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THE
ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,



MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS
AND
GRECIANS.

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THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS
AND BELLES LETTRES.

—♦—
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—♦—

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BOOK TWENTY ONE.

THE

HISTORY OF SYRACUSE.

ARTICLE I.

INCLUDING THE REIGN OF HIERO II.

SECTION I.

HIERO II. CHOSEN CAPTAIN GENERAL BY THE SYRACUSANS, AND
SOON AFTER APPOINTED KING.

HIERO II. was descended from the family of Gelon, who had formerly reigned in Syracuse.^a As his mother was of slavish extraction, his father Hierocles, according to the barbarous customs of those times, 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.

^a A. M. 3700. Ant. J. C. 304. Justin. l. xxiii. c. 4.

The child improved as much from the pains taken to form him, as 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 own hands. He was of a beautiful aspect, large stature, and robust complexion. In his conversation^b he was humane and polite, in business just, and moderate in command; so that he wanted nothing royal, except a throne.

^c 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 of a prudence and maturity that promised 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

^b In alloquio blandus, in negotio justus, in imperio moderatus; prorsus ut nihil ei regium deesse præter regnum, videretur. Justin.

^c A. M. 2729. Ant. J. C. 275. Polyb. l. i. p. 8, 9.

that office. In effect, observing that the troops no sooner quitted the city, than Syracuse was involved in new troubles by seditious spirits and lovers of novelty, 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. Leptinus seemed very fit for this purpose. He had abundance of persons devoted to his interest, and was in very great credit 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, from their being too well united among themselves; that, if he undertook to punish the most criminal, their chastisement would only provoke the rest; and, that the only means to put an end to the troubles they occasioned, was utterly to exterminate the factious militia, 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 a 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.^d 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 who 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, elated with their first 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.^e A great part of the enemy 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 the

^d They were originally Campanian troops whom Agathocles had taken into his pay, and who afterwards seized Messina, having first put the principal inhabitants to the sword.

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

allies. This happened seven years after his being raised to the supreme authority.

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 the allies afterwards gave to it; but can we suppose, in such a conjuncture, that their consent was perfectly free? As to his being elected king, there was nothing forced in that; if his 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.^f

^g 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

^f Vol. I. History of the Carthaginians.

^g Front. Strat. l. i. c. 4.

the sea, having retired, as if there had been nothing further to apprehend, Appius tacked about and passed the strait without danger.

^b The Mamertines, between menaces and surprise, having driven the officer out of the citadel who commanded in it for the Carthaginians, they 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 rude. Hiero showed all possible courage, but could not resist the valor 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.

ⁱ When the news of Appius's good success arrived at Rome, it occasioned great joy. In order to make 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.

^b Polyb. l. i. p. 10, 11.

ⁱ A. M. 3741. Ant. J. C. 263. Polyb. l. i. p. 15, 16.

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 those two republics, equal in their forces; and that, as long as they should be at blows, 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, 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 one hundred talents in money.^k

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

^k One hundred thousand crowns.

During more than fifty years that he lived after being elected king, whilst all things were in flames round 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 to be no more than a spectator of them, and only to hear the noise of those arms which shook all the neighbouring regions ; himself and his people retained a profound peace.

¹The 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, had been exposed to excessive famine.

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

^m 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 conceived, that to support himself in Sicily, it was necessary that the Carthaginians should overcome in this war ; lest the strangers, who had already

¹ Polyb. l. i. p. 18.

^m A. M. 5763. Ant. J. C. 241. Polyb. l. i. p. 84.

obtained many advantages over the Carthaginians, in case of entire success, should find no further obstacles to their projects, and should form designs 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 revolters.

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 consequential of them, 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;

SECTION II.

HIERO'S PACIFIC REIGN. HE DIES VERY OLD, AND MUCH REGRETTED BY THE PEOPLE.

WHEN Hiero attained the sovereign authority, his great application was to convince his subjects, less by his word than his actions, that he was infinitely remote from intending any thing 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 parents of all vices, the source of all seditions, from his dominions; to support and improve the natural fertility of his country; and to place agriculture in honour, which he looked upon as the certain means to render his people happy, and to diffuse abundance throughout his kingdom. The

cultivation of lands, indeed, besides employing an infinity 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 renewing every year 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 be skilful in all the rules of agriculture. ^a 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 husbandman, of whom the greatest part of the people were composed, safe and happy; to ascertain the prince's dues, whose principal revenue arose from them; to obviate such disorders as might get ground, to the prejudice of his institutions; and to prevent the unjust vexations which endeavours might possibly be used to obtrude in the sequel. To answer all

^a Polyb. l. xviii. c. 3.

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 Syracuse, they imposed no new tributes, and decreed,° that all things should be disposed according to "the laws of Hiero;" in order that the Syracusans, 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 argues him a wise prince, and good economist. He knew very

° Decumas lege Hieronica semper vendendas censuerunt, ut iis jucundior esset muneris illius functio, si ejus regis, qui Siculis carissimus fuit, non solum instituta, commutato imperio, verum etiam nomen remaneret. Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 15.

well, there was reason to apprehend, that the country people, who consider the most legal and moderate imposts as intolerable burdens, might be tempted to defraud the prince of his dues. To spare them this temptation, he took such^p 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 secret any part of it, or to defraud the collector of a single grain, without exposing himself to a severe penalty. But he 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 quitting his home upon any pretext whatsoever. Cicero says, accordingly, inveighing against Verres, who gave them great trouble, by frequent and painful journies, 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 the care of tilling their lands to that of prosecuting law suits.^q *Miserum atque iniquum ex agro homines traduci in forum, ab aratro ad subsellia, ad 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!*

^p Hieronica lex omnibus custodiis subjectum aratorem decumano tradit, ut neque in segitibus, neque in areis, neque in horreis, neque in amovendo, neque in asportando frumento, grano uno posset arator, sine maxima pœna, fraudare decumanum. Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 20.

^q Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 14.

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 valor ; gain battles, make conquests, and extend the bounds of his dominions ; and upon these accounts might pass for a hero, in the sense of the generality of men. But with how many taxes must he have charged 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 lands, by rendering them more fertile than they were, and in actually multiplying his people, wherein the true force and riches of a state consists ; and which can never fail to happen, when the people of a country reap a reasonable advantage from their labour.

^r 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

^r A. M. 3786. Ant. J. C. 218. Liv. l. xxi. n. 50, 51.

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.

* Hiero's inviolable fidelity for the Romans, which is very remarkable in his character, appears 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, upon their being introduced to the senate, told them; "that Hiero, their master, had been as sensibly afflicted on 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 admirable 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 hoped they would vouchsafe to receive as a favourable augury, and a pledge of the vows which he made for their prosperity; that they had also 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 appoint ; that he knew the Roman people employed 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 one 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 counsel, which was, that the pretor who should be sent to command in Sicily, might despatch a fleet to Africa, in order to find the Carthaginians such employment in their own country, as might put it out of their power, by that diversion, to send any succours to Hannibal.

The senate answered the kings 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 supported 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 capitol, 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^t observes here, upon the noble and prudent liberality of Hiero; first, in the generous design he forms, of presenting the Romans three hundred and twenty pounds weight of gold; then in the industrious precaution he uses, to prevent their refusal 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 situated 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

^t Trecenta millia modium tritici, et ducenta millia hordei, auriq̄ue ducenta et quadraginta pondo urbi nostræ muneri misit. Neque ignarus verecundiæ majorum nostrorum, quod nollet accipere, in habitum id Victoriæ formavit, ut eos religione motos, munificentia sua uti cogeret; Voluntate mittendi prius, iterum providentia cavendi ne remitteretur, liberalis. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 8.

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 it the empire of the sea, and establishing it entirely in Sicily, by the possession of the whole island. It had therefore been imprudent to suffer such allies to be ruined by the Carthaginians, who would not have been the better friends to the Syracusans for their having renounced the Romans by force. It was therefore a decisive point, 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.

^u The sum of an hundred talents, one hundred thousand crowns, which he sent to the Rhodians, and the presents he made them after the great earthquake, that 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 place 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 magnificent presents.

^u Polyb. l v. p. 429.

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 himself, and the glory he acquires by them.

There is a pastoral of Theocritus, Idyll. 16. named after the king we speak of, wherein the poet seems to reproach that prince tacitly, 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 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.

▼ It is to Hiero's just taste, and singular attention to every thing that affected 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 use the advantage 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 of 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 power with Archimedes to engage him to descend from those lofty speculations to the practice of the 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 generality 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, he chose one of the galleys in that 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 cords and pulleys, he drew the galley to him upon the land with as much ease, and as upright, as if it had swam upon the water.

The king, upon the sight of so prodigious an effect of the powers of motion, was utterly astonished; and judging from that experiment 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 be 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 learning, sometimes converse with them, and place 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 upon the 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 subjects are simple and abstracted 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 derive from this real 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 the like objects, become more easy of access, and in a manner familiarize 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, from which shot forth those living lights, and wonderful discoveries, which displayed from their birth a sensible and manifest utility, and gave the Romans 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 commerce, in which almost the whole wealth of the island consisted.^w 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 among 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, that 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 poop, served for a kitchen. All the floors of these apartments were inlaid with small stories in different

^w Athen. l. iii. p. 206—290.

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, 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 around 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 sundial.

There was also an apartment with three beds for a bath, in which were three great 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 one 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 distance from each other. The ship was adorned on all sides with paintings, and had eight towers proportioned

to its bigness ; 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 one 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 hooks and lumps 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 one thousand medimni of corn as a reward, and caused them to be car-

ried to the port of Pyraeum. 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,^x and sent it to Alexandria. There was at that time a great dearth of corn throughout all Egypt.

Several other vessels of less burden 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 cloths, without including the provisions for the ships' crews and officers.

To avoid too much prolixity, I have retrenched some part of the description Athenaeus has left us of this great ship.

I should have been glad 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 faith was put to a very severe trial, after the bloody defeat of the Romans in the battle of Canne, which was followed by an almost universal defection of their allies. But the wasting of his dominions by

* There is reason to believe this was Ptolemy Philadelphus.

the Carthaginian troops, which their fleet had landed in Sicily; was not capable of changing him.^y 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 Canne, had declared openly for the Carthaginians. He had already armed the multitude, and solicited the allies of Syracuse to join him, and would^z perhaps have occasioned great troubles 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 ninety years, infinitely regretted by his people, after having reigned fifty-four years.



ARTICLE II.

THE reign of Hieronymus ; the troubles consequential of it ; and the siege and taking of Syracuse.

^y A. M. 3789. Ant. J. C. 215. Liv. l. xxiii. n. 30.

