. He had particular orders to get Cleopatra into his hands, and to take her alive, if possible. That princess refused to surrender herself to him. She had however a conversation with him without letting him enter the tomb. He only came close to the gates which were well fastened, but gave passage for the voice through cracks. They talked a considerable time together, during which she continually asked the kingdom for her children; whilst he exhorted her to hope the best, and pressed her to confide all her interests to Cæsar.

After having considered the place well, he went

to make his report to Cæsar, who immediately sent Gallus to talk again with her. Gallus went to the gates, as Proculeius had done, and spoke like him through the crevices, protracting the conversation on purpose. In the meanwhile Proculeius brought a ladder to the wall, entered the tomb by the same window through which she and her women had drawn up Antony, and followed by two officers who were with him, went down to the gate where she was speaking to Gallus. One of the two women who were shut up with her, seeing him come, cried out, quite out of her senses with fear and surprise, "O unfortunate Cleopatra, you are taken!" Cleopatra turned her head, saw Proculeius, and would have stabbed herself with a dagger, which she always carried at her girdle. But Proculeius ran nimbly to her, took her in his arms, and said to her, "You wrong yourself and Cæsar too, in depriving him of so grateful an occasion of shewing his goodness and clemency." At the same time he forced the dagger out of her hands, and shook her robes, lest she should have concealed poison in them.

Cæsar sent one of his freemen, named Epaphroditus, with orders to guard her carefully, to prevent her making any attempt upon herself, and to behave to her at the same time with all the attention and complaisance she could desire: he likewise instructed Proculeius to ask the queen what she desired of him.

Cæsar afterwards prepared to enter Alexandria, the conquest of which there were no longer any to dispute with him. He found the gates of it open, and all the inhabitants in extreme consternation, not knowing what they had to hope or fear. He entered the city, conversing with the philosopher Arius, upon whom he leant with an air of familiarity, to signify publicly the regard he had for him. Being arrived at the palace, he ascended a tribunal, which he ordered to be erected there; and, seeing the whole people prostrate upon the ground, he commanded them to rise. He then told them, that he pardoned them for

three reasons: the first, upon the account of Alexander their founder; the second, for the beauty of their city; and the third, for the sake of Arius, one of their citizens, whose merit and knowledge he esteemed.

Prœculeius, in the mean time, acquitted himself of his commission to the queen, who at first asked nothing of Cæsar but his permission to bury Antony, which was granted her without difficulty. She spared no cost to render his interment magnificent, according to the custom of Egypt. She caused his body to be embalmed with the most exquisite perfumes of the East, and placed it amongst the tombs of the kings of Egypt.

Cæsar did not think proper to see Cleopatra in the first days of her mourning: but, when he believed he might do it with decency, he was introduced into her chamber, after having asked her permission; being desirous to conceal his designs under the regard he professed for her. She was laid upon a little bed, in a very simple and neglected manner. When he entered her chamber, though she had nothing on but a single tunic, she rose immediately, and went to throw herself at his feet, horribly disfigured, her hair loose and disordered, her visage wild and haggard, her voice faltering, her eyes almost dissolved by excessive weeping, and her bosom covered with wounds and bruises. That natural grace and lofty mien which were inspired by her beauty, were, however, not wholly extinct; and notwithstanding the deplorable condition to which she was reduced, even through that depth of grief and dejection, as from a dark cloud, shot forth keen glances, and a kind of radiance which brightened in her looks, and in every movement of her countenance. Though she was almost dying, she did not despair of inspiring that young victor with love, as she had formerly done Cæsar and Antony.

The chamber where she received him was full of the portraits of Julius Cæsar. "My Lord," (said she to him, pointing to those pictures), "behold

“ those images of him who adopted you his succes-  
“ sor in the Roman empire, and to whom I am in-  
“ debted for my crown.” Then taking letters out  
of her bosom, which she had concealed in it, “ See  
also,” said she, (kissing them) “ the dear testimonies  
“ of his love.” She afterwards read some of the most  
tender of them, commenting upon them, at proper  
intervals, with moving exclamations, and passionate  
glances, but she employed those arts with no success;  
for, whether her charms had no longer the power they  
had in her youth, or that ambition was Cæsar’s  
ruling passion, he did not seem affected with either  
her person or conversation; contenting himself with  
exhorting her to take courage, and assuring her of  
his good intentions. She was far from not discern-  
ing that coldness, from which she presaged no good;  
but dissembling her concern, and changing the dis-  
course, she thanked him for the compliments Pro-  
culeius had made her in his name, and which he had  
thought fit to repeat in person. She added, that in  
return she would deliver to him all the treasures of  
the kings of Egypt. And in fact, she put an inven-  
tory into his hands of all her moveables, jewels, and  
revenues. And as Seleucus, one of her treasurers,  
who was present, reproached her with not declaring  
the whole, and with having concealed part of her  
most valuable effects; incensed at so great an insult,  
she rose up, ran to him, and gave him several blows  
in the face. Then turning towards Cæsar, “ Is it  
“ not a horrible thing,” (said she to him) “ that  
“ when you have not disdained to visit me, and have  
“ thought fit to console me in the sad condition in  
“ which I now am, my own domestics should accuse  
“ me before you of retaining some women’s jewels,  
“ not to adorn a wretch like myself, but as a slight  
“ present to your sister Octavia, and your wife  
“ Livia; that their protection may induce you to  
“ afford a more favourable treatment to an unfortu-  
“ nate princess.”

Cæsar was exceedingly pleased to hear her talk in that manner, not doubting but the love of life inspired her with such language. He told her she might dispose as she pleased of the jewels she had reserved: and after having assured her that he would treat her with more generosity and magnificence than she could venture to hope; he withdrew, imagining that he had deceived her; and was deceived himself.

Not doubting but Cæsar intended to make her serve as an ornament to his triumph, she had no other thoughts than to avoid that shame by dying. She well knew that she was observed by the guards who had been assigned her, who, under colour of doing her honour, followed her every where; and besides, that her time was short, Cæsar's departure approaching. The better therefore to cajole him, she sent to desire that she might go to pay her last duty at the tomb of Antony and take her leave of him. Cæsar having granted her that permission, she went thither accordingly to bathe that tomb with her tears, and to assure Antony, to whom she addressed her discourse as if he had been present before her eyes, that she would soon give him a more certain proof of her affection.

After that fatal protestation, which she accompanied with sighs and tears, she caused the tomb to be covered with flowers, and returned to her chamber. She then went into a bath, and from the bath to table, having ordered it to be served magnificently. When she arose from table, she wrote a letter to Cæsar; and having made all quit her chamber except her two women, she shut the door, sat down upon a couch, and asked for a basket of figs, which a peasant had lately brought. She placed it by her, and a moment after laid down as if she had fallen asleep. But that was the effect of the aspic, which was concealed amongst the fruit, and had stung her in the arm, which she had held to it. The poison

immediately communicated itself to the heart, and killed her without pain, or being perceived by any body. The guards had orders to let nothing pass without a strict examination; but the disguised peasant, who was one of the queen's faithful servants, played his part so well, and there seemed so little appearance of deceit in a basket of figs, that the guards suffered him to enter. Thus all Cæsar's precautions were ineffectual.

He did not doubt Cleopatra's resolution, after having read the letter she had written to him, to desire that he would suffer her body to be laid in the same tomb with that of Antony, and he instantly dispatched two officers to prevent it. But notwithstanding all the haste they could make they found her dead.

That \* princess was too haughty and too much above the vulgar to suffer herself to be led in triumph at the wheels of the victor's chariot. Determined to die, and thence become capable of the fiercest resolutions, she saw, with a tearless and stedfast eye, the mortal venom of the asp glide into her veins.

\* *Ausa et jacentem visere regiam  
Vultu sereno fortis, et asperas  
Tractare serpentes, ut atrum  
Corpore combiberet venenum;  
Deliberatâ morte ferocior:  
Sævis Liburnis scilicet invidens  
Privata deduci superbo  
Non humilis mulier triumpho.*

HOR. OD. xxxvii. l. 1.

Not the dark palace of the realms below  
Can awe the furious purpose of her soul;  
Calmly she looks from her superior woe,  
That can both death and fear controul!  
Provokes the serpent's sting, his rage disdains,  
And joys to feel his poison in her veins,  
Invidious to the victor's fancy'd pride,  
She will not from her own descend,  
Disgrac'd a vulgar captive by his side,  
His pompous triumph to attend;  
But fiercely flies to death, and bids her sorrows end.

She died at thirty-nine years of age, of which she had reigned twenty-two from the death of her father. The statues of Antony were thrown down, and those of Cleopatra remained as they were; Archibius, who had long been in her service, having given Cæsar a thousand talents that they might not be treated as Antony's had been.

After Cleopatra's death, Egypt was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, and governed by a prefect sent thither from Rome. The reign of the Ptolemies in Egypt, if we date its commencement from the death of Alexander the Great, had continued two hundred fourscore and thirteen years, from the year of the world 3681 to 3974.



CONCLUSION

OF THE

ANCIENT HISTORY.

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WE have seen hitherto, without speaking of the first and ancient kingdom of Egypt, and of some states separate, and in a manner entirely distinct from the rest, three great successive empires, founded on the ruins of each other, subsist during a long series of ages, and at length entirely disappear; the empire of the Babylonians, the empire of the Medes and Persians, and the empire of the Macedonians and the Grecian princes, successors of Alexander the Great. A fourth empire still remains, that of the Romans, which, having already swallowed up most of those which have preceded it, will extend its conquests, and, after having subjected all to its power by force of arms, will be itself torn, in a manner, into different pieces, and by being so dismembered, make way for the establishment of almost all the kingdoms which now divide Europe, Asia, and Africa. Behold here, to speak properly, a picture on a small scale of the duration of all ages; of the glory and power of all the empires of the world; in a word, of all that is most splendid and most capable of exciting admiration in human great-

ness! Every excellence by an happy concurrence is here found assembled: the fire of genius, delicacy of taste, accompanied by solid judgment; uncommon powers of eloquence, carried to the highest degree of perfection, without departing from nature and truth; the glory of arms, with that of arts and sciences; valour in conquering, and ability in government. What a multitude of great men of every kind does it not present to our view! What powerful, what glorious kings! What great captains! What famous conquerors! What wise magistrates! What learned philosophers! What admirable legislators! We are transported with beholding in certain ages and countries, who appear to possess them as privileges peculiar to themselves, an ardent zeal for justice, a passionate love for their country, a noble disinterestedness, a generous contempt of riches, and an esteem for poverty, which astonish and amaze us, so much do they appear above human nature.

In this manner we think and judge. But, whilst we are in admiration and extacy at the view of so many shining virtues, the Supreme Judge, who can alone truly estimate all things, sees nothing in them but littleness, meanness, vanity, and pride; and, whilst mankind are anxiously busied in perpetuating the power of their families, in founding kingdoms, and, if that were possible, rendering them eternal, God, from his throne on high, overthrows all their projects, and makes even their ambition the means of executing his purposes, infinitely superior to our understandings. He alone knows his operations and designs. All ages are present to him; <sup>a</sup> "He seeth from everlasting to everlasting." He has assigned to all empires their fate and duration. In all the different revolutions which we have seen, nothing has come to pass by chance. We know that under the image of that statue, which Nebu-

<sup>a</sup> Ecclus. xxxix. 20.

choseosor saw, of an enormous height and terrible aspect, with a head of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, and the legs of iron mixed with clay, God thought fit to represent the four great empires, uniting in them, as we have seen in the course of this history, all that is splendid, grand, formidable, and powerful. And of what has the Almighty occasion for overthrowing this immense colossus? <sup>b</sup> "A small stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet, that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing floors, and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth."

We see with our own eyes the accomplishment of this admirable prophecy of Daniel, at least in part. JESUS CHRIST, who came down from heaven to clothe himself with flesh and blood in the sacred womb of the blessed virgin, without the participation of man, is the small stone that came from the mountain without human aid. The prevailing characteristics of his person, of his relations, his appearance, his manner of teaching, his disciples, in a word of every thing that relates to him, were simplicity, poverty, and humility; which were so extreme, that they conceal from the eyes of the proud Jews the divine lustre of his miracles, how shining soever it was, and from the sight of the devil himself, penetrating and attentive as he was, the evident proofs of his divinity.