^z Movissetque in Siciliare, nisi mors, adeo opportuna ut patrem quoque suspicione adspurgeret, armantem eum multitudinem, sollicitantemque socios, absumpsisset. Liv.

SECTION I.

HIERONYMUS, GRANDSON OF HIERO, SUCCEEDS HIM. HE IS KILLED
IN A CONSPIRACY.

THE death of Hiero occasioned great revolutions in Sicily. The kingdom was fallen into the hands of Hieronymus his grandson, a young prince,^a incapable of making a wise use of his independency, and far from resisting the seducing impressions 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 their whole credit; 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 Andranadorus and Zoippus, who held the first rank among his guardians.^b 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 against their pressing and assiduous insinuations, and to sacrifice with courage the interests of his family to those of the public.

To prevent as far as possible the evils he foresaw, he appointed him fifteen guardians, who were to form

^a Puerum, vix dum liberatem, nedum dominationem, modice laturum Liv.

^b Non facile erat nonagesimum jam agenti annum, circumsesso dies noctesque muliebribus blanditiis, liberare animum, et convertere ad publicam privata curam. Liv.

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 dispositions, the guardians he had appointed 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 loss, and their apprehension of what was to come. ^c 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.

Andranadorus'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 Andranadorus, being the first to renounce the guardianship held by him in common with many colleagues, united in his own person all their power. The dispositions made by the wisest princes at their death, are often little regarded, and seldom executed afterwards.

^c Funus fit regium, magis amore civium et caritate, quam cura suorum celebre. Liv.

^d The best and most moderate prince in the world, succeeding a king so well beloved by his subjects as Hiero had been, would have found it very difficult to console them for the loss they had sustained; but Hieronymus, as if he had 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. ^e All the rest of his conduct was suitable to this equipage; a visible contempt for all the world, haughty and disdainful in hearing, and affectation of saying disobliving 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 debauch; a cruelty so excessive 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

^d Vix quidem ulli bono moderatoque regi facilis erat favor apud Syracusanos, succedenti tantæ caritati Hieronis. Verum enimvero Hieronymus velut suis vitiis desiderabilem efficere vellet avum, primo statim conspectu, omnia quam disparia essent ostendit. Liv.

^e Hunc tam superbum apparatus habitumque convenientes sequebantur contemptus omnium hominum, superbæ aures. contumeliosa dicta, rari aditus, non alienis modo sed tutoribus etiam; libidines novæ, inhumana crudelitas. Liv.

some of his guardians, to escape his cruelty, either put themselves to death, or condemned themselves to voluntary banishment.

Only three men, Andranadorus 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, 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 principal conspirators, named Theodotus, was accused. Being put to the question, he confessed the crime as to 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, among whom he named Thraso, as the ringleader of the whole enterprise; 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 interest, 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 inviolably.

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 despatched 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, blown up by the praises of his flatterers, demanded even, 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, pretor 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 Canne; that Hannibal's ambassadors had related incredible things of it; that it was easy to know the truth from their mouths, and thence to determine upon the choice of his allies. The Romans made answer, that they would return to him when he had learned to treat ambassadors seriously and with reason; 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 the security of a prince consists, but 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 blessed his memory. Hieronymus, on the contrary, who had no other rule of conduct but violence, regarded all other men as born solely for himself, and valued himself upon governing them, not as subjects but slaves, led the wretchedest 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.

^f 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.

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 the liberty with 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, altogether appeased their first heat, and changed their disposition in such a manner, that they left the prince's body without interment, for whom they had just before expressed so warm a regret.

As soon as the death of Hieronymus was known at Syracuse, Andranadorus seized the isle, which was part of the city, with the citadel, and such other places

^f A. M. 3790. Ant. J. C. 214. Liv. l. xxiv. n. 21—35.

as were most proper for his defence in it; putting good garrisons into them. Theodotus and Socis, 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 sunrise, all the people, armed and unarmed, ran to the quarter Achradina, where the senate was assembled, which had neither sat, nor been consulted upon any affair, from Hiero's death. Polyenus, 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 would rather have 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 Andranadorus, 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 rigor 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 because 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. ⁸ 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 moment, 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 was easy to bring over to his interest, by the attraction of the king's treasures in his possession."

Andranadorus did not entirely reject this counsel, nor think proper to give in to 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 been in 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

⁸ Sed evocatum eum ab legatis Demarata uxor, filia Hieronis, inflata adhuc regis animis ac muliebri spiritu, admonet sæpe usurpatæ Dionysii tyranni vocis; quæ, pedibus tractum, non insidentem equo, relinquere tyrannidem dixerit debere.

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 moment 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 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 the principal of whom Andranadorus was elected, with Theodotus 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 opportunity to insinuate themselves into the favour of the soldiers, who esteemed them upon account of their abilities, and to give them a disgust for the senate, and the better inclined part of the citizens.

Andranadorus, 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. Andranadorus and Themistus were immediately slain, 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 to aspire

to the tyranny ; that not being able to succeed in their design by force, they had used dissimulation and perfidy ; that neither favours nor honours had been able to overcome the wicked disposition of Andranadorus ; 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 any reserve or exception. ^h Such is the nature of the multitude. It either abjectly abandons itself to slavery, or lords it with insolence ; but with regard to liberty, which holds the mean betwixt those extremes, it neither knows how to be without it, or to use it ; and has always too many flatterers 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, Hiero's, and Harmonia, Gelon's daughter ; the first married to Andranadorus, and the other

^h Hæc natura multitudinis est ; aut servit humiliter, aut superbe dominatur ; libertatem, quæ media est, nec spernere modice, nec habere sciunt. Et non ferme desunt irarum indulgentes ministri, qui avidos atque intemperantes plebeiorum animos ad sanguinem et cædes irritent. Liv.

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 remote part of her house, near her household gods. When the assassins arrived there, with her hair loose and disordered, 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 herself, she implored them at least to save the lives of the princesses her daughters, both of an age to inspire the most inveterate and furious 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 to death 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 of the people's 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 Adranadorus and Themistus. They were a long time in suspense upon this choice. At length, somebody in the crowd of the people, happened to name Epicycles ; 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 reinstating 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 reestablishment of liberty, ambassadors had been sent to Appius, to propose renewing the alliance 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 Epicycles, 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. Opinions differed very much in it; and the heat of debates giving reason to fear some sedition, Apollonides, one of the principal senators, made a discourse very suitable to the conjuncture. He intimated, "that never city was nearer its destruction or preservation than Syracuse actually was at that time; that if they all with unanimous 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 Romans and Carthaginians, than between the Syracusans themselves against each other; as both parties must necessarily have, within the circumference of their own walls, their own troops, armies and generals; that it was therefore absolutely requisite to make their agreement and union amongst themselves their sole care and application; and that, to know which of the two alliances was to be preferred, was now the most im-

portant question ; that, for the rest, the authority of Hiero, in his opinion, ought to carry it against 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 should 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 Romans, they would have war immediately upon their hands ; whereas, on the side of Carthage, the danger was more 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 discharging 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 the occasion 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 dependent 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, 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 Epicycles 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 swallowed without suspicion, inspired them with compassion for their companions. They expressed their indignation by their murmurs. Hippocrates and Epicycles, 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 Sosis were. When they were informed of the cause of the tumult, they advanced hastily, blamed the soldiers for having received Hippocrates and Epicycles, 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.

The army, however, continued its march towards Megara, 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 reentering Syracuse. They sent a man thither, whom they had gained by bribes, who related the storming of Leontium conformable 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 set at liberty, the prisoners made free, and Hippocrates and Epicycles elected into the highest offices in a tumultuous assembly. Syracuse, in this manner, after a short irradiation of liberty, sunk again into its former slavery.

SECTION II.

MARCELLUS BESIEGES SYRACUSE. THE DREADFUL MACHINES OF ARCHINEDES. HE IS KILLED.

ⁱ 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 per-

ⁱ A. M. 3790. Ant. J. C. 214. Liv. l. xxiv. n. 33, 374. Plut. in *Marcel.* p. 305—307. Polyb. l. viii. p. 515—518.

mitted 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, apprehending that nothing could oppose so terrible a power, and such mighty efforts; and it had indeed been impossible to have resisted them, without the assistance of a 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 oppose their shock. They

* The description of Syracuse may be seen in Book. VIII. Ch. ii. Sect. 1.

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 lay far from the city, he reached them with his larger and more forcible baliste and catapulte. 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. Beside this, he caused an iron grapple to be let out by a chain ; the person who guided the machine, having caught hold of the head of a ship with this hook, by the 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 cords 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. Galleys 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 who were in them.

Marcellus had prepared, at great expense, machines called sambuce, from their resemblance to a musical instrument of that name. He appointed eight gallies of five benches for that use, 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 two gallies joined together, and extended considerably beyond their beaks ; upon the masts of these vessels were affixed cords and pulleys. When it was to work, the cords were made fast to the extremity of the machine, and men upon the poop drew it up by the help of the pulleys ; others at the head assisted in raising it with levers. The galleys afterwards being thrust forward to the foot of the walls, the machines were applied to them. The bridge of the sambuce 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,¹ then a second, and immediately after a third ; all which striking against it with dreadful force and noise, beat down and broke its supports, and

¹ The quintal, which the Greeks called *ταλαντον*, was of several kinds. The least weighed one hundred and twenty five pounds ; the largest more than twelve hundred.

gave the galleys 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 galleys, and 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 sunrise, 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 contingences. 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,^m which, not carrying far, wounded those who approached, without being perceived but by that effect.

When the Romans, according to their design, 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

^m The scorpions were machines in the nature of cross bows, which the ancients used in discharging darts and stones.

discharge of darts overtook them in their retreat ; so that they lost great numbers of men, and almost all their gallies were disabled or beat 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 with the gods.

Marcellus, though at a loss what to do, and not knowing how to oppose the machines of Archimedes, could not, however, forbear pleasantries 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 sambuces so rudely ? He infinitely exceeds the fabled giants with their hundred hands, in his perpetual and surprising discharges upon us.” Marcellus had reason for referring to Archimedes only ; 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 ; he 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 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 valor left untried, almost 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 arrests 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 had Syracuse sustained, if to have saved a small expense 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 ^a 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 manner. Hence were seen to rise 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 is, amongst these machines, of which we can scarce conceive the effects, what might tempt us to call their reality 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 our consent to the united authority of Greek and Roman historians, in regard to circumstances of which whole armies were witnesses, in experiencing the effects, and which had so great an influence in the events of the war? What passed in this siege of Syracuse, shows how high the ancients had carried their genius and art in besieging and supporting sieges. Our artillery, which so perfectly imitates thunder, has not more effect than the engines of Archimedes, if 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 inven-

^a *In pace, ut sapiens, aptavit idonea bello.*

HORACE.

And wise in peace, prepared the arms of war

tion ; 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 to 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. This is the conjecture of Mr. Crevier, professor of rhetoric in the college of Beauvais, who pub-

lished a new edition of Livy, with remarks, and with which I am convinced the public were well pleased. The first volume of this 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 into Sicily. In 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 dismissed Appius for Rome, who went thither to demand the consulship, he put Crispinus into his place.

^P 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 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 eighty of the principal persons

^P A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212. Liv. l. 25. n. 23—31. Plut. in Marcell. p. 308, 309.

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

This enterprise having miscarried in this manner, 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 negotiate 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 thoughts 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. Hav-

ing 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, began to grow drowsy and fall asleep, he made one thousand chosen troops, in profound silence, advance with their ladders to the wall. When the first got to the top, without noise or tumult, the others followed, encouraged by the boldness and success of their leaders. These one thousand soldiers, taking the 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 the quarter of the city called Epipolis.

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 Villanova,^g or the new city, by the quarter called Tycha. Epicycles having immediately drawn up some troops, which he had in the isle adjoining to Achradina, marched against Marcellus ; but finding him stronger and better

^g The new city, or Neapolis, was called Epipolis ; and in the latter times had been taken into the city, and surrounded with walls.

attended than he expected, after a slight skirmish, he shut himself up in the quarter Achradina.

All the captains and officers with Marcellus congratulated him upon his 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 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 valor 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 rendered 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 by his rear, he then attacked a fort called Eurylaus, which lay at the bottom of the new town, and commanded the whole country on the land side. After having carried it, 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 gate, and given the signal to those who were in possession of Achradina,

attacked the old camp of the Romans, in which Crispinus commanded; Epicydes 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 intrenchments, and Marcellus obliged Epicydes 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 those who were 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 breaking out of the disease, had brought his soldiers into the city, where the roofs and

shade was of great relief to them ; he lost, however, no inconsiderable number of men.

Bomilcar, notwithstanding, who commanded the Carthaginian fleet, and had made a second voyage to Carthage to bring back a new supply, returned with one 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. 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 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 it 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 a design to wait the event of the siege in that place, than to make any new attempt from thence.

When it was known in the camp of the Sicilians, that Epicycles 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 Syracuse should surrender. It was agreed with unanimity enough on both sides, that what had appertained to the kings 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 Epicyles had charged with 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 Epicyles 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 henceforth, they ought not to accuse fortune, as it depended 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 apprized of the oppressions they suffered from Hippocrates and Epicyles, those ambitious agents of Hannibal, and afterwards of Hieronymus, that they had taken arms and began the siege of the city, not to ruin it, but to destroy

its tyrants; that as Hippocrates was dead, Epicydes no longer in Syracuse, his lieutenant 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 faith to 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 renewing 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 which were chosen out of the former. The deputy who spoke in their name, and who was instructed 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 declared war against you, but Hieronymus, less criminal still to Rome than to his country; and afterwards, when the peace was restored by his death, it was not any Syracusan that infringed it, but the tyrant's instruments, Hippocrates and Epicydes. 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 become masters of ourselves, by the death of those who held Sicily in subjection, we come the very instant 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 always to Marcellus, "your interest is as much concerned 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 of memorable, either by sea or land, augments and adorns your triumph. Fame is not a sufficiently faithful chronicle 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 Carthaginians, and sometimes those you have acquired from us ; and that Syracuse, thus placed for ever under the protection of Marcellus, may be a lasting, an eternal monument of the valor 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 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 Ro-

mans, 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 all to the sword 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, it was concluded with the Romans that their cause should be entirely distinct from that of the deserters. At the same instant the deputies sent to Marcellus arrived, who fully undeceived them.

Amongst those who commanded in Syracuse, there was a Spaniard, named Mericus ; him means were found to corrupt. He gave up the gate near the fountain Arethusa to soldiers sent by Marcellus in the night to take possession of it. At daybreak 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 facilitate the throwing some troops into the isle, which would be unguarded, by some vessels he had prepared. Everything 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 their gates to Marcellus, and sent deputies to him with instructions to demand nothing further 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 intended 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 to slavery, but to prevent the chiefs of the revolters from continuing 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 satisfaction of having saved it from the entire ruin it seemed to deserve.” After having placed a guard upon the treasury, and safeguards in the houses of the Syracusans, who had withdrawn into his camp, he abandoned the city to be

plundered by the troops. 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 give him a very sensible affliction. Archimedes, at the 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 regarded neither 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 him a monument amongst the great persons who had distinguished themselves most at Syracuse.

ARTICLE III.

ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF SYRACUSE.

SECTION 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, but a cylinder, circumscribed by a sphere ; that is to say, a globe or spherical figure ; and to set down at the bottom the relation 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 of his invention.

Hence he chose rather to do himself honour with 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 an hundred and forty years after, Archimedes was so perfectly forgot by his citizens, notwithstanding the great services he had done them, that they denied his having been buried

at Syracuse. It is from Cicero we have this circumstance.

† At the time he was questor in Sicily, his curiosity induced him to make 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 found what he looked for." The place was immediately ordered to be cleared, when they saw the inscription still legible, though part of the lines were obliterated by time ; † so that, says Cicero, in concluding his account, the greatest city of Greece, and the most flourishing of old in the studies of science, would not have known the treasure it possessed, if a man, born in a country it considered almost as barbarous, had not discovered for it the tomb of its citizen,

† Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 64, 66.

‡ *Ευγενία* in verb. Archim.

† Ita nobilissima Græciæ civitas, quondam vero etiam doctissima, sui civis unis acutissimi monumentum ignorasset, nisi ab homine Alpinate didicisset.

so highly distinguished by force and penetration of mind.

We are obliged to Cicero for having left us this curious and elegant account ; but we cannot easily pardon him 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 ;^u “ 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,^v and bring him upon the stage with his rule and compasses in his hand.” Not to mention the birth of Archimedes, whose greatness was of a different class, the greatest geometrician of antiquity, whose sublime discoveries have in all ages been the admiration of the learned, should Cicero have treated this man as little and obscure as a common artificer employed in making machines ? unless it be, perhaps, because 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.

^u Non ergo jam cum hujus vita, qua tetrius, miserius, detestabilius excogitare nihil possum, Platonis aut Architæ vitam comparabo, doctorum hominum et plane sapientum. Ex eadem urbe *humilem homuncionem* a pulvere et radio excitabo, qui multis annis post fuit, Archimedem.

^v He means the dust used by geometricians.

Orabunt causas melius, cœlique meatus
 Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent ;
 Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento. VIRG. 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.

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

SECTION 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 *Grecia Major*, in opposition to Greece properly so called, which had peopled all those countries by its colonies.

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

The two first ages of its history are very obscure, and therefore we are silent upon them. 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

^w Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, vol. ii. * A. M. 3295

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 in different books, we thought proper to unite them here in one point of view, that their series and connection might be more evident, from their being shown together and in general, and the places pointed out, where they are treated with due extent.

‡ GELON. The Carthaginians, in concert with Xerxes, having attacked the Greeks who inhabited Sicily, whilst that prince was employed in making an eruption into Greece ; Gelon, who had made himself master of Syracuse, obtained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians, the very day of the battle of Thermopyle. Amilcar, their general, was killed in 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,² 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 human victims.

^a 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

² A. M. 3520. ² In the history of the Carthaginians. ^a A. M. 3525.

employed in the truly royal care of making his people happy. Book II. part ii. Book VII. ch. ii. sect. 1.

^b **HIERO I.** Hiero, the eldest of Gelon's brothers, succeeded him. The beginning of his reign was worthy of great praise. Simonides and Pindar celebrated him in emulation of each other. The latter part of it did not answer the former. He reigned eleven years. Book VII. ch. ii. sect. 1. 2d. div.

^c **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. B. VII. ch. ii. sect. 1. 3d. div.

Times of Liberty.

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

An annual festival was instituted to celebrate the day upon which their liberty was reestablished.

Syracuse attacked by the Athenians.

^e During this interval, the Athenians, animated by the warm exhortations of Alcibiades, turned their 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 Book VIII. ch. iii. end of sect. 6.

^f **DIONYSIUS** the elder. The reign of this prince is famous for its length of thirty eight years, and still

^b A. M. 3532.

^d A. M. 3544.

^f A. M. 3598

^c A. M. 3549.

^e A. M. 3588.

more for the extraordinary events with which it was attended. B. II. part i. ch. 1. B. I. part. ii. ch. 1.

ε 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 comes 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.

h Besieged by Dion, he escapes from Sicily, and retires into Italy.

i Dion's excellent qualities. He is assassinated in his own house by Callippus.

k Thirteen months after the death of Dion, Hipparrinus, 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.

l Dionysius the younger, taking advantage of those troubles, reascends the throne ten years after having quitted it.

m At last, reduced by Timoleon, he retires to Corinth. Book II. part iii. ch. 1. B. XI. sect. 5.

Times of Liberty.

n TIMOLEON restores liberty to Syracuse. He passes the rest of his life there in a glorious retirement,

ε A. M. 3632.

h A. M. 3644.

i A. M. 3646.

k A. M. 3647.

l A. M. 3654.

m A. M. 3657.

n A. M. 3658.

beloved and honoured by all the citizens and strangers:
B. XI. ch. ii. sect. 6.

This interval of liberty was of no long duration.

° AGATHOCLES. Agathocles, in a short time, makes himself tyrant of Syracuse. B. II. part ii. ch. 1. near the end.

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.

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. B. I. part ii. ch. 2. near the end. B. XVI. sect. 7.

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 had no consequence, and Rome was soon absolute mistress of all Sicily. Half the island had been a Roman province from 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.

SECTION III.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE GOVERNMENT AND CHARACTER OF THE
SYRACUSANS, AND UPON ARCHINEDES.

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 victoriæ præmium, ac pœna belli.* Sicily, in submitting to the Roman people,¹ 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.

¹ Siciliæ civitates sic in amicitiam recepimus, ut eodem jure essent, quo fuissent; eadem conditione populo R. parerent, qua suis antea paruissent. Cic.