Notwithstanding that seeming weakness, and even meanness, JESUS CHRIST will certainly conquer the whole universe. It is under this idea that a prophet represents him to us: <sup>c</sup> "He went forth conquering

<sup>b</sup> Dan. ii. 34, 35.

<sup>c</sup> Apoc. vi. 2.

and to conquer." His work and mission are, "to set up a kingdom for his father which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom which shall not be left to other people;" like those of which we have seen the history; "but it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever."

The power granted to JESUS CHRIST, the founder of this empire, is without bounds, measure, or end. The kings, who glory so much in their might, have nothing which approaches in the slightest degree to that of JESUS CHRIST. They do not reign over the will of man, which is real dominion. Their subjects can think as they please independently of them. There are an infinitude of particular actions done without their order, and which escape their knowledge, as well as their power. Their designs often miscarry and come to nothing, even during their own lives. At least all their greatness vanishes and perishes with them. But with JESUS CHRIST it is quite otherwise. <sup>d</sup> "All power is given unto him in heaven and in earth." He exercises it principally upon the hearts and minds of men. Nothing is done without his order or permission. Every thing is disposed by his wisdom and power. Every thing cooperates, directly or indirectly, to the accomplishment of his designs.

Whilst all things are in motion and fluctuate upon earth; whilst states and empires pass away with incredible rapidity, and the human race, vainly employed with these outward appearances, are also drawn in by the same torrent, almost without perceiving it; there passes in secret an order and disposition of things unknown and invisible, which however determines our fate to all eternity. The duration of ages has no other end than the formation of the company of the elect, which augments and

<sup>d</sup> Matt. xxviii. 18.

tends daily towards perfection. When it shall have received its final accomplishment by the death of the last of the elect, “Then cometh the end, when JESUS CHRIST shall have delivered up the kingdom to GOD, even the FATHER: when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power.” God grant that we may all have our share in that blessed kingdom, whose law is truth, whose king is love, and whose duration is eternity. *Fiat, Fiat.*

\* 1 Cor. xv. 24.

THE  
CHRONOLOGICAL  
TABLE.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

**C**HRONOLOGY is the knowledge of the just computation of time. It shows to what year the events related in history are to be referred. The years used for measuring the duration of time are either solar or lunar.

The Solar Year is that space of time which elapses between one equinox and another of the same denomination the next year: for instance, from the vernal equinox to the vernal equinox following, which contains 365 days, five hours, and forty nine minutes.

The Lunar Year, is composed of twelve lunar months, each of which consists of twenty-nine days, twelve hours, and forty-four minutes, that make in all 354 days, eight hours, and forty-eight minutes.

Both of these years are called Astronomical, to distinguish them from that in common use, which is termed Civil or Political.

Though all nations may not agree with one another in the manner of determining their years, some regulating them by the motion of the sun, and others by that of the moon, they however generally use the solar year in *chronology*. It seems at first, that as the lunar years are shorter than the solar, that inequality should produce some error in chronological calculations. But it is to be observed, that the nations who used lunar years, added a certain number of intercalary days to make them agree with the solar; which makes them correspond with each other, or at least, if there be

any difference, it may be neglected, when the question is only to determine the year in which a fact happened.

In *Chronology* there are certain times distinguished by some great event, to which all the rest are referred. These are called *Epochs*, from a Greek \* word, which signifies to stop, because we stop there to consider, as from a resting place, all that has happened before or after, and by that means to avoid anachronisms, that is to say, those errors which induce confusion of times.

The choice of the events which are to serve as epochs, is arbitrary, and a writer of history may take such as best suit his plan.

When we begin to compute years from one of these points distinguished by a considerable event, the enumeration and series of such years is called an *Æra*. There are almost as many æras as there have been different nations. The principal, and those most in use, are that of *the Creation of the World*, of *the birth of Jesus Christ*, of *the Olympiads*, and of *the building of Rome*. I should have been glad to have used all the four in the Chronological Table at the end of my history. But the narrow compass of these pages, obliges me to confine myself to the two most famous, that is to say, that of *the World*, and that of *Jesus Christ*.

Every body knows, that the *Olympiads* derived there origin from the Olympic games, which were celebrated in Peloponnesus, near the city of Olympia. These games were so solemn, that Greece made them her epoch for computing her years. By an *Olympiad* is meant the space of four years complete, which is the time that elapsed between one celebration of the games and another. The first used by chronologers begins, according to Usher, in the summer of the year of the World 3228, before Christ 776. When the time in which an event happened is reckoned by *Olympiads*, authors say the first, second, or third, &c. year of such an *Olympiad*; which being once known, it is easy to find the year of the world to which the same fact is to be referred; and in like manner, when the year of the world is known, it is easy to find that of the Olympiad which agrees with it.

Rome was built according to Varro's Chronology, in the year of the world 3251, and the 753d before Jesus Christ. Cato dates the foundation of that city two years later, in the year of the world 3253, before Jesus Christ 751. I shall follow the opinion of the latter in my Roman history.

\* 'Εποχή.

The years reckoned from this *epoch* are called indifferently years of Rome, or years from the foundation of the city.

The *Julian period* is also a famous *æra* in *chronology* used principally for reckoning the years before Christ. I am going to explain in few words wherein this period consists, and its use: but first I must give the reader an idea of the three *cycles*, of which it is composed.

By the word *cycle*, is understood the revolution of a certain number of years.

The *Solar Cycle* is a term of twenty-eight years which includes all the variations that the Sundays and days of the week admit, that is to say, at the end of twenty-eight years the first seven letters of the alphabet, which are used in the calendar for noting the day of the week, and which are called Dominical letters, return in the same order in which they were at first. To understand what I have now said, it must be observed, that if the year had only fifty-two weeks, there would be no change in the order of the dominical letters. But as it has a day more, and two in leap-year, that produces some variations which are all included in the space of twenty-eight years, of which the solar *cycle* consists.

The *Lunar Cycle*, called also the Golden Number, is the revolution of nineteen years, at the end of which the moon returns, within an hour and an half, to the same point with the sun, and begins its lunations again in the same order as at first. We are indebted for the invention of this *cycle* to Meto, a famous Athenian Astronomer. Before the invention of the epacts, it was used for marking the days of the new moon in the calendar.

Besides these two *cycles*, chronologers admit a third also, called *Indiction*. This is a revolution of fifteen years, of which the first is called the *first indiction*, the second the *second indiction*, and so on to the fifteenth, after which they begin again to count the first indiction, &c.

The first indiction is generally supposed to have begun three years before the birth of Christ.

If these three cycles, that is to say, 28, 19 and 15, are multiplied by each other, the product will be 7980, which is what is called the *Julian period*.

One of the properties of this period, is to give the three characteristic cycles of each year, that is to say, the current year of each of the three cycles; for example, every body knows that the vulgar *æra* commences at the year 4714 of the *Julian period*. If that number be divided by 28, what



remains \* after the division, shows the solar cycle of that year. In the same manner the lunar cycle and the indiction may be found. It is demonstrated, that the three numbers which express these three *cycles* cannot be found again in the same order in any other year of the *Julian period*. It is the same in respect to the cycles of other years.

If we trace this period back to its first year, that is to say, to the year when the three cycles, of which it is composed, began, we shall find it precede the creation of the world 710 years; supposing the creation to precede the vulgar æra only 4004 years.

This period is called *Julian*, because it is made to agree with the years of Julius Cæsar. Scaliger invented it to reconcile the systems that divided chronologers concerning the length of time elapsed since the beginning of the world. There are who believe that only 4004 years of the world are to be reckoned before *Jesus Christ*. Others give more extent to that space, and augment the number of years of which it consists. These variations disappear when the Julian period is used, for every body agrees in respect to the year in which that began, and there is nobody who does not allow that the first year of the vulgar æra falls in with the 4714th of that period. Thus in the Julian period there are two fixed points, which unite all systems, and reconcile all chronologers.

It is easy to find the year of the *Julian period*, that answers to any year whatsoever of the vulgar æra of the world. For as the beginning of the *Julian period* precedes that æra 710 years, by adding that number to the year proposed of the æra of the world, we have the year of the *Julian period* that answers to it. For instance, we know that the battle of Arbela was fought in the year of the world 3673. If to that number we add 710, it will be 4383, which number expresses the year of the *Julian period*, to which the battle of Arbela is to be referred.

It remains for me to say a few words upon the order I have observed in my Chronological Table. At first I proposed to make as many columns as there are different nations mentioned in my work, whose history falls out in the same times, and to place them all in the same line with each other, in order that all the events that happened in the same year might be seen at one view. But, besides my not having

\* I say what remains, and not the quotient, as some authors do; for the quotient expresses the number of *cycles* elapsed since the beginning of the period, and what remains after the division shows the year of the current cycle.

sufficient room to place so many columns side by side with each other, I found that I should have been obliged to leave too many blank spaces, which would have considerably lengthened the table, and in consequence swelled the volume, which, as it is, is very large. I therefore chose to separate the Carthaginians and Syracusans, and to give their chronology apart. The histories of those two people are closely connected with each other, and have little relation to those of the other nations of whom I have treated.

The reader knows that hitherto I have not entered into chronological discussions, and undoubtedly does not expect that I should do so now. I shall generally follow Usher, whom I have chosen for my guide in this subject.



A.M.

A S S Y R I A N S.

Ant. J. C.

1800. Nimrod, founder of the first empire of the Assyrians. 2204.

Ninus, the son of Nimrod.

Semiramis; she reigned 42 years.

Ninyas.

The history of the successors of Ninyas for thirty generations, except of Phul and Sardanapalus, is unknown.

A. M.	EGYPT.	GREECE.	Ant. J. C.
1816.	Menes or Mesraim first king of Egypt.		2188.
	Busiris.		
	Osymandias.		
	Uchorens.		
	Moeris.		
1915.		Foundation of the	2089.
1920.	The Shepherd - kings seize Lower Egypt. They reign 260 years.	kingdom of Sicily.	2084.
2084.	Abraham enters Egypt, where Sarah is in great danger from one of the Shepherd-kings.		1920.
2148.		Foundation of the kingdom of Argos. Deluge of Ogyges in Attica.	1856.
2179.	Thethmosis expels the Shepherd - kings, and reigns in Lower Egypt.		1825.
2276.	Joseph is carried into Egypt and sold to Potiphar.		1728.
2298.	Jacob goes into Egypt with his family.		1706.
2427.	Ramesses - Miamum begins to reign in Egypt. He persecutes the Israelites.		1577.
2448.	Cecrops conducts a colony from Egypt, and founds the kingdom of Athens.	Foundation of the kingdom of Athens by Cecrops. He institutes the Areopagus.	1556.

2494. Amenophis, the eldest son of Ramesses, succeeds him 1510.  
 2513. The Israelites quit Egypt. Amenophis is swallowed up in the Red-sea. Sesostris his son succeeds him. He divides Egypt into thirty nomes, or districts, renders Ethiopia tributary, conquers Asia, and subjects the Scythians as far as the Tanais. On his return into Egypt he kills himself after a reign of 33 years. 1491.
2547. Pheron succeeds Sesostris. 1457.
2800. Proteus. In his reign Paris is driven into Egypt on his return to Troy with Helen. 1204.
- Rbampsinit.  
 Cheops.  
 Chephrem.  
 Mycerinus.  
 Asychis.
- The six preceding reigns were 170 years in duration, but it is hard to assign the length of each of them in particular.
2991. Pharaoh king of Egypt gives his daughter in marriage to Solomon. 1013.  
 3026. Sesac, otherwise called Sesonchis. It was with him that Jeroboam took refuge. 978.

A. M.

GREECE.

Ant.  
J. C.

- 2448: Under Cranaus, successor of Cecrops, happens Deucalion's flood. 1556.
2488. Foundation of the kingdom of Lacedæmonia, of which Lelex is the first king. 1516.
2530. Danaus, brother of Sesostris, leaves Egypt, and retires into the Peloponnesus, where he makes himself master of Argos. 1474.
- Perseus, the fifth of Danaus's successors, having unfortunately killed his grandfather, abandons Argos, and founds the kingdom of Mycenæ.
2628. Sisyphus the son of Æolus makes himself master of Corinth. 1376.
2710. The descendants of Sisyphus are driven out of Corinth by the Heraclidæ. 1294.
2720. Ægeus, the son of Pandion, king of Attica. The expedition of the Argonauts is dated in the reign of this prince. 1284.
2800. The Heraclidæ make themselves masters of Peloponnesus, from whence they are obliged to retire soon after. 1204.
2820. Troy taken by the Greeks. 1184.
2900. The Heraclidæ re-enter Peloponnesus, and seize Sparta, where the two brothers Eurysthenes and Procles reign together. 1104.
2934. Institution of the Archons at Athens. Medon, the son of Codrus, is the first. 1070.
2949. Cadmus builds the city of Thebes, and makes it the seat of his government. 1055.