She was the first of all the foreign nations that 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 pass for their troops 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 with provisions, and a secure retreat for their fleets. Hence, after the taking and ruin of Carthage, Scipio Africanus thought himself obliged 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 satisfied 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, knowing like him, the obligations

† *Omnium nationum exteriarum princeps Sicilia se ad amicitiam fidemque populi R. applicuit; prima omnium, id quod ornamentum imperii est, provincia est appellata; prima docuit majores nostros, quam præclarum esset exteris gentibus imperare. Itaque majoribus nostris in Africam ex hac provincia gradus imperii factus est. Neque enim tam facile opes Carthaginis tantæ concidissent, nisi illud, et rei frumentariæ subsidium, et receptaculum classibus nostris pateret. Quare P. Africanus, Carthagine deleta, Siculorum urbes signis monumentisque pulcherrimis exornavit; ut, quos victoria populi R. lætari arbitribatur, apud eos monumenta victoriæ purissima collocaret. Cic. Verr. 3. n. 2, 3.*

of his functions, and like him, intent upon the due discharge of it. It is highly pleasing to hear him explain himself upon this subject; which he does in his defence of Sicily against Verres.

After having invoked the gods as witnesses of the sincerity of what he is going to expose, he says; ^s “ 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 questor, 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 sent to act in that office, 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 that are authorized

* *Odii immortales*—Ita mihi meam voluntatem spemque reliquæ vitæ vestrae populique 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 quam creditum ac commissum putarem. Sic obtinui quæsturam in provincia, ut omnium oculos in meum coniectos arbitrarer; ut me quæsturamque meam quasi in aliquo orbis terræ theatro versari existimarem; ut omnia semper, quæ jucunda videntur esse, non modo his extraordinariis cupiditibus, 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 nequaquam tantum capio voluptatis, quantum sollicitudinis et laboris, ut hæc ipsa ædilitas, non quia necesse fuit alicui candidato data, sed quia sic oportuerit recte collocata, et judicio populi digno in loco posita esse videatur. Cic. Verr. 7. n. 35—37.

by nature and necessity. I am now intended 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 I desire to make it appear, that it was not bestowed on me by chance, or the necessity 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 ^t some lines after reproaches Verres, that they were almost all of them like so many tyrants, who believed themselves only attended by the fasces and axes, and invested with the authority of the Roman empire, 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, or 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 entirely. We have seen in no other republic, such sudden, frequent, violent, and various revolutions ; sometimes enslaved by the most cruel

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

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, and 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, I think, 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 support a right balance between 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 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 sedi-

tious 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 creeping 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, and only 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,^a 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

^a Imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitatem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem. Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 16.

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 affections, which is properly the science of kings, and of all who command others.

BOOK TWENTY TWO.

THE

HISTORY OF PONTUS.

SECTION I.

MITHRIDATES ASCENDS THE THRONE OF PONTUS. LIBRARY OF
ATHENS CARRIED TO ROME.

MITHRIDATES, king of Pontus, whose history we are now beginning, 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 Artabasus, 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 Artabasus amongst these 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 shall treat in this place, was the sixteenth from him.

^a 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. ^b He began his reign by putting his mother and brother to death ; and the sequel answered but too well to such a beginning of it. ^c 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 for them.

^d 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 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 such a part, as a

^a A. M. 3380. Ant. J. C. 124. ^b Memnon in Excerptis, Photii. c. 32.

^c Appian. in Mithrid. p. 177, 178. ^d A. M. 3913. Ant. J. C. 91.

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 pretor, 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. ^e 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.

Whilst Sylla was encamped upon the banks of the Euphrates, a Parthian, named Orobazus, arrived at his camp from king Arsaces,^f 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 Orobazus ; and that in the midst for himself. The Parthian king afterwards, offended at his deputy for

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

^f This was Mithridates II.

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 commerce 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, 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. ⁸Armenia 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

⁸ Strab l. 11. p. 531, 532.

the people, with all the effects capable of being carried away.

^h Their first enterprise and act of hostility was committed by Tigranes, who deprived Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, of which the Romans had put him into possession, and reestablished Ariarathes, the son of Mithridates, in it. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, happened 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 reestablishment, and sent Manius Aquilius, and M. Altinius to put that decree in execution.

They were both reinstated. 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, at the joint instances of the ambassadors, to whom he had promised great sums for his reestablishment, and of his creditors, Roman citizens settled in Asia, who had lent him very considerably for the same effects, 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.

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

Mithridates was not ignorant by whose advice Nicomedes had committed this irruption. He might easily have repulsed him, having a great number of good troops on foot ; but he did not take the field. He was glad to place the wrong 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 with complaints on their side of 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 ambassadors to the Roman generals to make his apology, and to complain of them again. Pelopidas declared to them, that his master was contented the Roman people should judge 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 right himself. The Romans, highly offended at so haughty a declaration, made answer, that Mithridates had orders immediately to withdraw his troops from Cappadocia, and not 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 interests. Twenty two languages, of as many different people, were reckoned among his troops, all which Mithridates himself spoke with facility. His army consisted of two hundred and fifty thousand foot, and forty thousand horse ; without including one hundred and thirty armed chariots, and a fleet of four hundred ships.

ⁱ Before he proceeded to action, he thought it necessary to prepare his troops for it, and made them a long discourse ^k to animate them against the Romans. He represented to them, “ that there was no room for

ⁱ Justin. l. 38. c. 3—7.

^k 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 style, and ought to make us very much regret the loss of his writings.

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 valor they had already shown upon so many occasions, and 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 opportunity than the present, when the Marsi infested and ravaged the heart of Italy itself, when Rome was torn in pieces by civil wars, and an innumerable 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,¹ the war his soldiers were now entering upon, was highly different from that they had sustained with so much valor in the horrid deserts, and frozen regions of Scythia ; that he should lead them into the most fruitful and temperate country in the world, abounding with rich and opulent

¹ Nunc se diversam belli conditionem ingredi. Nam neque cælo Asiæ esse temperatius aliud, nec solo fertilius, nec urbium multitudine amenius ; magnamque temporis partem, non ut militiam, sed ut festam diem, acturos, bello dubium facili magis an uberi ; tantumque se avida expectat Asia, ut etiam vocibus vocet ; 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 pretext for depriving the rich of their estates, either upon account of taxes, or under some other colour.”

cities, which seemed to offer themselves an easy prey ; that Asia, abandoned to be devoured by the insatiable avarice of the proconsuls, the inexorable cruelties of tax farmers, and the crying injustice of corrupt judges, had the name of Roman in horror, 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 reiterated 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, proconsul 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 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 kind 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.

^m Mithridates, who was desirous of gaining the people's hearts by his reputation for clemency, sent 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, with all the other names ascribed to Bacchus, to which he had a just title, for he passed for the prince of his times,ⁿ 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.

^m Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 461. Athen. l. v. p. 213. Cic. Orat. pro Flacco. n. 60.

ⁿ Plut. in Sympos. l. i. p. 624.

° 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, he 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;^p 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 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 horrid 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! Eighty thousand Romans and Italians were butchered in consequence of it. Some make the slain amount to almost twice that number.

¶ 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 Phenecia, against her son Lathy-

° A. M. 3916. Ant. J. C. 88. Appian. p. 185. Cic. in Orat. pro lege Manil. n. 7.

¶ Is uno die, tota Asia, tot in civitatibus, uno muntio, atque una literarum significatione, cives Romanos necandos, trucidandosque denotavi: Cic.

¶ Appian. p. 186. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 12.

rus. 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.

† All those who had found means to escape this general slaughter in Asia, had taken refuge at 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.

‡ When he had made himself master of Asia Minor, Mithridates sent Archelaus, one of his generals, with an army of one 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 reinstated them in the possession of it. He sent them the sacred treasure, kept in that island by Aristion, 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 seize all 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.

† Appian p. 186—183. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 402.

‡ Plut. in Sylla, p. 458—461. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 188—197.

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 of Pyreus, 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 expense, 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 broke and spoiled by the vast weight they carried, or burnt by the enemy, he did not spare the sacred groves. He cut down the trees in the walks of the academy of Lyceum, which were the finest and best planted in the suburbs, 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 desired 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, out of reverence for the god, to meddle with the gifts consecrated to him, and wept, 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 sanc-

tuary, Caphis, whether he really believed it, or was for taking 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, observes upon 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 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 wise, disciplined, and well inured to execute the orders of their generals without reply or delay. Truly kings, says Plutarch,^u 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 expense 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

^u Ἄριστοι τῶν ψυχῶν βασιλικοὶ καὶ δαπαναὶς ὑπερβαίῃς.

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 he had engaged in; the success of which seemed to him of the highest importance, both as to his honour and safety. He was for 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 would have found more terrible enemies in Marius and his faction. He was besides sensibly galled by the offensive raillery Aristion vented every day against himself and his wife Metella.

It is not easy to say whether the attack or defence were conducted with most vigor; 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 reinforcements by sea.

What hurt them most, was the secret treachery of two Athenian slaves who were in the Pireus. 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 with slings to the Romans; so that whatever wise measures Archelaus took, who defended the Pireus, 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 all things. Upon advice of the same kind, the convoy was intercepted.

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

The Romans, on their side, behaved with no less vigor. 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 foundations with beams of wood, they afterwards set fire to the props with a great quantity of pitch, sulphur, and tow. When those beams were burned, part of the wall fell down with an 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 at length were 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 where the other 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 one thousand drachms, about twenty five pounds sterling. The inhabitants did not only eat the grass and roots, which they found about the citadel, but the flesh of horses, and the leather of shoes, which they boiled soft. In the midst of the public misery, the tyrant passed his days and nights in debauch. 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 to 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 of the quarter called Ceramicus,* 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 parley

* The public place at Athens.

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 a very small 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 Pireus, and burned all its fortifications, especially the arsenal, which had been built by Philo the celebrated architect, and was a wonderful fabric. Archelaus, by the help of his fleet, had retired to Munichia, another port of Attica.

This year was fatal to the arms of Mithridates. Taxillus, one of his generals, arrived in Greece from Thrace and Macedonia, with an army of one hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse, with ninety chariots armed with scythes. Archelaus, that general's brother, was at that time in the 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 wise 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 Beotia, 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 enemy could discover at a 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 their innumerable troops ; for when the two brothers were joined, their army was very formidable. The noise and cries of so many thousands of men preparing for battle, the pomp and magnificence of their array, were equally terrible. The brightness of their armour, 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, reflected a kind of rays, which, whilst they dazzled the sight, filled the soul with terror.

The Romans, seized with dread, kept close within their intrenchments. 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 con-

conceived so great a contempt for him in consequence, that they neglected to observe any discipline. Few of them kept within their intrenchments ; the rest, for the sake of plunder, dispersed in great troops, and removed considerably, even several days journey from the camp. They plundered and ruined some cities in the neighbourhood.

Sylla was in the last 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 little river Cephisus, which was near his camp, and in digging deep and large fosses, under pretence of their better security ; but in effect, that when they should be tired of such great fatigues, they might prefer the hazard of a battle to the continuance of their labour. This 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 entreated, 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 Cheronea. 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 Cheronea

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 of it, 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 Cheronea, 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 it 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 himself in 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, to take advantage of this disorder, marched against them with so much vigor, 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 these chariots were removed, the two armies 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, removed 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 among 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 battle was 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 an hail 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, that 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 without its general.

Taxilus, at the same time, led on his foot, armed with brazen shields, against Murena ;^w whilst each side raised great cries, which made the neighbouring hills resound. Sylla halted on that noise, not knowing well to which side he should 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 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

^w Chalcaspidēs.

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 Taxilus, he joined him in the pursuit of the vanquished. A great number of the barbarians were killed in the plain, and a greater number cut to pieces, in endeavouring to gain their camp ; so that, of 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:

* To celebrate so great a victory, he gave the 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 his march to Thessaly, as with design to meet him ; but being

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

arrived at the city of Melitea,^y 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 first ; for Dorylaus was arrived at Chalcis with a great fleet, on board of which were eighty thousand men, the best equipped, the most warlike and disciplined of all Mithridates's troops, and had thrown himself into Beotia, and possessed himself of the whole country, in order to bring Sylla to a battle. Archelaus would have diverted 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 he had given him was highly reasonable and judicious.

He chose the plain of Orchomenus for the field of battle. Sylla caused fosses to be dug on each side of the plain, to deprive the enemy of the advantage of an open country, 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 Arche-

^y In Thessaly.

laus'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 sunrise, 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 threw the troops who had continued in the camp into such terror, that they were afraid to stay to defend it. Sylla entered it pellmell with those that fled, and made himself master of it. The marshes, in a moment were dyed with blood, and the dyke filled with dead bodies. The enemy, 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.

z 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

z Plut. in Sylla, p. 466—468. Id. in Lucul. p. 493. Appian. p. 204—210.

as the gates of Pergamus, where Mithridates resided, and obliged him to quit that place himself, and retire to Pitane, a maritime place of Troas. 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 cruised 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 extraordinary 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.

Lucullus afterwards beat Mithridates's fleet twice, and gained two great victories over him. This happy success was the more surprising, as it was not expected from Lucullus to distinguish himself by military exploits. He had passed his youth in the studies of the bar; and during his being questor 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 or 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 left Rome with only a moderate knowledge in the art of war.^a Let young warriors consider this with due attention, and observe in what manner the great form themselves.

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 burned his house, and ruined his lands, and begged 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

^a Ad Mithridaticum bellum missus a senatu, non modo opinionem vicit omnium quæ de virtute ejus erat, sed etiam gloriam superiorum. Idque eo fuit mirabilius, quod ab eo laus imperatoria non expectabatur, qui adolescentiam in forensi opera, quæstura diuturnum tempus, Murena bellum in Ponto gerente, in Asiæ pace consumpserat. Sed incredibilis quædam ingenii magnitudo non desideravit indocilem usus disciplinam. Itaque, cum totum iter et navigationem consumpsisset, partim in percontando a peritis, partim in rebus gestis legendis ; in Asiam factus imperator venit, cum esset Roma profectus rei militaris rudis. Cic. Academ. Quæst. l. iv. n. 2.

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 dilemma, a merchant came to him, to treat with him in secret from 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 banks of the sea, near the little city of Delium. Archelaus, who did not know 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, for 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 that proposal with indignation, and even expressed to the Roman general, how much he thought himself injured by the supposition of his being capable of such a treason. 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 abandoning the interests of the republic to such a Roman as me? Do you imagine our condition and affairs to be equal? Have you forgot my victories? Do you not remember, that you are the same Archelaus 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 expenses of the war, and seventy armed galleys, with their whole equipage; and that Sylla, on his side, should secure to Mithridates 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 despatched 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 galleys, 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 galleys I demanded? I expected to have seen him return me thanks upon his knees, for having only left him the hand with which he butchered one 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 Mithridates should consent to all the articles. He set out for that purpose; and Sylla, after having laid waste the country, returned into Macedonia.

^b 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 is made before, and put himself at the head of that consul's army, advanced by great marches against Mithridates; which determined that prince to make peace with Sylla. They had an interview at Dardania, a city of Troas. Mithridates had with him two hundred galleys, twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse,

^b A. M. 3920. Ant. J. C. 84.

and a great number of chariots armed with scythes ; and Sylla had only four cohorts, and two hundred horse in 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 Archelaus had laid before him. Mithridates surprised at the haughtiness and steady air 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, reembarked.

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 one 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, almost still reeking with their blood. Sylla, to justify his conduct, gave them to understand, that if he had rejected his proposals of peace, Mith-

ridates, 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 one 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, obliged him to confine himself within the bounds of his hereditary dominions.^c But what is most admired in Sylla is, that, during three years, whilst the factions of Marius and Cinna had enslaved Italy, he did not dissemble his intending to turn his arms against them, and yet continued 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 to him.

^c Vix quid quam in Syllæ, operibus clarius duxerim, quam quod, cum per triennium Cinnæ Mariæque partes Italiam obsiderent, neque illaturum se bellum iis dissimulavit, nec quod erat in manibus omisit; existimavitque ante frangendum hostem, quam ulciscendum civem; repulsoque externo metu, ubi quod alienum esset vicisset, superaret quod erat domesticum. Vell. Patere. l. ii. c. 2.

Some days after, Sylla began his march against Fimbria, who was encamped under the walls of Thyatria, in Lydia, and having marked out a camp near his, he began his intrenchments. Fimbria's soldiers, who came unarmed, ran out 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,^d and besides that, rifled particulars 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 upon him four drachms^e 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 drachms,^f and besides that, a robe for the house and another when he went abroad.

§ After having punished Asia, he set out from Ephesus with all his ships, and arrived the third day at Pireus. Having been initiated in the great mysteries, 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

^d About three millions sterling.

^e About two shillings. ^f About one pound five shillings.

§ Plut. in Syll. p. 468. Strab. l. xiii. p. 609. Athen. l. iii. p. 214. Laert. in Theoph.

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 in their dependence, those heirs, apprehending these works would be taken from them, thought proper to hide them in a vault under ground, where they remained almost one hundred and thirty years; till the heirs of Neleus's family which 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 rotten 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 judgment. From hence arose the many difficulties in those works, which have ever since divided 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; the world is obliged to him for the works of that great philosopher.

SECTION II.

SECOND AND THIRD WAR WITH MITHRIDATES. TRAGICAL END
OF HIS SISTERS AND WIVES.

^b 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, marched his army against the people of Colchis and 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 incite, and to what an height the prince, who abandons himself to it is capable of carrying his suspicions against his own blood; always ready to

^b A. M. 3921. Ant. J. C. 83. Appian. p. 315—216.

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.

ⁱ 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.

^k Sylla, who had been appointed dictator, not being able to suffer any longer that Mithridates, contrary 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 of 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 feast, in which he proposed 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 his pretensions were but indifferent.

^l Mithridates at length restored Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, forced 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

^k A. M. 3923. Ant. J. C. 81

^l A. M. 3926. Ant. J. C. 78.

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.

^m 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, could never be able to 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, to 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.

^m A. M. 3928. Ant. J. C. 76. Appian. p. 216, 217. Plut. in Sertor. p. 580, 581.

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 interest of his country ; and that he could desire no victory from 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 their master to keep Bithynia and Cappadocia, which were accustomed to be governed by kings, and of which the Romans could pretend to no just right to dispose ; but that he would never consent he should have any footing 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 ^u down, and give him forty galleys.

^u About four hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

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 splendor and power of the greatest kings. Mithridates, however, found his interest in this conduct. Marius, as authorized by the Roman people and senate, discharged most of the cities from paying the exorbitant taxes Sylla had imposed on them; expressly declared, that it was from Sertorius they received, and to whom 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 of Sertorius alone made more conquests than all the forces of Mithridates.

° Nicomedes king of Bithynia, died this year, and made the Roman people his heirs. His country became thereby, as I have observed elsewhere, a province of the Roman empire. Mithridates immediately 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 vigor. He believed, that after the death of Sylla, and during the troubles with which

° A. M. 5929. Ant. J. C. 75. Appian de Bello Mithrid. p. 175.

the republic was agitated, the conjuncture was favourable for reentering upon the conquests he had given up.

^p 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 broke, than magnificently adorned ; assembled one hundred and twenty thousand foot, armed and disciplined like the Roman infantry, and sixteen thousand horse, well equipped for service ; besides one 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 pavilions, but were filled with all sorts of arms, offensive and defensive, and well provided with 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 farmers 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.

^q The two consuls, Lucullus and Cotta, were sent against him, each of them with an army under him.

^p Plut. in Lucul. p. 469.

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

Lucullus had Asia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, for his province ; the other Bithynia and the Propontis.

Whilst Lucullus was employed in reforming the rapaciousness and violence of the farmers 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, thought he had a favourable opportunity, in the absence of his colleague, to signalize himself by some great exploit. He therefore prepared to give Mithridates battle. The more he was told that Lucullus approached, 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 but 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 should 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.

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, in 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, he invested it by land with three hundred thousand men, divided in 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 last 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 his soldiers were dear to him.

The siege was long, and carried on with extreme vigor. Mithridates battered the place on all sides with

¹ A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. Plat. in Lucul. p. 497—499. Appian. p. 219—222.

innumerable machines. The defence was no less vigorous. The besieged did prodigies of valor, 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 obstacles 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 valor, 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's 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. ^s Mithridates,^t who passed for the most artful captain of his times, in despair that a general, who could not have had so much experience, should so

* A. M. 3933. Ant. J. C. 72.

^t Cum totius impetus belli ad Cyzicenorum mœnia constitisset, eamque urbem sibi Mithridates Asiæ januam fore putavisset, qua effracta et revulsa, tota pateret provincia; perfecta ab Lucullo hæc sunt omnia, ut urbs fidelissimorum sociorum defenderetur, ut omnes copiæ regis diuturnitate obsidionis consumerentur. Cic. in Orat. pro Mur. n. 33.

often put the change upon 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 was said, that in this war there perished almost three hundred thousand men, soldiers and servants, with 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 consequential of that success, he made a swift tour upon 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,^a beat them twice; the first time at Tenedos, and the other at Lemnos, when the enemy thought of nothing less than making sail for Italy, and

^a Ab eodem imperatore classem magnam et ornatam, quæ ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio inflammato raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam. Cic. pro lege Manil. n. 21.

Quid? Illam pugnam navalem ad Tenedum, cum tanto concursu, acerrimis ducibus, hostium classis Italiam spe atque animis inflata peteret, mediocri certamine et parva dirimitione commissam arbitraris? Id. pro Murena, n. 33.

of alarming and plundering the coasts of Rome itself. He killed almost all their men in those two engagements; and in the last took 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 toward the continent; reduced Bithynia first, then Paphlagonia; marched afterwards into Pontus, and carried the war into the heart of Mithridate's dominions.