A. M.	EGYPT.	GREECE.	Ant. J. C.
3033.	Sesac marches against Jerusalem, and conquers Judæa.		971.
3063.	Zara, king of Egypt, makes war with Asa, king of Judah. Anysis. In his reign Sabacus, king of Ethiopia, makes himself master of Egypt, reigns there fifty years, after which he retires, and leaves the kingdom to Anysis.		941.
3120.		LYCURGUS.	884.
3160.		Homer. Hesiod lived about the same time.	844.
3210.		Caranus founds the kingdom of Macedonia.	794.
3228.		Beginning of the common Æra of the Olympiads.	776.



A. M. I now resume the chronology of the Assyrians, which I discontinued, because from Ninyas down to about this time, nothing is known of their history.

Ant.  
J. C.

ASSYRIANS.

3233. Phul. This is the king of Nineveh, who repented upon Jonah's preaching. 771.

3237. Sardanapalus, the last king of the first empire of the Assyrians. After a reign of twenty years he burns himself in his palace. 767.

The first empire of the Assyrians, which ended at the death of Sardanapalus, had subsisted more than 1450 years. Out of its ruins three others were formed, that of the Assyrians of Babylon, that of the Assyrians of Nineveh, and that of the Medes.

A. M.

EGYPT.

GREECE.

Ant.  
J. C.

3261.

First war between the  
Messenians and Lacedæ-  
monians. It continues  
twenty years.

743.

3280.

Archilochus the fa-  
mous poet.

724.

3285.

Schon. He reigned four-  
teen years.

719.

A. M.	BABYL.	NINEVEH.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	Ant. J. C.
3257.	Belesis, or Nabonassar. The Scripture calls him Baladan.	Tiglath Pilezar. The 8th year of his reign he aids Ahaz, king of Judah, and makes himself master of Syria, and of part of the kingdom of Judah.	Arbaces exercises the sovereign authority over the Medes, without taking upon him the title of king.		747.
				The Heraclidæ possess the kingdom of Lydia 505 years. Argon was the first king. He began to reign in the year of the world 2781. The history of his successors is little known before Candaules.	
3268.	Merodach Baladan. He sent ambassadors to Hezekiah to congratulate him upon the recovery of his health. Nothing is known of the other kings who reigned in Babylon.				736.
3269.		Salmanassar. In the eighth year of his reign he took Samaria, and carried away the people into captivity.		Candaules.	735.

A. M.

EGYPT.

GREECE.

Ant.  
J. C.

- |       |  |      |
|-------|--|------|
| 3298. | Tharaca reigns eighteen years.<br>Anarchy two years in Egypt.  | 706. |
| 3319. | Twelve of the principal lords of Egypt seize the kingdom, of which each governs a part with equal authority. | 685. |
| 3320. | Second war between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians: 14 years.   | 684. |

A. M.	BABYL.	NINEVEH.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	Ant. J. C.	
3286				Gyges. He puts Can- daules to death and reigns in his stead.	718.	
3287.		<p>Sennache- rib. In the fifth year of his reign he makes war against He- zekiah, king of Judah.</p> <p>An angel destroys his army at the time he is besieging Jerusalem.</p> <p>On his re- turn to his kingdom he is killed by his own chil- dren.</p>				717.
3294.		Asarhad- don.				710.
3296.			*Dejoces causes him- self to be declared king of the Medes.			708.

A. M.

EGYPT.

GREECE.

Ant.  
J. C.

3334. Psammiticus, one of the twelve kings, defeats the other eleven, and remains sole master of Egypt. He takes Azotus after a siege of 29 years.

670.

A.M.	BABYL.	NINEVEH.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	Ant. J.C.
3323.		Asarhaddon unites the empire of Babylon with that of Nineveh.			681.
3324.				Death of Gyges. Ardys his son succeeds him. In his reign, of 49 years, the Cimmerians made themselves masters of Sardis.	680.
3327.		Asarhaddon carries the remains of the kingdom of Israel into Assyria. The same year he puts Manasseh in chains, and carries him to Babylon.			677.

A.M.

EGYPT.

GREECE.

Ant. J. C.

3564.

Tyrtæus, a poet, who excelled in celebrating military virtue.

Thales of Miletus, founder of the Ionick sect.

640.



## TABLE.

A. M.	NIN. ET BAB.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	Ant. J. C.
3335.	Saosduchin, or Nabuchodonosor I. The twelfth year of his reign he defeats Phraortes, king of the Medes, and takes Ecbatana. It was after this expedition that he made Holophernes besiege Bethulia.	Death of Dejo-ces. Phraortes succeeds him.		669.
3356.	Death of Nabuchodonosor. Saracus, called also Chynaladanus, succeeded him.			648.
3369.		Phraortes perishes at the siege of Nineveh with part of his army. Cyaxares his son succeeds him. The second year of his reign he beats the Assyrians, and attacks Nineveh, the siege of which he is obliged to abandon by a sudden irruption of the Scythians into his dominions.		635.

A.M.

EGYPT.

GREECE.

Ant. J. C.

3880.

Draco, legislator of  
Athens. 621.

3588. Necho. The seventh  
year of his reign he de-  
feats the king of Assyria,  
and seizes part of his do-  
minions. He reigned six-  
teen years.

616.

A. M.	NIN. ET BAB.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	Ant. J. C.
3373.			Sadyattes. He forms the siege of Miletus in the sixteenth year of his reign.	631.
3378.	Nabopolassar's revolt against Saracus. He makes himself master of Babylon.	Cyaxares joins his forces with those of Nabopolassar, takes Nineveh, and puts Saracus its king to death.		626.
	Destruction of Nineveh. From thenceforth Babylon was the capital of the Assyrian Empire.			
3385.			Alyattes. He continues the siege of Miletus which had been carried on six years by his father, and puts an end to it six years after by concluding a peace with the besieged. In the same prince's reign there was a war between the Medes and Lydians, which was terminated by the marriage of Cyaxares with Aryenis the daughter of Alyattes.	619.

A. M.

EGYPT.

GREECE.

Ant. J. C.

3400.

Solón.

604.

The seven sages of  
Greece lived about this  
time.

Alcæus, from whom  
the Alcaic verses take  
their name.

Sappho, at the same  
time.

3404.

Psammis six years.

600.

A. M.	BABYLON.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	Ant. J. C.
3397.	Nabopolassar associates his son Nabuchodonosor in the empire, and sends him at the head of an army to re-conquer the countries taken from him by Nechao.			607.
3398.	Jerusalem taken by Nabuchodonosor. He transports a great number of Jews to Babylon, and amongst them the prophet Daniel.			606.
	The captivity begins from this carrying away the Jews to Babylon.			
3399.	Death of Nabopolassar. His son Nabuchodonosor II. succeeds him in all his dominions.			605.
3403.	Nabuchodonosor's first dream interpreted by Daniel.			601.
3404.		Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, gives his daughter in marriage to		600.

3410. Apries. He makes himself master of Sidon, in the early part of his reign. 94-
3411. Zedekiah, king of Judah, makes an alliance with the king of Egypt, contrary to the advice of the prophet Jeremiah. 93-

A. M.      BABYLON:      MEDIA.      LYDIA.      Ant. J. C.

Cambyses king of  
Persia.

3405. Nabuchodonosor's lieutenants, after having ravaged Judæa, blockade Jerusalem, and put king Jehoiakim to death. About the end of the same year, Nabuchodonosor repairs in person to Jerusalem, makes himself master of it, and appoints Zedekiah king instead of Jehoiachin, whom he carries into captivity. 599.
- Birth of Cyrus.
3409. 595.  
Death of Cyaxares. Astyages his son succeeds him. He reigns thirty-five years.
3416. Nabuchodonosor destroys Jerusalem, and carries away Zedekiah captive to Babylon. At his return into his de- 588.  
Cyrus goes for the first time into Media, to see his grandfather Astyages. He remains three years with him.

A. M.

EGYPT.

GREECE.

Ant. J. C.

3430. Unfortunate expedition of Apries into Libya. 574.  
 Amasis revolts against Apries.
3432. Nabuchodonosor subjects Egypt, and confirms Amasis in the throne. 572.
3435. Apries dies in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. 569.  
 Amasis reigns after him in peace.
3440. Thespis reforms tragedy. 564.  
 Pythagoras lived about this time.
3444. Simonides, the celebrated poet. 560.



A. M.      BABYLON.      MEDIA.      LYDIA.      Ant. J. C.

minions, he causes the three young Hebrews to be thrown into the furnace.

3432. Nabuchodonosor makes himself master of Tyre; after a siege of thirteen years. He did not march against Egypt till after this expedition. 572.
3434. Nabuchodonosor's second dream interpreted by Daniel. 570.
3435. Nabuchodonosor reduced to the condition of beasts during seven years, after which he reigns again one year. Evil-Merodach his son succeeds him. He reigns only two years. 569.

3442. Croesus. 562.
3444. Neriglissor. Death of Astyages. Cyaxares 2. 560.
- Æsop lived in his reign, and was in his court

A.M.

EGYPT.

GREECE.

Ant.  
J. C.

8445.

Pisistratus makes him-  
self master of Athens.

559.

3460.

Hipponax, author of  
the verse Scazon.  
Heraclitus, chief of the  
sect which bears his name.

544.

A. M.	BABYLON.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	Ant. J. C.
	preparations for war against the Medes, and calls Cræsus to his aid.	res succeeds him, known in Scripture under the name of Darius the Mede.	at the same time with Solon.	
3445.		Cyrus returns into Media for the second time, in order to assist his uncle in the war with the Babylonians.		559.
3447.		Expedition of Cyrus against the king of Armenia.		557.
3448.		Cyaxares and Cyrus defeat the Babylonians in a great battle, in which Neriglisor is slain.	Cræsus flies before Cyrus.	556.
	Laborosoarchod He reigns only nine months.			
3449.	Labynit, called in Scripture Belshazzar.			555.
		About this time the marriage of Cyrus with the daughter of his uncle Cyaxares may be dated.		
3456.			Battle of Thymbra between Cræsus and Cyrus, followed by the taking of Sardis by the latter. End of the kingdom of Lydia.	548.

A. M.	EGYPT.	GREECE.	Ant. J. C.
346†.		Birth of Æschylus.	540.
		Ctesiphon, or Chersiphron, a celebrated architect, famous especially for building the temple of Diana of Ephesus.	
3478.		Death of Pisistratus, Hippias his son succeeds him.	526.
3479.	Psammenitus. He reigns only six months. After the death of that prince, Egypt is annexed to the Persian dominions, and continues so till the reign of Alexander the Great, which includes the space of two hundred and six years.		525.

A. M.                      BABYLON.                      MEDES.                      Ant. J. C.

3466.	Labynt is killed at the taking of Babylon. The death of that prince puts an end to the Babylonian empire, which is united with that of the Medes.	Cyrus makes himself master of Babylon.	538
3468.		Death of Cyaxares.	535.

After the death of Cyaxares and Cambyses, Cyrus, who succeeded to the dominions of both, united the empire of the Medes with those of the Babylonians and Persians, and of the three formed a fourth under the name of the empire of the Persians, which subsisted two hundred and six years.

*Empire of the PERSIANS.*

3468.	Cyrus. The first year of his reign he permits the Jews to return into Judæa.		536.
3470.	Daniel's vision concerning the succession of the kings of Persia.		534.
3475.	Cyrus dies on a journey which he makes into Persia, after having reigned seven years alone, and thirty if we reckon from the time of his setting out from Persia at the head of an army to aid Cyaxares.		529.
	Cambyses his son succeeds him. The fourth year of his reign he attacks Egypt, and re-unites it to the empire of the Persians.		

3490.	Miltiades goes to settle in the Chersonesus.	514.
3496.	The Pisistratidæ are obliged to abandon Attica.	508.

A. M.	PERSIANS.	Ant. J. C.
3480.	Unsuccessful expedition of Cambyses against the Ethiopians.	524.
3481.	Cambyses puts Meroe, who was both his sister and wife, to death.	523.
	It was about this time that Oretes, one of the Satrapæ of Cambyses, made himself master of the island of Samos, and caused Polycrates, the tyrant of it, to be put to death.	-
3482.	Death of Cambyses. Smerdis the Magian, who had mounted the throne before the death of Cambyses, succeeds him. He reigns only seven months.	522.
3483.	Darius the son of Hystaspes.	521.
3485.	Edict of Darius in favour of the Jews, wherein that of Cyrus is repealed. It is believed, that what is related in the history of Esther happened some time after the publication of this edict.	519.
3488.	Babylon revolts against Darius, and is taken after a siege of twenty months.	516.
3490.	Expedition of Darius against the Scythians.	514.
3496.	Darius penetrates into India, and reduces all that great country into subjection.	508.

The history of the Greeks from henceforth will be intermixed and almost confounded with that of the Persians, for which reason I shall separate their chronology no farther.

#### PERSIANS AND GREEKS.

3501.	The Persians form the siege of the capital of the island of Naxos, and are obliged to raise it at the end of six months.	503.
3502.	Aristagoras, governor of Miletus, revolts from Darius, and brings the Ionians and Athenians into his measures.	502.
3504.	The Ionians make themselves masters of Sardis, and burn it.	500.
3507.	The Persians defeat the Ionians in a sea-fight before the island of Ladós, and afterwards make themselves masters of Miletus.	497.
	<i>Æschylus.</i>	
3510.	Darius sends Gobryas his son-in-law at the head of an army to attack Greece.	494.
	<i>Æuacreon.</i>	
3513.	Darius takes the command of his armies from Gobryas, and gives it to Datis and Artaphernes.	491.

A. M.	PERSIANS AND GREEKS.	Ant. J. C.
3514.	Battle of Marathon.	490.
3515.	Unfortunate end of Miltiades.	489.
3519.	Death of Darius Hystaspes. Xerxes his son succeeds him.	485.
3520.	Birth of the historian Herodotus.	484.
3524.	Xerxes sets out to make war against the Greeks. Battle of Thermopylæ. Leonidas, king of the Lacedæmonians, is killed in it. Sea-fight near Artemisium at the same time as the battle of Thermopylæ. Birth of Euripides. Battle of Salamis, followed by the precipitate return of Xerxes into Persia.	480.
3525.	Battle of Platæa. Sea-fight the same day near Mycale, in which the Persians are defeated.	479.
3526.	The Athenians rebuild the walls of their city, which had been demolished by Xerxes, notwithstanding the opposition of the Lacedæmonians.	478.
3528.	The command of the armies of Greece, of which the Lacedæmonians had been in possession from the battle of Thermopylæ, is transferred to the Athenians. Pindar flourished about this time.	476.
3530.	Pausanias, general of the Lacedæmonians, accused of holding secret intelligence with Xerxes, is put to death.	474.
3531.	Themistocles, the Athenian general, is accused of having had a share in Pausanias's plot, and takes refuge with Admetus, king of the Molossians. Sophocles and Euripides distinguish themselves in Greece about this time.	473.
3532.	Xerxes is killed by Artabanus, the captain of his guards. Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus, succeeds him. Themistocles takes refuge in his court the first year of his reign.	472.
3533.	Cimon receives the command of the armies at Athens. The year following he defeats the Persians, and takes their fleet near the mouth of the river Eufymedon. Birth of the historian Thucydides.	471.
3534.	Great earthquakes at Sparta in the reign of Archidamus, which gives rise to a sedition of the Helots. Birth of Socrates.	470.
3535.	Pericles begins to distinguish himself. Phidias, famous for his skill in architecture and sculpture. Difference and misunderstanding between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, occasioned by the affront offered to the Athenians by the Lacedæmonians in sending back their troops, after having called in their aid against the Messenians and Helots. Some time after,	469.



A. M.	PERSIANS AND GREEKS.	Ant. J. C.
	and in consequence of this quarrel, Cimon is banished by the Ostracism.	
3537.	Ezra obtains a commission from Artaxerxes to return to Jerusalem with all who are willing to follow him.	467.
3538.	Themistocles puts an end to his life at Magnesia.	466.
3540.	Herodicus of Sicily, chief of the sect of physicians, called Διατριβικῶν. Hippocrates was his disciple.	464.
3544.	The Egyptians, supported by the Athenians, revolt against Artaxerxes.	460.
3545.	Defeat of the Persian army in Egypt.	459.
3548.	The Egyptians and Athenians are beaten in their turn. In consequence of which all Egypt returns to its obedience to Artaxerxes, and the Athenians retire to Biblos, under the command of Inarus, where they sustain a siege of a year.	456.
	Battle of Tanagra in Bœotia, where the Athenians beat the Spartans, who were come to the aid of the Thebans.	
3550.	Nehemiah obtains Artaxerxes's permission to return to Jerusalem.	454.
3554.	Birth of Xenophon.	450.
	Cimon recalled from banishment after five years' absence, reconciles the Athenians and Spartans, and makes them conclude a truce of five years.	
3555.	End of the war between the Greeks and Persians, which had continued, from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, fifty-one years.	449.
	Death of Cimon.	
3558.	The Lacedæmonians conclude a truce for thirty years with the Athenians. The latter soon break it by new enterprises.	446.
	Empedocles, the Pythagorean philosopher, flourished about this time.	
	Myron, the famous sculptor of Athens.	
3564.	Pericles makes war with the Samians, and takes the capital of their island after a siege of nine months. Zeuxis, the famous painter, disciple of Apollodorus. Parrhasius, his rival, lived at the same time.	440.
	Aristophanes, the comic poet.	
3568.	Birth of Isocrates.	436.
	War between the Corinthians and the people of Corcyra. The Athenians engage in it in favour of the Corcyreans. The inhabitants of Potidæa declare on the side of Corinth against Athens. Alcibiades begins to distinguish himself in this war, which occasions that of Peloponnesus.	
	Scopas, architect and sculptor.	
3573.	Beginning of the Peloponnesian war. It subsists twenty-seven years.	431.

A. M.	PERSIANS AND GREEKS.	Ant. J. C.
3574.	A terrible plague rages in Attica. The physician Hippocrates distinguishes himself by his extraordinary care of the sick.	430.
3575.	Death of Pericles.	429.
3576.	The Lacedæmonians besiege Plataea. Plato, founder of the ancient academy.	428.
3579.	Death of Artaxerxes. Xerxes his son succeeds him. He reigns only forty-five days. Sogdianus puts Xerxes to death, and causes himself to be acknowledged king in his stead. His reign continues only six months.	425.
3580.	Ochus, known under the name of Darius Nothus, rids himself of Sogdianus, and succeeds him. The Athenians, under Nicias, make themselves masters of Cythera. Thucydides is banished by the Athenians, whose army he commanded, for having suffered Amphipolis to be taken. Polygnotus, famed particularly for his painting in the portico called Πικιλλή at Athens, in which he represented the principal events of the Trojan war.	424.
3583.	Treaty of peace concluded, by the application of Nicias, between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians in the tenth year from the beginning of the Lacedæmonian war. Alcibiades, by a stratagem, occasions its being broken the following year.	421.
3584.	<i>The banishment of Hyperbolus puts an end to the Ostracism.</i>	420.
3588.	Alcibiades engages the Athenians to assist the people of Egæta against the Syracusans.	416.
3589.	Alcibiades, one of the generals sent to Sicily by the Athenians, is recalled to Athens, to answer accusations against him. He flies to Sparta, and is condemned for contumacy.	415.
3590.	Pisuthnes, governor of Syria, revolts against Darius. The Egyptians do the same, and choose Amyrtæus for their king, who reigns six years.	414.
3593.	Alcibiades, to avoid the envy which his great actions had drawn upon him at Sparta, throws himself into the arms of Tissaphernes, one of the king of Persia's satraps. The Lacedæmonians, by the help of Tissaphernes, conclude a treaty of alliance with the king of Persia.	411.
3595.	Alcibiades is recalled to Athens. His return occasions the abolition of the Four Hundred, who had been invested with supreme authority. Darius gives Cyrus, his youngest son, the government in chief of all the provinces of Asia Minor.	409.
3598.	Lysander is placed at the head of the Lacedæmonian armies. He defeats the Athenians near Ephesus. In	406.

A. M.	PERSIANS AND GREEKS	Ant. J. C.
	consequence of that defeat Alcibiades is deposed, and ten generals are nominated to succeed him.	
3599.	Callicratidas is invested with the command of the army in the room of Lysander, from whom the Lacedæmonians had taken it. He is killed in a sea-fight near the Arginusæ. Lysander is restored to the command of the Lacedæmonian army. He gains a famous victory over the Athenians at Ægospotamos.	405.
	Conon, who commanded the Athenian forces, retires after his defeat to Evagoras, king of Cyprus.	
3600.	Lysander makes himself master of Athens, changes the form of the government, and establishes thirty Archons, commonly called the thirty Tyrants. End of the Peloponnesian war. Death of Darius Nothus. Arsaces, his son, succeeds him, and takes the name of Artaxerxes Mnemon.	404.
	Cyrus the Younger intends to assassinate his brother Artaxerxes. His design being discovered, he is sent back to the maritime provinces, of which he was governor.	
3601.	Interview of Cyrus the Younger and Lysander at Sardis. Thrasylbulus expels the tyrants of Athens, and re-establishes its liberty.	403.
3602.	Cyrus the Younger prepares for a war with his brother Artaxerxes.	402.
3603.	Defeat and death of Cyrus the Younger at Cunaxa, followed by the retreat of the Ten Thousand. Death of Socrates.	401.
3604.	Lacedæmon declares war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabasus.	400.
3606.	Beginning of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, father of Philip.	398.
3607.	Agésilas is elected king of Sparta. The year following he goes into Africa, to the aid of the Greeks settled there.	397.
3609.	Lysander quarrels with Agésilas, and undertakes to change the order of the succession to the throne. The army of Tissaphernes is defeated near Sardis by Agésilas.	395.
3610.	Thebes, Argos, and Corinth, enter into a league against Lacedæmon, at the solicitation of the Persians. Athens enters into the same league soon after. Agésilas is recalled by the Ephori to the assistance of his country. The fleet of the Lacedæmonians is defeated near Cuidos by Pharnabasus, and Conon the Athenian, who commanded that of the Persians and Greeks. Agésilas defeats the Persians almost at the same time in the plains of Coronæa. The Persians raise the walls of Athens.	394.
3611.	The Greeks concluded with the Lacedæmonian.	393.

A.M.	PERSIANS AND GREEKS.	Ant. J. C.
3618.	Artaxerxes attacks Evagoras, king of Cyprus, with all his forces, and gains a signal victory over him. It is followed by the siege of Salamis, which is terminated by a treaty of peace.	386:
3620.	Expedition of Artaxerxes against the Cadusians. Birth of Aristotle, founder of the Peripatetics.	384.
3621.	The Lacedæmonians declare war against the city of Olynthus. Birth of Philip, king of Macedon.	383.
3622.	Phæbidas, on his way to the siege of Olynthus, at the head of part of the army of the Lacedæmonians, makes himself master of the citadel of Thebes. Birth of Demosthenes.	382.
3626.	Pelopidas, at the head of the rest of the exiles, kills the tyrants of Thebes, and retakes the citadel.	378.
3627.	Artaxerxes Mnemon undertakes to reduce Egypt, which had thrown off his yoke for some years. He employs above two years in making preparations for that war.	377.
3629.	Death of Amyntas, king of Macedonia. Alexander, his eldest son succeeds him. He reigns only two years. Perdicas next ascends the throne, and reigns fourteen years.	375.
3630.	Death of Evagoras, king of Cyprus. Nicocles his son succeeds him.	374.
3634.	Battle of Leuctra, in which the Thebans under Epaminondas and Pelopidas defeat the Lacedæmonians.	370.
3635.	Expedition of Pelopidas against Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ. He goes to Macedonia to terminate the differences between Perdicas and Ptolemy son of Amyntas, concerning the crown. He carries Philip with him to Thebes as an hostage. He is killed in a battle which he fights with the tyrant of Pheræ.	369.
3641.	Battle of Mantinæa. Epaminondas is killed in it, after having secured the victory to the Thebans.	363.
3642.	The Lacedæmonians send Agesilaus to aid Tachos, king of Egypt, against Artaxerxes. He dethrones Tachos, and gives the crown to Nectanebus. He dies on his return from that expedition. Death of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Ochus his son succeeds him.	362.
3644.	Philip ascends the throne of Macedonia. He makes a cautious peace with the Athenians.	360.