He suffered at first so great 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 drachm,^v 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.

^v Tenpence.

Lucullus, upon arriving in Pontus, without loss of time besieged Amisus and Eupatoria, two of the principal cities of 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 designed to make it the capital of his dominions. Not contented with these two sieges at once, he 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 in this manner for no other purpose, in order 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 solitudes and infinite deserts, in which, it will be impossible for us either to come up with or pursue 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 Mithri-

dates. 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 extremity. Why, therefore, should we serve Mithridates 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 valor and greatness, into the arms and protection of Tigranes? Is it not infinitely 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 having 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 we have spoken of before, whom Cicero represents in a very favourable light. " He went into Asia, a province

^w *Asiam istam refertam et candem delicatam, sic obiit, ut in ea neque avaritæ, neque luxuriæ vestigium reliquerit. Maximo in bello sic est versatus, ut hic multas res et magnas sine imperatore gesserit, nullam sine hoc imperator. Cic. pro Murena, n. 20.*

abounding with riches and pleasures, where he left behind him no traces either of avarice or luxury. He behaved in such a manner 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 Cabire. 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 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 only 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 manners in which Medea escaped the pursuit of her father, in the same kingdom of Pontus. That princess is said to have cut the body of Absyr-tus, her brother, in pieces, and to have scattered his

* Ex suo regno sic Mithridates, profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur; quam prædicant, in fuga, fratris sui membra in iis locis, qua 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 a majoribus acceperat, et ipse bello superiore ex tota Asia directas in suum regnum congesserat in Ponto, omnem reliquit. Hæc dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse e manibus effugit. Ita illum in persequendi studio mæror, hos lætitia retardavit. Cic. de leg. Manil. n. 22.

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 the preceding wars; and whilst the soldiers employed themselves in gathering those treasures too attentively, 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 Cabire, with several other places and castles, in which he found great riches. He found also the prisons full of Greeks, and princes nearly 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 a great instance of her 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 miserable; 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 forgot 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 her family, dazzled with the splendor of a crown, and the power of Mithridates, who was at that time victorious, and at the height of his glory. From 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, that instead of a husband had given her a master, and 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 neck 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 cup served 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 forgot 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 affected 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 route of Armenia, to retire to his son in law, 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. ^z Callinachus, 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 rain that happened to fall, preserved a great number of buildings ; and Lucullus, before his departure, caused those which had been burned 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.

Lucullus, when he left Amisus, directed his march towards the cities of Asia, which the avarice and cruelty of the usurers, and tax farmers, 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 unpaid, they were given up without mercy to their creditors, and often exposed to such barbarous tortures, that slavery,

^z A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70.

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,^a which Sylla had imposed on it. They had already paid the sum twice over; but those insatiable usurers, by heaping interest upon interest, had run it up to an hundred and twenty thousand talents;^b so that they still owed treble the sums they had already paid.

^c Tacitus had reason to say, that usury was one of the most ancient evils of the Roman commonwealth, and the most frequent cause of sedition; but, at the time we now speak of, it was carried to an excess not easy to comprehend.

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

^d 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 three hundred and ninety sixth year of Rome.

^e Ten years after, interest was reduced to half that sum, in the four hundred and sixth year of Rome; *se-munciarum fœnus*.

^f At length, in the four hundred and eleventh year of Rome, all interest was prohibited by decree; *no fœnerari liceret*.

^a About three millions sterling.

^b About eighteen millions sterling. ^c Tacit. *Annal.* l. vi. c. 16.

^d Tacit. *Annal.* l. vi. c. 61. *Liv.* l. vii. n. 16. ^e *Liv.* l. vii. n. 27

^f *Liv.* l. vii. n. 42

All these decrees were ineffectual. ^z 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 in this point, and severely condemns all usury, even the most moderate ; because God, having forbade any, she never 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 giving the province of Asia some relaxation, which he could only effect, by putting a stop to the injustice and cruelty of the usurers and tax farmers. 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.

^z Multis plebis scitis obviam itam fraudibus ; quæ toties repressæ, spiras per artes rursus oriebantur. Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 16.

SECTION III.

LUCULLUS DECLARES WAR WITH TIGRANES. THE LATTER LOSES
TWO BATTLES.

^h **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 the “king of kings.” After having overthrown and almost ruined the family of the kings, successors of Seleucus the great; 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 Clodius 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 disposition with that which particularly characterized 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 Mithri-

^h A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70. Plut. in Lucul. p. 504—512. Memn. c. 48—57. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 228—232.

dates, 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 but his 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 twenty five 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 of 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 his commission, and that war had been declared against Tigranes, returned with the utmost diligence into Pontus to begin it. The enterprize seemed rash, and the terrible power of the king astonished all those, who relied less upon the valor 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 independent cities.¹ Cotta did not treat Heraclea, 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 burned 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 Heracleans had

¹ Memn. c. 51—61.

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 crying 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 that 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 suited to bearing great fortunes, without loss of reason and infatuation.

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.

In the number of those unfortunates was Metrodorus, of the city of Scepsis, a man of extraordinary merit, who had so much credit with the king, 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 in regard 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 apprised of it by Tigranes.

Lucullus continually advanced 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 immedi-

ately 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 for 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 vigor, 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, to advise him in the strongest terms, not to hazard a battle, and only to make use of his cavalry, in cutting off Lucullus's provisions. Taxilus himself

was sent by him with the same instructions, who, staying with him in his camp, made earnest instances to 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 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. Taxilus 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 do 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 about twenty thousand archers and slingers, fifty five thousand horse, seventeen thousand of which were heavy armed cavalry, one hundred and fifty thousand foot, divided into companies and battalions, besides workmen to clear the roads, build bridges, cleanse and turn the course of rivers, with other labourers necessary in armies, to the number of thirty five thousand, who, drawn up in battle behind the combatants, made the

army appear still more numerous, and augmented its force and his 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 one thousand archers and 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 great matter for pleasantry. Some openly jested upon them; others, by way of diversion, drew lots for their spoils; and of all Tigranes's generals and the kings in his army, there was not one who did not entreat 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 fine railler, 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 intrenchments. That of the barbarians was on the other side of the river, towards the east; and the river ran in such a manner, that a little below it turned off 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 Taxilus, told him with a contemptuous laugh; "Do you see those invincible Roman legions? You see they can run away." Taxilus replied, "I wish your majesty's good fortune may this day do a miracle in your favour; but the arms and march of those legions do not argue people running away."

Taxilus 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 one of those unfortunate days, which the Romans called black days; for it was the same upon which the army of Scipio¹ had been defeated in the battle with the Cimbri. Lucullus made them this answer, which afterwards became so famous; "And

¹ The Greek text says, the army of Scipio, which Monsieur de Thou has justly corrected in the margin of his Plutarch, the army of Cepio.

for me, 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 around with a fringe. He carried his naked sword shining in his hand, to intimate to his troops, that it was necessary to join an enemy immediately, 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, of which the summit was flat and level, and the declivity of not above five hundred paces, neither much broken, nor very difficult, he saw at first view what use he had to make of it. He commanded his Thracian and Galatian horse to charge that body of the enemy's 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, which, when they had not room to use, 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.

Whilst his cavalry marched to execute his orders, he took two cohorts of foot, and went to gain the emi-

nence. 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 showed 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 troops not to make use of their pikes, but join those horse 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 into 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 it; 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 one 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 one 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, 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 Tigranes in his misfortunes, as he had done him, he quitted his horse, lamented their common disgraces, gave him the guard that attended, and the officers that served him, consoled, encouraged, and revived his hopes ; so that Mithridates, upon this occasion, showed himself not entirely void of humanity. Both together applied to raising new troops on all sides.

In the mean time a furious sedition arose at Tigranocerta ; the Greeks having mutined against the barbarians, and 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 drachms,^m which, with all the booty they had taken, did not suffice to satisfy their insatiable avidity.

ⁿ 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 a number, that from one of the greatest cities in the world, Tigranocerta became in an instant almost a desert.

^m About 20l. sterling.

ⁿ Strab. l. xi. p. 532. et l. xii. p. 539.

° 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 had 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, 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 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

° Dion. Cas. l. xxxv. p. i.

to renounce his enterprise against the Parthians, and to confine himself to pursuing 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 emergency of their affairs. Mithridates wrote a letter to their king, which Sallust has preserved, and is to be found amongst his fragments. I shall insert a part of it in this place.

*Letter of Mithridates to Arsaces^p 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 option; and next, whether what is demanded of 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 entirely void of faith. In reducing the Romans, you cannot but acquire exalted glory. It may seem inconsistent in me, to propose to you either an alliance with Tigranes; or, powerful as you are, that you should join a prince in my unfortunate condition. But I dare advance, that those two motives, your resentment against Tigranes upon account of his late war with you, and the disadvantageous situation of my affairs, to judge rightly of them, far from opposing my demand, ought to support it. For as to Ti-

^p Arsaces was a common name to all the kings of Parthia.

granes, as he knows he has given you just cause of complaint, he will accept, 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 in persons of prosperity, I can, even from my own misfortunes, supply you with examples, 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, 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 they had reduced one after another, and often by 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 of you, when we are finally ruined, whether 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 therefore we desire to strengthen ourselves by your alliance ; they, to grow rich by your spoils. For the rest, it is the intent of Tigranes, to avoid drawing the war into his own country, that we shall go with all our 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 themselves stopped by the ocean on 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 forefathers, they established themselves for the misfortune of the human race. Neither divine nor human laws restrain them from betraying and destroying their allies and friends, remote nations or neighbours, the weak or the powerful. They reckon all enemies, 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 equitable masters. They suspect us, because we are said to emulate their power, and may in time avenge their oppressions. But for you, who have Scleucia, 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 become great by enterprising, betraying, and 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, without provisions or auxiliaries. The prosperity of their arms has subsisted hitherto solely by our fault, who have not been so prudent to understand 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 ; that you may choose rather to share with us by a salutary alliance, in conquering 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, Mithridates might have hoped from it ; so that the two kings contented themselves with their own troops.

^a One of the means made use of by Tigranes to assemble a new army, was to recal Megadates from Syria, who had governed it fourteen years in his name ; him he sent orders to join him with all the troops in that country. ^r Syria being thereby entirely ungarri- soned, 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.

^s The army of Tigranes and Mithridates was at last formed. It consisted of seventy thousand chosen men, whom Mithridates had exercised well in the Roman discipline. It was about midsummer before he took the field. The two kings took particular care, in all the motions 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

^a Appian. in Syr. p. 118, 119.