The history of the Cappadocians begins at this time, the chronology of whose kings I shall give after that of Alexander's successors. I shall annex to it that of the Parthians and the kings of Pontus.

3646.	War of the allies with the Athenians. It continued three years.	358.
	Philip besieges and takes Amphipolis.	
3648.	Revolt of Artabasis against Ochus king of Persia.	356.
	Birth of Alexander the Great.	
3649.	Demosthenes appears in public for the first time, and encourages the Athenians, who were alarmed by the preparations of war which the king of Persia was making. Beginning of the sacred war.	355.
3650.	Death of Mausolus, king of Caria.	354.
3651.	Philip makes himself master of the city of Methone.	353.
3652.	Artemisia, widow of Mausolus, to whom she had succeeded, takes Rhodes.	352.
	Philip attempts in vain to seize Thermopylæ.	
3653.	Successful expedition of Ochus against Phœnicia, Cyprus, and afterwards Egypt.	351.
3654.	Nectanebus, the last king of Egypt of the Egyptian race, is obliged to fly into Ethiopia, from whence he never returns.	350.
3656.	Death of Plato.	348.
	Philip makes himself master of Olynthus.	
3658.	Philip seizes Thermopylæ, and Phocis. He causes himself to be admitted into the number of the Amphictyons.	346.
3662.	Oration of Demosthenes, concerning the Chersonesus, in favour of Diopithus.	342.
3665.	The Athenians send aid under Phocion to the cities of Perinthus and Byzantium, besieged by Philip. That prince is obliged to raise the siege.	339.
3666.	Philip is declared generalissimo of the Greeks in the council of the Amphictyons. He makes himself master of Elataea.	338.
	Battle of Cheronæa, wherein Philip defeats the Athenians and the Thebans, who had entered into a league against him.	
	Ochus, king of Persia, is poisoned by Bagoas, his favourite. Arses, his son, succeeds him, and reigns only three years.	
3667.	Philip causes himself to be declared general of the	337.

- | A. M. | PERSIANS AND GREEKS.   | Ant. J. C. |
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|       | Greeks against the Persians. The same year he repudiates his wife Olympias. His son Alexander attends her into Epirus, from whence he goes to Illyria.   |            |
| 3668. | Philip's death. Alexander, his son, then twenty years of age, succeeds him.<br>Arses, king of Persia, is assassinated by Bagoas.<br>Darius Codomanus succeeds him.   | 336.       |
| 3669. | Thebes taken and destroyed by Alexander. He causes himself to be declared generalissimo of the Greeks against the Persians in a diet assembled at Corinth.   | 335.       |
| 3670. | Alexander sets out for Persia.<br>Battle of the Granicus, followed with the conquest of almost all Asia Minor.   | 334.       |
| 3671. | Alexander is seized at Tarsus with a dangerous illness, from having bathed in the river Cyanus. He is cured in a few days.<br>Battle of Issus.   | 333.       |
| 3672. | Alexander makes himself master of Tyre, after a siege of seven months.<br>Apelles, one of the most famous painters of antiquity. Aristides and Protogenes were his contemporaries.<br>Alexander goes to Jerusalem. He makes himself master of Gaza, and soon after of all Egypt. He went after this conquest to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and at his return built the city of Alexandria.   | 332.       |
| 3673. | Battle of Arbela. It is followed with the taking of Arbela, Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis.   | 331.       |
| 3674. | Darius is seized and laden with chains by Bessus, and soon after assassinated. His death puts an end to the Persian empire, which had subsisted two hundred and six years from its foundation under Cyrus the Great.<br>The Lacedæmonians revolt against the Macedonians. Antipater defeats them in a battle, wherein Agis their king is killed.<br>Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes to see Alexander at Zadracarta.<br>Philotas and Parmenio, his father, suspected of having conspired with others against Alexander, are put to death. | 330.       |
| 3675. | Bessus is brought to Alexander, and soon after put to death.<br>Alexander, after having subdued the Sogdians and Bactrians, builds a city upon the Iaxartes, to which he gives his name.<br>Embassy of the Scythians to Alexander, followed by a victory gained by him over that people.<br>Lysippus of Sicyon, a famous sculptor, flourished about this time.   | 329.       |

A. M.	PERSIANS AND GREEKS.	Ant. J. C.
3676.	Alexander makes himself master of the rocky eminence of Oxus. Clitus killed by Alexander at a feast in Maracanda. The death of Callisthenes happens soon after. Alexander marries Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes.	328.
3677.	Alexander's entrance into India. He gains a great victory over Porus in passing the Hydaspes.	327.
3678.	On the remonstrances of his army, Alexander determines to march back. The city of Oxydracæ taken. Alexander in great danger there.	326.
3679.	Alexander's marriage with Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius. Revolt of Harpalus, whom Alexander had made governor of Babylon. Demosthenes is banished for having received presents, and suffered himself to be corrupted by Harpalus.	325.
3680.	Death of Hephæstion at Ecbatana. Menander, the inventor of the New Comedy, lived about this time.	324.
3681.	Alexander, on his return to Babylon, dies there, at the age of two-and-thirty years and eight months. Aridæus, that prince's natural brother, is declared king in his stead. The regency of the kingdom is given to Perdiccas. The generals divide the provinces amongst themselves. From this division commences the æra of the empire of the Lagides in Egypt. The Athenians revolt, and engage the states of Greece to enter into a league with them. Demosthenes is recalled from banishment.	323.
3682.	Antipater is besieged in Lamia by the Athenians, and is forced to surrender by capitulation. He soon after seizes Athens, and puts a garrison into it. Death of Demosthenes.	322.
3683.	Alexander's magnificent funeral. Perdiccas puts Eumenes into possession of Cappadocia. League of Ptolemy, Craterus, Antipater, and Antigonus, against Perdiccas and Eumenes. Death of Craterus. Unfortunate end of Perdiccas in Egypt. Antipater succeeds him in the regency of the empire.	321.
3684.	Eumenes, defeated by Antigonus, shuts himself up in the castle of Nora, where he sustains a siege of a year. Ptolemy makes himself master of Jerusalem.	320.

A. M.	PERSIANS AND GREEKS.	Ant. J. C.
3685.	Death of Antipater. Polysperchon succeeds him. Phocion's condemnation and death at Athens. Cassander, son of Antipater, seizes Athens, and settles Demetrius Phalereus there to govern the republic.	319.
3687.	Olympias, the mother of Alexander, causes Aridaeus, and Eurydice his wife, to be murdered; she herself is soon after put to death by order of Cassander.	317.
3689.	Eumenes is delivered up to Antigonus by his own sol- diers, and put to death.	315.
3691.	Antigonus takes Tyre after a siege of fifteen months. Demetrius his son, surnamed Polioretetes, begins to dis- tinguish himself.	313.
3692.	Zeno institutes the sect of the Stoics at Athens.	312.
3693.	Seleucus makes himself master of Babylon, and the neighbouring provinces. At this expedition of Seleucus against Babylon begins the famous era of the Seleucidæ, called by the Jews the era of contracts. Ptolemy retires into Egypt, and carries a great number of the inhabitants of Phœnicia and Judæa thither along with him. Cassander causes Roxana, and her son Alexander, to be put to death.	311.
3695.	Polysperchon put Hercules, the son of Alexander, and his mother, Berenice, to death.	309.
3696.	Ophellas, governor of Libya, revolts against Ptolemy.	308.
3698.	Demetrius Polioretetes makes himself master of Athens, and re-establishes the democratical government. The same year he makes himself master of Salamis, and the whole island of Cyprus. Demetrius Phalereus, who commanded at Athens, re- tires to Thebes. The Athenians throw down his statues, and condemn him to death. Antigonus, and his son Demetrius, assume the title of kings. The other princes follow their example, and do the same.	306.
3699.	Antigonus, to make the most of his son's victory in Cyprus, undertakes to deprive Ptolemy of Egypt. That expedition does not succeed. Ptolemy the astronomer fixes the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, on the 7th of November of this year.	305.
3700.	Demetrius Polioretetes forms the siege of Rhodes, which he is forced to raise a year after. Protogenes the celebrated painter was in the city, during the time that it was besieged by Demetrius.	304.
3701.	The Rhodians employ the money raised by the sale of the machines, which Demetrius had used in the siege of their city, and had given them as a present, in erecting the famous Colossus, called the Colossus of Rhodes.	303.



A.M.

## PERSIANS AND GREEKS:

Ant. J.C.

Demetrius Poliorcetes is declared general of all the Greeks by the states of Greece assembled at the Isthmus.

3702.

Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, enter into a league against Antigonus, and Demetrius, his son.

302.

Battle of Ipsus, wherein Antigonus is defeated. It is followed by the division of the empire of Alexander amongst the four allied princes.

Arcesilas, founder of the middle academy.

A.M.

Ant.  
J.C.

There is such a connection between the events which happened in the four empires formed out of Alexander's, that it is impossible to separate them. For which reason I shall dispose them all in one column, according to the plan I have followed in treating them in the body of my history. I shall first give a table that contains only the kings that reigned in each of those kingdoms.

	EGYPT.	SYRIA.	MACEDO- NIA.	THRACE AND BITHYN.	
3704.	Ptolemy Soter.	Seleucus Nicator.	Cassan- der.	Lysima- chus.	300.
3707.			Philip and Alex- ander, the sons of Cas- sander, dis- pute the kingdom, and possess it almost three years.		297.
3710.			Demetri- us Poliorce- tes.		294.
3717.			Pyrrhus and Lysi- machus.		287.
3719.	Ptolemy Philadel- phus.				285.
3723.			Lysimachus is killed in a battle. After Seleucus Nicator, a very short time.	his death his dominions are dismem-	281.

A.M.	EGYPT.	SYRIA.	MACEDO- NIA.	THRACE AND BITHYN.	Ant. J. C.
3724,		Antio- chus Soter.	Ptolemy Ceraunus. His brother Meleager reigned some time after him.	bered, and cease to form a distinct kingdom.	280.
3726.			Sosthe- nes.		278.
3728.			Antigonus Gonatas.		276.
3743.		Antio- chus Theos.			261.
3758.	Ptolemy Evergetes.	Seleucus Callinicus.			246.
3762,			Demetri- us, son of Antigonus Gonatas.		242.
3772.			Antigo- nus Dison.		232.
3778.		Seleucus Ceraunus.			226.
3781.		Antio- chus the Great.			223.
3783.	Ptolemy Philopator.				221.
3784.			Philip.		220.
3800.	Ptolemy Epiphanes.				204.
3817.		Seleucus Philopator.			187.

A. M.	EGYPT.	SYRIA.	MACEDONIA.	Ant. J.C.
3824.	Ptolemy Philometor.			180.
3825.			Perseus, the last king of the Macedonians.	179.
3829.		Antiochus Epiphanes.		175.
3840.		Antiochus Eupator.		164.
3842.		Demetrius Soter.		162.
3854.		Alexander Bala.		150.
3859.	Ptolemy Physcon.	Demetrius Nicator.		145.
3860.		Antiochus Theos, the son of Bala, seizes part of Syria. Tryphon does the same soon after.		144.
3864.		Antiochus Sidetes puts Tryphon to death, and reigns in his room.		140.
3877.		Zebina succeeds Demetrius Nicator.		127.
3880.		Seleucus, the son of Nicator. Antiochus Grypus.		124.
3887.	Ptolemy Lathyrus.			117.
3890.		Antiochus the Cyzicenean divides the kingdom with Grypus.		114.

A. M.	EGYPT.	SYRIA.	Ant. J. C.
3897.	Alexander I. brother of Lathyrus.		107.
3907.		Seleucus, son of Grypus.	97.
3911.		Antiochus Eusebes.	93.
3912.		Antiochus, second son of Grypus.	92.
3913.		Philip, third son of Grypus.	91.
3914.		Demetrius Eucherus, fourth son of Grypus.	90.
3919.		Antiochus Dionysius, fifth son of Grypus.	85.
3921.		The four last-named kings reigned successively with Eusebes. Tigranes, during fourteen years.	83.
3923.	Alexander II. son of Alexander I.		81.
3935.		Antiochus Asiaticus.	69.
3939.	Ptolemy Auletes.		65.
3946.	Berenice, the eldest daughter of Auletes, reigus some time in his stead, after which that prince is restored.		58.
3953.	Cleopatra reigns at first with her eldest brother, then with Ptolemy, her youngest brother, and at last alone.		51.

A.M.	SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.	Ant. J. C.
3704.	Seleucus, king of Syria. builds Antioch. Athens refuses to receive Demetrius Poliorcetes.	300.
3707.	Death of Cassander, king of Macedon. Philip his son succeeds him. He does not reign one year, and is succeeded by Alexander, his brother. About this time Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, espouses Antigone, of the house of Ptolemy, and returns into his dominions, out of which he had been driven by the Molossi.	297.
3709.	Demetrius Poliorcetes retakes Athens. Lysimachus and Ptolemy, almost at the same time, deprive him of all he possessed.	295.
3710.	Demetrius puts to death Alexander king of Macedonia, who had called him in to his aid, and seizes his dominions, where he reigns seven years.	294.
3711.	Foundation of the city of Seleucia by Seleucus.	293.
3717.	Pyrrhus and Lysimachus take Macedonia from Demetrius. The latter dies miserably the year following in prison.	287.
3719.	Ptolemy Soter, king of Egypt, resigns the throne to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus.	285.
3721.	Foundation of the kingdom of Pergamus by Philetærus. Demetrius Phalereus is shut up in a fort by order of Philadelphus, and kills himself there.	283.
3722.	Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria, declares war against Lysimachus, king of Macedonia.	282.
3723.	Lysimachus is killed in a battle in Phrygia. Seleucus enters Macedonia to take possession of the kingdom. He is assassinated there by Ceraunus. Antiochus Soter his son succeeds him in the kingdom of Syria.	281.
3724.	Ceraunus, to secure the kingdom of Macedonia to himself, puts the two children of Lysimachus by Arsinoe to death, and banishes her into Samothracia. The republic of the Achæans resumes its ancient form, which it had lost under Philip and Alexander.	280.
	Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, called in by the Tarentines, goes to Italy to make war against the Romans. He gives them battle for the first time near Heraclea, where the advantage is entirely on his side. He is again successful in a second battle fought the year following.	
3725.	Irruption of the Gauls into Macedonia. Ceraunus gives them battle, in which he is killed. Meleager his brother succeeds him.	279.
3726.	Pyrrhus abandons Italy, and goes to Sicily, which he conquers. Sosthenes drives the Gauls out of Macedonia. He is made king there, and reigns two years. Attempt of the Gauls upon the temple of Delphos.	278.

A. M.	SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.	Ant. J. C.
3727.	Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, causes the Holy Scriptures to be translated into Greek.	277.
3728.	Death of Sosthenes. Antigonus Gonatas, son of Poliorcetes, who reigned afterwards for ten years in Greece, makes himself king of Macedonia in his room. Antiochus, king of Syria, disputes the possession of it with him. Their difference terminates by the marriage of Antigonus with Phila, the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus.	276.
3729.	Antiochus defeats the Gauls in a bloody battle, and delivers the country from their oppressions. By this victory he acquires the name of <i>Soter</i> .	275.
3730.	Pyrrhus returns into Italy, and is defeated by the Romans. He goes to Macedonia, where he attacks and defeats Antigonus.	274.
3732.	Ptolemy Philadelphus, in consequence of the reputation of the Romans, sends an embassy to them to demand their amity.	
3732.	Pyrrhus undertakes the siege of Sparta, and cannot reduce it. He is killed the next year at the siege of Argos.	272.
3736.	Antigonus Gonatas makes himself master of Athens, which had entered into a league with the Lacedæmonians against him.	268.
3739.	Abantidas makes himself tyrant of Sicyon, after having put Clinias, its governor, to death. Magas, governor of Cyrenaica and Libya, revolts against Ptolemy Philadelphus.	265.
3741.	Death of Philetærus, king and founder of Pergamus. Eumenes, his nephew, succeeds him.	263.
3743.	Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, causes his son Antiochus to be proclaimed king. He dies soon after. Berosus of Babylon, the historian, lived about this time.	261.
3746.	Accommodation between Magas and Ptolemy Philadelphus.	258.
3749.	War between Antiochus, king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philadelphus.	255.
3752.	Aratus, the son of Clinias, delivers Sicyon from tyranny, and unites it with the Achaean league.	252.
3754.	Arsaces revolts against Agathocles, governor for Antiochus in the country of the Parthians. About the same time Theodorus, governor of Bactriana, revolts, and causes himself to be declared king of that province.	250.
3755.	Treaty of peace between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philadelphus, which puts an end to the war. By one of the conditions of that treaty, Antiochus repudiates Laodice, and marries Berenice, Ptolemy's daughter.	249.

A.M.	SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.	Ant. J.C.
3756.	Agis, king of Sparta, endeavours to revive the ancient institutions of Lycurgus. Leonidas, his colleague, is deposed for refusing to consent to it. Cleombrotus, his son-in-law, reigns in his stead.	248.
3757.	Death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Evergetes, his son, succeeds him. Apollonius of Rhodes, author of a poem upon the expedition of the Argonauts.	247.
3758.	Antiochus, surnamed Theos, king of Syria, is poisoned by his wife Laodice. She afterwards causes her son Seleucus Callinicus to be declared king. Berenice, and her son by Antiochus, are assassinated by Laodice. Ptolémy Evergetes, Berenice's brother, undertakes to revenge her death. He makes himself master of great part of Syria.	246.
3760.	The cities of Smyrna and Magnesia enter into an alliance to aid the king of Syria against Ptolemy Evergetes. Aratus makes himself master of the citadel of Corinth. Leonidas is restored at Sparta, Cleombrotus sent into banishment, and Agis put to death.	244.
3762.	Death of Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia. Demetrius, his son, succeeds him. Seleucus, king of Syria, enters into a war with Antiochus Hierax, his brother. The latter has the advantage in a battle near Ancyra, in Galatia.	242.
3763.	Death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Attalus, his cousin german, succeeds him.	241.
3765.	Eratosthenes the Cyrenian is made librarian to Ptolemy Evergetes.	239.
3771.	Joseph, nephew of the high-priest Onias, is sent ambassador to Ptolemy Evergetes.	233.
3772.	Death of Demetrius, king of Macedonia. Antigonus, guardian of Philip, son of Demetrius, succeeds him. Polycletus of Sicyon, a famous sculptor.	232.
3774.	Seleucus, king of Syria, is defeated and taken prisoner by Arsacis, king of the Parthians.	230.
3776.	Cleomenes, king of Sparta, gains a great victory over the Achæans and Aratus.	228.
3778.	Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, dies amongst the Parthians, of a fall from a horse. Seleucus Ceraunus, his eldest son, succeeds him. Antiochus Hierax is assassinated by thieves, on leaving Egypt. Aratus defeats Aristippus, tyrant of Argos. He prevails upon Lysiades, tyrant of Megalopolis, to renounce the tyranny, and make his city enter into the Achæan league.	226.



A.M.	SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.	Ant. J. C.
3779.	The Romans send a famous embassy into Greece, to impart to the Greeks the treaty they had lately concluded with the Illyrians. The Corinthians declare by a public decree, that they shall be admitted to a share in the celebration of the Isthmian games. The Athenians also grant them the freedom of Athens. Antigonus, king of Macedonia, by the management of Aratus, is called in to aid the Achæans against the Lacedæmonians.	225.
3781.	Cleomenes, king of Sparta, takes Megalopolis. Battle of Selasia, followed with the taking of Sparta by Antigonus. Death of Seleucus Ceraunus, king of Syria. Antiochus his brother, surnamed <i>the Great</i> , succeeds him.	223.
3782.	The Colossus of Rhodes is thrown down by a great earthquake.	222.
3783.	Death of Ptolemy Evergetes, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Philopator succeeds him. The Ætolians gain a great victory at Caphyræ over the Achæans.	221.
3784.	Antiochus reduces Molon and Alexander, who had revolted against him two years before, the first in Media, the second in Persia. Death of Antigonus, king of Macedonia. Philip, the son of Demetrius, succeeds him. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, dies in Egypt. The Lacedæmonians elect Agesipolis and Lycurgus to succeed him. War of the allies with the Ætolians, in favour of the Achæans.	220.
3785.	Herimias, prime minister of Antiochus, is put to death by that prince's orders.	219.
3787.	Battle of Raphia, between Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and Antiochus, king of Syria. Treaty of peace between Philip, king of Macedonia, and the Achæans on one side, and the Ætolians on the other, which puts an end to the war of the allies.	217.
3788.	Antiochus besieges Achæus, who had revolted, in Sardis, and, after a siege of two years, he is delivered up by the treachery of a Cretan. Hannibal's alliance with Philip, king of Macedonia.	216.
3789.	Philip receives a considerable blow from the Romans at the siege of Apollonia.	215.
3790.	Carneades, founder of the New Academy.	214.
3792.	Antiochus undertakes to reduce the provinces which had thrown off the yoke of the Syrian empire, and effects it in the space of seven years.	212.
3793.	Alliance of the Ætolians with the Romans. Attalus, king of Pergamus, enters into it. The Lacedæmonians accede to it some short time after.	211.

A. M.	SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.	Ant. J. C.
3796.	Famous battle between Philip king of Macedonia, and the Ætolians near Elis. Philopœmen distinguishes himself in it.	208.
3798.	Battle of Mantinæa, wherein Philopœmen defeats Machanidas, tyrant of Sparta, who perishes in it. Nabis is set in his place.	206.
3800.	Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans, All the allies on both sides are included in it. Polybius is said to have been born this year. Death of Ptolemy Philopator, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Epiphanes, at that time only five years old, succeeds him.	204.
3801.	League between Philip of Macedon and Antiochus, king of Syria, against the young king of Egypt.	203.
3802.	Philip, king of Macedonia, is defeated by the Rhodians in a sea-fight off the island of Chios. That prince's cruel treatment of the Cyaneans seems to be properly dated the following year.	202.
3803.	Philip besieges and takes Abydos.	201.
3804.	The Romans declare war against Philip. P. Sulpitius is appointed to command in it. He gains a considerable victory near the town of Octolophus in Macedonia.	200.
3805.	Villicus succeeds Sulpitius in the command of the army against Philip. The year following Flaminius is sent to succeed Villicus.	199.
3806.	Antiochus, king of Syria, subjects Palestine and Cœlosyria.	198.
3807.	The Achæans declare for the Romans against Philip. Interview of Philip and the consul Flaminius. Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, declares for the Romans. The Bœotians do the same. Death of Attalus, king of Pergamus. Eumenes succeeds him.	197.
3808.	Battle of Cynoscephale, where the Romans gain a complete victory over Philip. Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans, which puts an end to the war.	196.
	Embassy of the Romans to Antiochus the Great, in order to be assured whether the complaints against him were justly founded.	
	Conspiracy of Scopas, the Ætolian, against Ptolemy Epiphanes, discovered and punished.	
3809.	Flaminius makes war against Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta.	195.
3813.	Philopœmen gains a considerable advantage over Nabis, near Sparta.	191.
	The Ætolians resolve to seize Demetrius, Chalcis, and Sparta, by treachery and stratagem.	
	Nabis is killed. Philopœmen makes the Lacedæmonians enter into the Achæan league.	