^r Justin. l. xl. c. 2.

^s A. M. 3936. Ant. J. C. 68, Plut. in Lucul. p. 513—515.

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 means, which succeeded. Tigranes had left at Artaxata, the capital of Armenia before the foundation of Tigranocerta, his wives and children ; as he had almost all his treasures. Lucullus marched that way with all his troops, rightly 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,^c 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 that 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.

^a 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,

^c Or Arsania.

^a Dion. Cass. l. xxxvii. p. 3—7.

and winter approached, with its train of snows and storms, the soldiers, † already fatigued by a sufficiently rude 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 of Nisibis, a place of considerable strength, and put his troops into winter quarters.

It was there 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 for 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 debauches, 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 we are now speaking. Discontented with Lucullus, he secretly spread reports against him, calculated to render him odious. He affected to lament extremely the fatigues of

† *Noster exercitus, etsi urbem ex Tigranis regno ceperat, et praelius usus erat secundis, tamen nimia longinquitate locorum, ac desiderio suorum commovebatur. Cic. pro lege Mar. n. 23.*

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 popular 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 reentered Pontus with four thousand of his own, and four thousand troops given him by Tigranes. ^w Several inhabitants of the country joined him again, as well out of hatred to the Romans, who had treated them with great rigor, 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 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

^w Mithridates et suam manum jam confirmarat, et eorum qui se ejus regno collegerant, et magnis adventitiis multorum regum et nationum copiis juvabatur. Hoc jam fere sic fieri solere accepimus; ut regum afflictæ fortunæ facile multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum qui aut reges sunt, aut vivant in regno; quod regale iis nomen magnum et sanctum esse videatur. Cic. pro leg. Man. n. 24.

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 Fabius, and after having put them to the route, pressed Friarius and Sornatius, two other of Lucullus's lieutenancy in that country, with great vigor.

† 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 seven thousand men; amongst whom were reckoned one hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty four tribunes,‡ which made this one of the greatest losses the Romans had sustained a great while. The army had been entirely defeated, but for a wound Mithridates 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

* 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. Man. n. 25.

† A. M. 3937. Ant. J. C. 67.

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

his character as a 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.



SECTION IV.

MITHRIDATES RECOVERS ALL HIS DOMINIONS. POMPEY OVERTHROWS HIM IN SEVERAL BATTLES.

MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIUS, 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 in regard to Lucullus.

^a 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 the want of one diminished the merit of all the rest ; I mean address in winning the heart, and making himself beloved by the soldiers. He was difficult of access :

^a Dion in Cass. l. xxxv. p. 7

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 esteem by praises and rewards bestowed opportunely, 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 Lucullus wrote 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. ^b He informed them, that Lucullus had been accused at Rome of protracting the war for the sake of continuing in command; that the senate had disbanded part of his troops and forbade them paying him any further obedience; so that he found himself almost entirely abandoned by the soldiers. Mithridates, taking advantage of this disorder, had

^b In ipso illo malo gravissimaque belli offensione, L. Lucullus, qui tamen aliqua 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. Man. n. 26.

time to recover his whole kingdom, and to make ravages in Cappadocia.

Whilst the affairs of the army were in this condition, great noise was made at Rome against Lucullus. Pompey was returned from putting an end to the war with the pirates, in which an extraordinary power had been granted him. Upon this occasion, one of the tribunes of the people, named Manilius, passed 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 making war upon the kings Mithridates and Tigranes, retaining under him all the naval forces, and continuing to command at sea with the same conditions and prerogatives 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 Mediterranean, to thirty leagues distant 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, that 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,

A. M. 5938. Ant. J. C. 66. Plut. in Pomp. p. 634. App. p. 238

Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 70.

was not, however, what gave the nobility and the 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 they could not support, was that high degree of power to which Pompey was raised, which they considered as a tyranny already formed. It was for this reason they exhorted each other in a particular manner to oppose this decree, and not abandon their expiring liberty.

Cesar and Cicero, who were very powerful at Rome, supported Manilius, or rather Pompey, with all their credit. It was upon this occasion the latter pronounced the 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 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 has become infamous and hateful among foreign nations, and our allies, in effect of the debauches, avarice, and unheard of oppressions of the generals and magistrates we send amongst them.^d Instead of

^d Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud ceteras nationes, propter eorum, quos ad eas hoc anno cum imperio misimus, injurias ac libidines. Num. 61.

which the wise, moderate, and irreproachable conduct of Pompey,^e will make him be regarded not only as sent from Rome, but descended from heaven, for the happiness of the people. We begin to believe, that all which is related of the noble disinterestedness of those ancient Romans is real and true; and that it is 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 those grave senators silent, who had appeared so well inclined, and so full of courage. The decree was authorized 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.

^f We must not imagine, says a very judicious historian, that either Cesar or Cicero, who took so much pains to have this law passed, acted from views of the public good. Cesar, 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

^e *Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeium, sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de cælo delapsum, intuentur. Nunc denique incipiunt credere fuisse homines Romanos hac quondam abstinentia quod jam nationibus cæteris incredibile, ac falso memoriæ proditum videbatur. Nunc imperii nostri splendor illis gentibus lucet; nunc intelligunt, non sine causa majores suos tum, cum hac temperantia magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano, quam imperare aliis maluisse. Ibid. n. 41.*

^f *Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 20, 21.*

to the same power, and familiarized 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 intended only his own greatness. It was his weakness to desire to lord it in the commonwealth, not indeed by guilt and violence, but by the method of persuasion. Besides his having the support of Pompey's credit in view, 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. In consequence, it was always his policy to conciliate equally both parties, in declaring sometimes for the one, and sometimes for the other.

§ Pompey, who had already 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 present, congratulated him, and expressed their joy, it is said, that he knit his brows, struck his thigh, and cried, as if oppressed by, and sorry for, that new command; "Gods, what endless labours am I devoted to? Had I not 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 excessively 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 difference with Lucullus, made him find a more exalted and sensible satisfaction in the new charge conferred upon him; and his actions soon took off the mask, and explained 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 his predecessor had decreed. He discharged 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. 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, and 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 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 him. 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 injurious terms; Pompey reproached 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. He put them into 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.

^hIt was he who first brought cherries to Rome, which till then, had been unknown in Europe. They were called *cerasus*, from a city of that name 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 prevented 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. Mithridates was obliged to tell them, that he had sent his ambassadors only to inspect into 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 Phenicia 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 abundance of springs within it, he ordered wells 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 good walls, which he carried quite round his camp. They were almost eight leagues in circumference,ⁱ and were fortified with good towers, at proper distances from each other. Mithridates, either through fear or negligence, suffered him to finish his works. He reduced him in consequence to such a want of provisions, that his troops were obliged to subsist upon the carriage beasts in their camp. The horses only were spared. After having sustained this kind of siege for almost fifty days, Mithridates escaped by night, 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, and encamped near him; but apprehending, that in order to escape, he would make haste to pass the river, he quitted his intrenchments, and advanced against him by night, in order of battle. His

ⁱ One hundred and fifty stadia.

design was only to surround the enemy, to prevent their flying, and to attack them at daybreak the next morning ; but all his old officers made such entreaties and remonstrances to him, that they determined 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 refuse himself to 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.

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 Hypsiceratia, one of his wives, a woman of masculine courage and warlike boldness ; which occasioned her being called Hypsicerates, 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 journeys, 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.

* That unhappy fugitive saw no other hopes for him, but from his son in law Tigranes. He sent ambassadors to demand his permission to take refuge in his dominions, and aid for the reestablishment 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 one hundred talents¹ to whomsoever should seize or kill him, under pretence that it was Mithridates who 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 into Armenia Major against Tigranes. He found him at war with his son of his own name. We have observed, 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 for carrying 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

* Plut. in Pomp. p. 636, 637. Appian. p. 242. Dion. Cass. l. 56, p. 33, 24.

One hundred thousand crowns.

his army, and drove him out of the country. That young prince, after this misfortune, had designed to withdraw to his grandfather Mithridates ; but on the way was informed of his defeat ; and having lost all hopes 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 him. 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 the ambassadors sent to him by Mithridates into his hands, 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, 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 intrenchments 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, and ungirt his sword, gave it to the lictors ; and after, when he approached Pompey, taking off his diadem, he would have laid it at his feet, and prostrated himself on the earth to embrace his knees ; but Pompey ran to prevent him, and taking him by the hand, led him into his tent, and made him sit on the right, and his son, the young Tigranes, on the left side of him. He deferred hearing what he had to say to the next day, and invited the father and the son to sup with him that evening. The son refused to be there with his father ; and as he had not showed 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, about nine hundred thousand pounds sterling, for the charges of the war he had made against them without cause, and to relinquish to them all his conquests on that side of the Euphrates, he decreed, that he should reign in his 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 had been impossible for him to have paid the Romans the sum 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 in 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 among those he reserved for his triumph.

Some 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 to 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 fifty drachms, about twenty two shillings sterling, one thousand to a centurion, about twenty five pounds, and ten thousand, about two hundred and fifty pounds, to each tribune ; and by that liberality obtained the title of friend and ally of the Roman people. This had

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.

After having regulated every thing in Armenia, Pompey marched northwards in pursuit of Mithridates. Upon the banks of the ^m Cyrus he found the Albanians and Iberians, two powerful nations, situated 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 been conquered. It had always retained its liberty, during the time that the Medes, Persians, and Macedonians, had alternately possessed the empire of Asia. Pompey found means to subdue this people, though not without 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 questors 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 na-

^m Called Cynus also by some authors.

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

tion for having taken up arms again, while 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 soon as the two armies came to blows, confined himself to 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 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 compelled to it by force. The kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus is the same now called Crim Tartary, and was at that time a province of Mithridate's empire. He had given it as an appanage to one of his sons named Machares; but that young prince had been so vigorously handled 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 ex-

remely displeased with such conduct, and therefore very much apprehended his presence. 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 save himself by sea, and was taken by vessels sent expressly by Mithridates to cruise in his way. He chose rather to die than to 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 Celosyria and Damascus, and Gabinius all the rest of the country, as far as the Tygris; they were his lieutenant generals. °Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eusebes, heir of the house of the Seleucides, 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 reestablish 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

° App. in Syr. p. 133. Justin. l. xl. c. 2.

committed the least hostility, and by no means deserved such treatment. The reason given for it was, that the Romans had conquered Syria under Tigranes; that it was not just 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, 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. ^p In him ended the empire of the Seleucides, 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 arms, and after having expelled him, called in Ptolemy Auletes to supply his place. That history will be treated at large in the ensuing book.