A.M.	SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.	Ant. J.C.
	Antiochus goes into Greece to the aid of the Ætolians. The Romans declare war against him, and soon after defeat him near the straits of Thermopylæ.	
3814.	Battle of Magnesia, followed by a treaty of peace, which puts an end to the war between the Romans and Antiochus, which had subsisted about two years.	190.
	The philosopher Panætius was born about this time.	
3815.	The Consul Fulvius forces the Ætolians to submit to the Romans. Manlius, his colleague, almost at the same time, subjects all the Gauls in Asia.	189.
	The cruel treatment of the Spartans by their exiles, supported by Philopœmen, happened this year.	
3817.	Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, is killed in the temple of Jupiter Belus, which he had entered in order to plunder it. Seleucus Philopator succeeds him.	187.
3821.	Philopœmen is taken before Messene, by Dinocrates, and put to death.	183.
3823.	Demetrius, son of Philip, king of Macedonia, is unjustly accused by his brother Perseus, and put to death.	181.
3824.	Death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Philometor succeeds him.	180.
3825.	Death of Philip, king of Macedonia. Perseus his son succeeds him.	179.
3829.	Seleucus Philopator, king of Syria, is poisoned by Heliodorus, whom he had sent a little before to take Jerusalem. He is succeeded by Antiochus Epiphanes.	175.
3830.	Antiochus Epiphanes causes Onias the high-priest of Jerusalem to be deposed, and sets Jason in his place.	174.
3833.	War between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philometor.	171.
	The Romans declare war against Perseus. That prince has some advantage in the first battle near the river Peneus.	
3834.	Antiochus Epiphanes makes himself master of all Egypt. He marches afterwards to Jerusalem, where he commits unheard of cruelties.	170.
3835.	The Alexandrians, in the room of Philometor, who had fallen into the hands of Antiochus, make Ptolemy Evergetes, his younger brother, king.	169.
	Philometor is set at liberty the same year, and unites with his brother. That union induces Antiochus to renew the war.	
3836.	Paulus Æmilius is charged with the Macedonian war against Perseus. He gains a famous victory over that prince near Pydna, which puts an end to the kingdom of Macedonia. It was not reduced, however, into a province of the Roman empire till twenty years after.	168.
	The prætor Anicius subjects Illyria in thirty days.	
	Popilius, one of the ambassadors sent by the Romans into Egypt, obliges Antiochus to quit it, and come to an accommodation with the two brothers.	

- A.M.      **SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.**      Ant. J. C.
- Antiochus, exasperated at what had happened in Egypt, turns his rage against the Jews, and sends Apollonius to Jerusalem.
- The same year he publishes a decree to oblige all nations in subjection to him to renounce their own religion, and conform to his. This law occasions a cruel persecution amongst the Jews.
3837.      Antiochus goes in person to Jerusalem, to see his orders put in execution. The martyrdom of the Maccabees, and the death of Eleazar, happened at that time. 167.
- Paulus Æmilius abandons the cities of Epirus to be plundered by his army, for having taken Perseus's part. The Achæans, suspected of having favoured that prince, are sent to Rome, to give an account of their conduct. The senate banish them into different towns of Italy, from whence they are not suffered to return home till seven-teen years after. Polybius was of this number.
3838.      Prusias, king of Bithynia, goes to Rome. Eumenes, king of Pergamus, is not permitted to enter it. 166.
- Death of Mattathias. Judas, his son, succeeds him, and gains many victories over the generals of Antiochus.
3840.      Antiochus Epiphanes is repulsed before Elymais, where he intended to plunder the temple. He marches towards Judæa, with design to exterminate the Jews. The hand of God strikes him on the way, and he dies in the most exquisite torments. Antiochus Eupator, his son, succeeds him. 164.
3841.      Antiochus Eupator marches against Jerusalem. He is soon after obliged to return into Syria, in order to expel Philip of Antioch, who had made himself master of his capital. 163.
3842.      Quarrel between Philometor, king of Egypt, and Physcon his brother, which does not terminate till after the expiration of five years. 162.
- Octavius, ambassador for the Romans in Syria, is assassinated.
- Demetrius Soter, the son of Seleucus Philopator, flies from Rome, where he had been kept as an hostage, to Syria, where he causes Antiochus Eupator to be put to death, and seizes the throne.
3843.      Death of Judas Maccabæus. 161.
3844.      Demetrius is acknowledged king of Syria by the Romans. 160.
3845.      Death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Attalus Philometor succeeds him. 159.
3848.      War between Attalus and Prusias. 156.
3851.      Alexander Bala pretends himself the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and in that quality attempts to cause himself to be acknowledged king of Syria. 150.

A. M.	SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.	Ant. J. C.
3852.	Andrisens of Adramyttium pretends himself the son of Perseus, and undertakes to cause himself to be declared king of Macedonia. He is conquered, taken, and sent to Rome by Metellus.	152.
3854.	Demetrius Soter is killed in a battle between him and Alexander Bala. His death leaves the latter in possession of the empire of Syria.	150.
3856.	Macedonia is reduced into a province of the Roman empire.	148.
3857.	Troubles in Achaia promoted by Diæus and Critolaus. The commissioners sent thither by the Romans are insulted.	147.
3858.	Metellus goes to Achaia, where he gains several advantages over the Achæans. Mummius succeeds him, and, after a great battle near Leucopetra, takes Corinth, and entirely demolishes it.	146.
	Greece is reduced into a Roman province under the name of the province of Achaia.	

The sequel of the history of the kings of Syria is very perplexed, for which reason I shall separate it from that of the Egyptians, in order to complete its chronology.

## S Y R I A.

- |       |   |      |
|-------|---|------|
| 3859. | Demetrius Nicator, son of Demetrius Soter, defeats Alexander Bala, and ascends the throne.  | 145. |
| 3860. | Antiochus, surnamed Theos, son of Bala, supported by Tryphon, makes himself master of part of the kingdom.<br>Tryphon gets Jonathan into his hands, and puts him to death at Ptolemais. The year following he murders his pupil Antiochus, and seizes the kingdom of Syria. | 144. |
| 3863. | Demetrius marches against the Parthians. After some small advantages he is taken prisoner.  | 141. |
| 3864. | Antiochus Sidetes, the second son of Demetrius Soter, marries Cleopatra, the wife of his brother Demetrius Nicator; and after having put Tryphon to death, he is declared king himself.   | 140. |

## E G Y P T.

3859. Death of Ptolemy Philometor. Ptolemy Physcon, his brother, succeeds him. 145.

3866. { Death of Attalus king of Pergamus: Attalus } 103.  
 { his nephew, surnamed Philometor, succeeds }  
 { him. He reigns five years. }

A. M.

Ant. J. C.

## S Y R I A.

3869. Antiochus Sidetes besieges John Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation. 145
3873. Antiochus marches against the Parthians, and gains many advantages over them. They send back Demetrius the year following. 131.
3874. Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria. 130.
3877. Demetrius is killed by Alexander Zebina, who takes his place, and causes himself to be acknowledged king of Syria. 127.
3880. Seleucus V. eldest son of Demetrius Nicator, is declared king, and soon after killed by Cleopatra. Antiochus Grypus succeeds him. 124.
3882. Zebina is defeated by Grypus, and dies soon after. 122.



A.M.	E G Y P T.	Ant. J. C.
3868.	The cruelties of Physcon at Alexandria oblige most of the inhabitants to quit the place.	136.
3871.	{ Attalus Philometor, king of Pergamus, at his death leaves his dominions to the Roman people. Andronicus seizes them. }	133.
3874.	{ The consul Perpenna defeats Andronicus, and sends him to Rome. The kingdom of Perga- mus is reduced the year following into a Roman Province by Manius Aquilius. }	130.
<p>Physcon repudiates Cleopatra, his first wife, and marries her daughter of the same name. He is soon after obliged to fly, and the Alexandrians give the government to Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated.</p>		
3877.	Physcon re-ascends the throne of Egypt.	127.
3882.	Physcon gives his daughter in marriage to Grypus, king of Syria.	122.

A.M.	S Y R I A.	Ant. J. C.
3384.	Cleopatra attempts to poison Grypus, and is poisoned herself.	120.
3890.	Antiochus, the Cyziceni- an, son of Cleopatra and Antiochus Sidetes, takes arms against Grypus. He has the worst in the beginning; but two years after obliges his brother to divide the kingdom of Syria with him.	114.
3907.	Death of Grypus. Se- leucus his son succeeds him.	97.
3910.	Antiochus the Cyzice- nian is defeated, and put to death.	94.
3911.	Seleucus is defeated by Eusebes, and burnt in Mopsuestia.	93.
	Antiochus Eusebes, the son of the Cyziceni- an, causes himself to be de- clared king. He marries Selene, the widow of Grypus.	

A. M.

E G Y P T.

Ant. J. C.

3887. Death of Physcon. Ptolemy Lathyrus succeeds him. Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate Cleopatra, his eldest sister, and to marry Selene, his youngest. 117.
3891. Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander, her youngest son. 113.
3897. Cleopatra drives Lathyrus out of Egypt, and places his brother Alexander upon the throne. 107.
3900. Signal victory of Lathyrus over Alexander, king of the Jews, upon the banks of the Jordan. 104.
3901. Cleopatra forces Lathyrus to raise the siege of Ptolemais, and takes that city herself. 103.
3903. Cleopatra takes her daughter Selene from Lathyrus, and makes her marry Antiochus the Cyziceniian. 101.

A. M.	S Y R I A.	Ant. J. C.
3912.	Antiochus, brother of Seleucus, and second son of Grypus, assumes the diadem. He is presently after defeated by Eusebes, and drowned in the Orontes.	92.
3913.	Philip, his brother, third son of Grypus, succeeds him.	91.
3914.	Demetrius Eucherus, fourth son of Grypus, is established king at Damascus by the aid of Lathyrus.	90.
3916.	Eusebes, defeated by Philip and Demetrius, retires to the Parthians, who re-establish him upon the throne two years after.	88.
3919.	Demetrius having been taken by the Parthians, Antiochus Dionysius, the fifth son of Grypus, is set upon the throne and killed the following year.	85.
3921.	The Syrians, weary of so many changes, choose Tigranes, king of Armenia, for their king. He reigns fourteen years by a viceroy.	83.

A.M.

E G Y P T.

Ant. J. C.

- |       |   |     |
|-------|---|-----|
| 3915. | Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra.   | 89. |
| 3916. | Alexander is expelled, and dies soon after.<br>Lathyrus is recalled.                                    | 88. |
| 3922. | Lathyrus ruins Thebes in Egypt, where the rebels<br>whom he had before defeated had taken refuge.       | 82. |
| 3923. | Death of Lathyrus. Alexander II. son of Alexander I,<br>under the protection of Sylla, is elected king. | 81. |

3935. Tigranes recalls Magdalu-  
lus, his viceroy in Syria.

69.

Antiochus Asiaticus  
takes possession of some  
parts of Syria, and reigns  
four years.

3939.

Pompey deprives Antio-  
chus Asiaticus of his domi-  
nions, and reduces Syria  
into a Roman province.

65.

A. M.

## E G Y P T.

Ant. J. C.

3928. { Death of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia. His } 76.  
kingdom is reduced into a Roman province; as }  
is Cyrenaica the same year.
3939. Alexander is driven out of Egypt. Ptolemy Auletes, Lathyrus's natural son, is set in his place. 65.
3946. The Romans depose Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, and seize that Island. Cato is charged with that commission. 58.  
Ptolemy Auletes is obliged to fly from Egypt. Berenice, the eldest of his daughters, is declared queen in his stead.
3949. Gabinius and Antony restore Auletes to the entire possession of his dominions. 55.
3953. Death of Ptolemy Auletes. He leaves his dominions to his eldest son and daughter, the famous Cleopatra. 51.
3956. Pothinus and Achillas, the young king's guardians, deprive Cleopatra of her share in the government, and drive her out of Egypt. 48.
3957. Death of the king of Egypt. Cæsar places Cleopatra upon the throne with Ptolemy her youngest brother. 47.
3961. Cleopatra poisons her brother when he comes of age to share the sovereign authority according to the laws. She afterwards declares for the Roman triumviri. 43.
3963. Cleopatra goes to Antony at Tarsus in Cilicia. She gains the ascendant over him, and carries him with her to Alexandria. 41.
3971. Antony makes himself master of Armenia, and brings the king prisoner to Cleopatra. Coronation of Cleopatra and all her children. 33.  
Rupture between Cæsar and Antony. Cleopatra accompanies the latter, who repudiates Octavia at Athens.
3973. Cleopatra flies at the battle of Actium. Antony follows her, and thereby abandons the victory to Cæsar. 31.
3974. Antony dies in the arms of Cleopatra. 30.  
Cæsar makes himself master of Alexandria. Cleopatra kills herself. Egypt is reduced into a Roman province.

A. M.

CAPPADOCIA.

PARTHIAN  
EMPIRE.

Ant. J. C.

3644. Ariarathes I. was the first king of Cappadocia. He reigned jointly with his brother Holophernes. 360.
3668. Ariarathes II. son of the first. He was deprived of his dominions by Perdiccas, who set Eumenes on the throne. 336.
3689. Ariarathes III. ascends the throne of Cappadocia after the death of Perdiccas and Eumenes. 315.
3720. Ariamnes. 284.  
Ariarathes IV.
3754. Arsaces I. founder of the Parthian empire. 250.  
Arsaces II. brother of the first.  
Priapatius.  
Phraates I.
8814. Ariarathes V. 190.



A. M.	P O N T U S.	Ant. J. C.
3490.	The kingdom of Pontus was founded by Darius the son of Hystaspes, in the year 3490. Artabazus was the first king of it. His successors, down to Mithridates, are little known.	514.
3600.	Mithridates I. He is commonly considered as the founder of the kingdom of Pontus.	404.
3638.	Ariobarzanes. He reigns twenty-six years.	366.
3667.	Mithridates II. He reigns thirty-five years.	337.
3702.	Mithridates III. Reigns thirty-six years. The reigns of the three kings who succeed him include the space of a hundred years. The last of them was Mithridates IV. great-grandfather of Mithridates the Great.	302.
3819.	Pharnaces, son of Mithridates IV.	135.

A.M.	CAPPADOCIA.	PARTHIAN EMPIRE.	Ant. J. C.
3840.		Mithridates I.	164.
3842.	Ariarathes VI. surnamed Philopator.		162.
3873.		Phraates II.	131.
3875.	Ariarathes VII.	Artabanus. After a very short reign he is succeeded by Mithridates II. who reigns forty years.	129.
3913.	Ariarathes VIII. Mithri- dates, king of Pontus, puts him to death, and sets his son upon the throne. Soon after Ariarathes IX. takes Cappadocia from the son of Mithridates, who is present- ly after re-established by his father.		91.
3914.	Sylla enters Cappadocia, drives the son of Mithri- dates out of it, and sets Ariobarzanes I. upon the throne.		90.
3915.	Tigranes, king of Ar- menia, drives Ariobarzanes out of Cappadocia, and reinstates the son of Mi- thridates.		89.

Muaschires, and after  
him Sinatroces. These two  
princes reign about twenty  
years.

A. M.

P O N T U S.

Ant. J. C.

Mithridates V. surnamed Evergetes.

- |       |  |      |
|-------|--|------|
| 3881. | Mithridates VI. surnamed the Great.  | 123. |
| 3913. | Mithridates seizes Cappadocia, and makes his son king of it.   | 91.  |
| 3915. | Beginning of the first war between Mithridates and the Romans.   | 89.  |
| 3916. | Mithridates causes all the Romans in Asia Minor to be massacred in one day.<br>Archelaus, one of the generals of Mithridates, seizes Athens, and most of the cities of Greece. | 88.  |

A.M.

CAPPADOCIA.

PARTHIAN  
EMPIRE.

Ant. J.C.

3926. Sylla obliges Mithridates to restore Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes. Tigranes dispossesses him of it a second time. After the war with Mithridates, Pompey reinstates Ariobarzanes. His reign, and the very short one of his son, continue down to about the year 3953.

78.

3955.

Phraates III. who assumes the surname of *the god*.

69.

A. M.	P O N T U S.	Ant. J. C.
3917.	Sylla is charged with the war against Mithridates. He retakes Athens after a long siege.	87.
3918.	Victory of Sylla over the generals of Mithridates near Charonea. He gains a second battle soon after at Orchomenus.	86.
3920.	Treaty of Peace between Mithridates and Sylla, which terminates the war.	84.
3921.	Mithridates puts his son to death. Second war between Mithridates and the Romans. It subsists something less than three years.	83.
5928.	Mithridates makes an alliance with Sertorius.	76.
3929.	Beginning of the third war of Mithridates against the Romans. Lucullus and Cotta are placed at the head of the Roman army.	75.
3930.	Cotta is defeated by sea and land, and forced to shut himself up in Chalcedon. Lucullus goes to his aid.	74.
3931.	Mithridates forms the siege of Cyzicum. Lucullus obliges him to raise it at the end of two years, and pursues and beats him near the Granicus.	73.
3933.	Mithridates defeated in the plains of Cabira. He retires to Tigranes.	71.
3934.	Lucullus declares war against Tigranes, and soon after defeats him, and takes Tigranocerta, the capital of Armenia.	70.
3936.	Lucullus defeats Tigranes and Mithridates, who had joined their forces near the river Arsamia.	68.
3937.	Mithridates recovers all his dominions, in consequence of the discontent that takes place in the Roman army.	67.

A. M.

CAPPADOCIA.

PARTHIAN  
EMPIRE.

Ant. J. C.

3948. Mithridates, eldest son of 56.

Phraates.

3950. Orodes. 54.

Unfortunate expedition  
of Crassus against the Par-  
thians.3953. Ariobarzanes III. He is 51.  
put to death by Cassius.

3962. Ariarathes X. 49.

Ventidius, general of the  
Romans, gains a victory  
over the Parthians, which  
retrieves the honour they  
had lost at the battle of  
Carræ.3973. M. Antony drives Ari- 31.  
arathes out of Cappadocia,  
and sets Archelaus in his  
place. On the death of  
that prince, which happened  
in the year of the world  
4022, Cappadocia was re-  
duced into a Roman pro-  
vince.

A. M.	P O N T U S.	Ant. J. C.
3938.	Pompey is appointed to succeed Lucullus. He gains many advantages over Mithridates, and obliges him to fly. Tigranes surrenders himself to Pompey.	66.
3939.	Pompey makes himself master of Caura, in which the treasures of Mithridates were laid up. Death of Mithridates. Pharnaces his son, whom the army had elected king, submits his person and dominions to the Romans.	65.

A. M.

## SYRACUSE.

Ant. J. C.

Syracuse is said to have been founded in the year of the world 3295, before Christ 709.

3520. Gelon's beginning. 484.
3525. Gelon is elected king of Syracuse. He reigns five or six years. 479.
3532. Hiero I. He reigns eleven years. 472.
3543. Thrasybulus. In a year's time he is expelled by his subjects. 461.
3544. The Syracusans enjoy their liberty during sixty years. 460.
3589. The Athenians, assisted by the people of Segesta, undertake the siege of Syracuse under their general Nicias. They are obliged to raise it at the end of two years. The Syracusans pursue and defeat them entirely. 415.
3593. Beginning of Dionysius the Elder. 411.
3598. Dionysius, after having deposed the ancient magistrates of Syracuse, is placed at the head of the new ones, and soon after causes himself to be declared generalissimo. 406.
3600. Revolt of the Syracusans against Dionysius upon account of the taking of Gela by the Carthaginians. It is followed by a treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Syracusans, by one of the conditions of which Syracuse is to continue in subjection to Dionysius. He establishes himself in the tyranny. 404.
- New troubles at Syracuse against Dionysius. He finds means to put an end to them.



A.M.	CARTHAGE.	Aut. J.C.
	Carthage was founded in the year of the world 3158, before Christ 846.	
3501.	First treaty between the Carthaginians and Romans. It appears that the Carthaginians had carried their arms into Sicily before this treaty, as they were in possession of part of it when it was concluded. But what year they did so is not known.	503.
3520.	The Carthaginians make an alliance with Xerxes.	484.
3523.	The Carthaginians, under Amilcar, attack the Greeks settled in Sicily. They are beaten by Gelon.	481.
3592.	The Carthaginians send troops under Hannibal to aid the people of Segesta against the Syracusans.	412.
3595.	Hannibal and Imilcon are sent to conquer Sicily. They open the campaign with the siege of Agrigentum.	409.
3600.	The war made by the Carthaginians in Sicily is terminated by a treaty of peace with the Syracusans.	404.

A.M.	S Y R A C U S E.	Ant. J.C.
3605.	Dionysius makes great preparations for a new war with the Carthaginians.	399.
3607.	Massacre of all the Carthaginians in Sicily, followed by a declaration of war, which Dionysius caused to be signified to them by a herald, whom he dispatched to Carthage.	397.
3615.	Dionysius takes Rhegium by capitulation. The next year he breaks the treaty, and makes himself master of it again by force.	389.
3632.	Death of Dionysius the Elder. His son Dionysius the Younger succeeds him. By the advice of Dion, his brother-in-law, he causes Plato to come to his court. Dion, banished by the order of Dionysius, retires into Peloponnesus.	372.
3643.	Dionysius makes Arete, his sister, the wife of Dion, marry Timocrates, one of his friends. That treatment makes Dion resolve to attack the tyrant with open force.	361.
3644.	Dion obliges Dionysius to abandon Syracuse. He sets sail for Italy.	360.
3646.	Callippus causes Dion to be assassinated, and makes himself master of Syracuse, where he reigns about thirteen months.	358.
3647.	Hipparinus, brother of Dionysius the Younger, drives Callippus out of Syracuse, and establishes himself in his placé for two years.	357.
3654.	Dionysius re-instated.	350.
3656.	The Syracusans call in Timoleon to their aid.	348.
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P.

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king of Egypt. See Alexander II.

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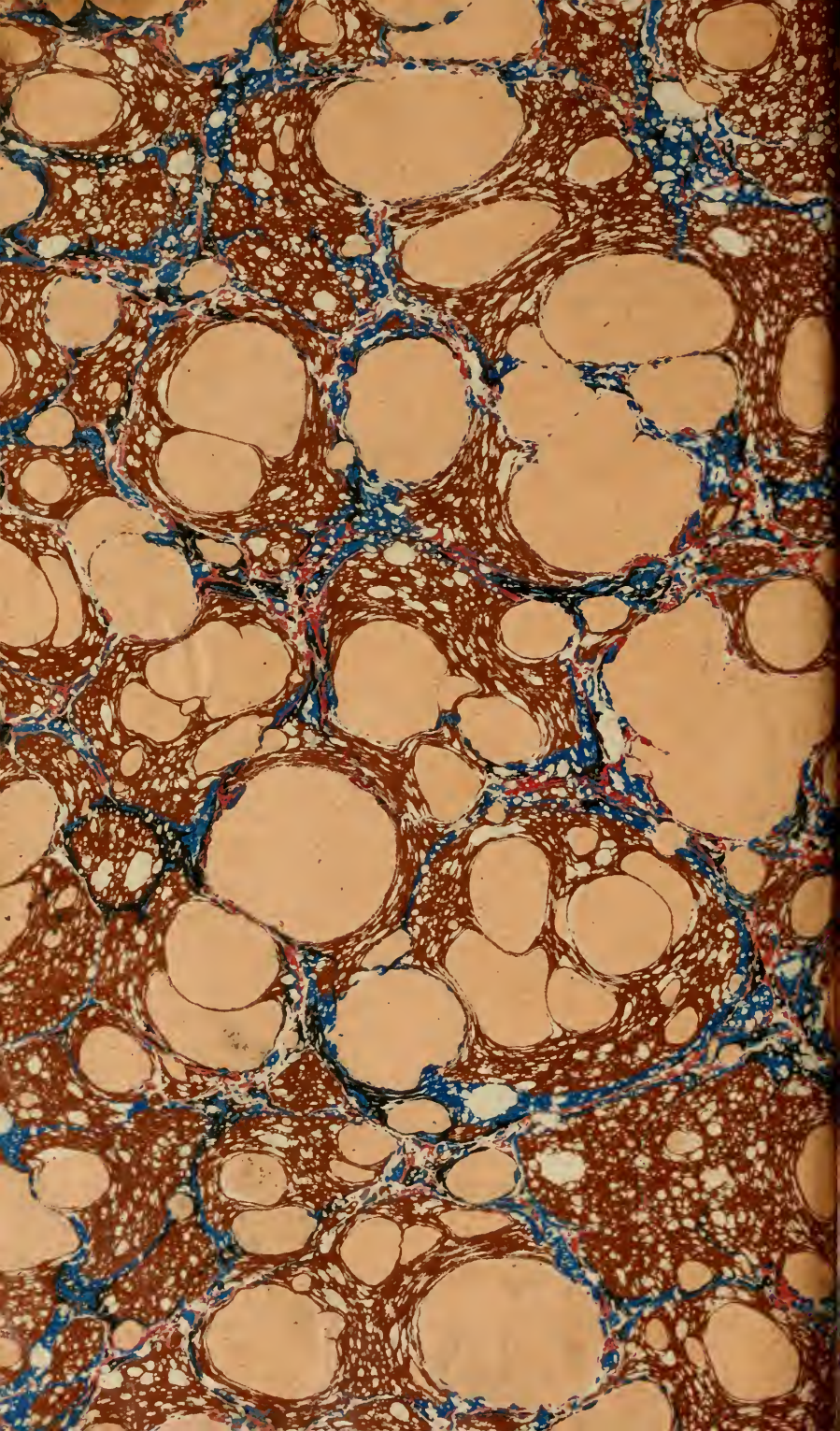














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