^q Pompey afterwards went to Demascus, 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, volunta-

^p A. M. 3939 Ant. J. C. 65,

^q Plut. in Pomp. p. 638, 639.

rily resigned the crown in favour of his son, and put the diadem upon his head in the presence of Pompey. The most sincere tears flowed in abundance from the eyes of the truly afflicted son, for what others would have highly rejoiced. It was the sole occasion on which he thought disobedience allowable; and he would have persisted in refusing the sceptre, if Pompey's orders had not interfered, and obliged him to submit to paternal authority. This is the second example Cappadocia has instanced of so generous a dispute. We have spoken in its place of the like 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, in consequence, 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, if her son Xiphares should fall into his hands, that 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.

† Nec ullum finem tam egregium certamen habuisset nisi patriæ voluntati auctoritas Pompeii ad fuisset Val. Max

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 Alceus 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?

^s His memoirs of physic were also found there, which Pompey caused to be translated into Latin by Leneus, 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 medicines. 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.

^t Pompey, during, his stay at Aspes, made such regulations in the affairs of the country, as the state of them would admit. As soon as the spring returned, he marched back into Syria for the same purpose.

^s Plin. l. 25. c. 20.

^t A. M. 3940. Ant J. C. 64. Joseph Antiq. l. xiv. 5, 6. Plut. in Pomp. p. 639—641. Dion. Cass. l. 37. p. 34, 36. App. p. 246—251.

He did not think it advisable to pursue Mithridates into 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 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 came to him from Mithridates, king of Pontus, 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 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 negotiation broke up, and Mithridates applied himself to making preparations for war with as much vigor 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, that, subsisting the war, he had disposed of provinces, given rewards, decreed honours, and acted in all things as victors are not accustomed to act, till a war be 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 forces. At that very time, when he was believed to be entirely ruined, he actually meditated 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, out of gratitude, in his adherence to Pompey, incurred the resentment of Cesar, 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, 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 among 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 was given to his son, in recompense for the services of both.

During Pompey's stay in Pontus, Aretas, king of Arabia Petrea, took the 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 important advices interrupted those designs.

Though Mithridates had lost all hopes of peace, after 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 inspired him. A great number of neighbouring Scythians had entered themselves into 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 fond of throwing 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 to execute this project, it was necessary to march five hundred leagues, and traverse the countries now called Little Tartary, Moldavia, Wallachia, Tran-

sylvania, Hungary, Stiria, Carinthia, Tyrol, and Lombardy, and pass three great rivers, the Borysthenes, Danube, and Po ; the idea alone of so rude and dangerous a march, threw his army into such a 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 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.

^u Mithridates had reigned sixty years, and lived seventy two. His greatest fear was to fall into the hands of the Romans, and to be led in triumph. 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 he executed so suddenly. It was generally said, the reason that the poison 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 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 despatched 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 dominions to the Romans, and thereby that tedious war, which had endured so long, was at length terminated. This gave both the army and general great subject to rejoice.

Such was the end of Mithridates; a prince, says an historian, of whom it is difficult either to speak or be silent. Full of activity in war, of distinguished courage, and sometimes very great by fortune, and always of invincible resolution; truly a general in his prudence and counsel, and a soldier in action and danger; a second Hannibal in his hatred of the Romans.

Cicero says of Mithridates that after Alexander he was the greatest of kings. *v Ille rex post Alexandrum*

maximus. It is certain that the Romans had never such a king in arms against them. Nor can we deny that he had his great qualities ; a vast extent of mind, that aspired at every thing ; 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 again on the stage on a sudden, 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 emergency, or intrepidity in the heat of action. But, should we admit him to have all the qualities of a great captain, he could not but be considered with horror, when we reflect upon the innumerable murders and parricides of his reign, and that inhuman cruelty, which regarded neither mother, wives, children, nor friends, and which sacrificed every thing to his insatiable ambition.

^w Pompey, being arrived in Syria, went directly 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.

^w Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 4, 8. et de Bell. Jud. 1, 5. Plut. in Pomp. p. 641. App. p. 250. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 35, and 36.

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 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 incline him to his favour. Pompey accepted the presents; but for the body of Mithridates, looking upon their enmity to be extinguished in 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 Telaureus, where part of Mithridate's most valuable effects and precious jewels were kept; his principal arsenal was also in the same place. Among those rich things were two thousand cups of onyx, set and adorned with gold; with so prodigious a quantity of all kinds of plate, fine moveables, and furniture of war for man and horse, that it cost the questor, or treasurer of the army, thirty days entire in taking the inventory of them.

Pompey granted Pharnaces the kingdom of Bosphorus, in reward of his parricide, declared him friend and ally of the Roman people, and marched into the province of Asia, in order to winter at Ephesus. He

gave each of his soldiers fifteen hundred drachms, about thirty seven pounds 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 million, 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 ; among whom were Aristobulus, king of Judea, with his son Antigonus ; Olthaces king of Colchos ; Tigranes, the son of Tigranes king of Armenia ; the sister, five sons, and two daughters of Mithridates. For want of that king's person, his throne, sceptre, and gold bust of eight cubits, or twelve feet in height, were carried in triumph.



BOOK TWENTY THIRD.



THE

HISTORY OF EGYPT.



SECTION I.

PTOLEMEUS AULETES HAD BEEN PLACED UPON THE THRONE OF
EGYPT IN THE ROOM OF ALEXANDER.

^a WE have seen in what manner Ptolemeus 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 had been a very insecure establishment to possess a state, to which they believed they

^a A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65. Vol. vi.

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. To get himself declared an ally by the Romans, was a certain means to his being authentically acknowledged king of Egypt by them. But 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 that 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 before in that of the Egyptians.

^b 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 Cesar 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 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

^b Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. 54. Dion. Cass. l. xxxix. p. 97. Strab. l. xvii. p. 796.

At this price, he was declared the friend and ally of the Roman people.

^c Though that prince's yearly revenues were twice the amount of this sum, he could not immediately raise the money, without exceedingly overtaxing his subjects. They were already highly discontented by his not claiming the isle of Cyprus as an ancient appanage 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 her.

^d 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 of 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,

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

^d Plut. in Cato Utic. p. 776.

bade him sit down. The king, though in some confusion upon this reception, could not but admire, how 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 very much surprised, when, upon explaining himself, 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 grandees, 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.

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 counsel. He had time enough to repent it, when he found himself in that proud city, reduced to solicit his business from gate to gate, like a private person.

^c Cesar, upon whom his principal hopes were founded, was not at Rome; he was at that time making war

^c Dion. Cass. l. xxxix. p. 97, 98. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 10. Cic. ad Famil. Id. in Piso. n. 48—50. Id. pro Cæli n. 23, 24.

in Gaul. But Pompey, who was there, gave him an apartment in his house, and omitted nothing to serve him. Besides the money he had received from that prince, in conjunction with Cesar, Ptolemy had afterwards cultivated his friendship by various services, which he had rendered him during the war with Mithridates, and had maintained eight thousand horse for him in that of Judea. 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 him their compliance. The consul Lentulus, to whom Cilicia, separated from Egypt only by the coast of Syria, had fallen by lot, was charged with the reestablishment of Ptolemy upon the throne.

† 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 the revolt before the senate. That embassy consisted of more than one 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

† A. M. 3947. Ant. J. C. 57.

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 request 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 small time after, though he who did the murder was accused juridically, the king was discharged of it, upon maintaining that he had just cause for the action.

Whether that prince thought that nothing further at Rome 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 effect, 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 heark-

ened to by the people with singular pleasure, and extraordinary applause.

‡ In order to put a new scheme in motion, he waited till the new consuls were elected; and as soon as Lentulus had quitted that office, he proposed to the people an oracle of the Sybils, which imported, “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.”

The usual form was to communicate this kind of oracles first to the senate, in order that it might be examined 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 priest, with whom the sacred books were deposited, to the people, and obliged them, by the authority which his office as tribune gave him, to expose what they had found in them to the public, without demanding the senate’s opinion.

This was a new stroke of thunder to Ptolemy and Lentulus. The words of the Sybil 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 reestablish the king of Egypt by force.

We must not believe there was any person in the senate so simple, or rather so stupid, to have any faith in such an oracle. Nobody doubted, but that it had been contrived for the present conjuncture, and was the work of some secret intrigue of policy. 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 reestablishment, and demanding 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, from his success in having destroyed Mithridates, the greatest and most powerful king Asia had seen since Alexander.

The affair was deliberated upon in the senate, and debated with great vivacity by the different parties

that rose up in it. ^h The difference of opinions caused several sittings to be lost without any determination. Cicero never quitted the interest of Lentulus, his intimate friend, who during his consulship, had infinitely contributed to his being recalled from banishment: But what means was there to render him any service, in the condition things stood? And what could that proconsul do against a great kingdom, without using the force of arms, which was expressly forbidden by the oracle? In this manner thought people of little wit and subtilty, that were not used to consider things in different lights. The oracle only prohibited giving the king any troops for his reestablishment. Could not Lentulus have left him in some place near the frontiers, and went, 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 wrote 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 and the honour 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

^h Cic. ad Famil. l. 1. epist. 7.

have appeased the revolt, and left good garrisons where necessary, that prince may safely return thither.ⁱ In this manner you will reinstate him, according to the senate's first decree, and he be restored without troops, which our zealots assure us is the sense of the Sybil." Would one believe that a grave magistrate, in an affair so important as that in the present question, should be capable of an evasion, which appears so little consistent with the integrity and probity upon which Cicero valued himself? It was, because he reckoned the oracle only pretended to be the Sybils, as indeed it was, that is to say, a mere contrivance and imposture.

Lentulus, stopped by the difficulties of that enterprise, which were great and real, was afraid to engage in it, and took the advice Cicero gave him in the conclusion of his letter, where he represented, "that^k 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 undertake it."

Gabinius, who commanded in Syria in the quality of proconsul, was less apprehensive and cautious. Though every proconsul was prohibited by an express law to quit his province, or declare any war whatsoever, even upon the nearest border, without an express order of the senate, he had marched to the aid of Mithridates, prince of Parthia, expelled Media by the king

ⁱ Ita fore ut per te restituatur, quemadmodum initio senatus censuit; et sine multitudine reducatur, quemadmodum homines, religiosi Sybillæ placere dixerunt.

^k Ex eventu homines de tuo consilio esse judicaturos, vide mus. Nos quidem hoc sentimus; si exploratum tibi sit, posse te illius regni potiri, non esse cunctandum; sin dubium, non esse conandum.

his brother, which kingdom had fallen to him by division. ¹ 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 Gabinius to do his utmost in favour of the proposals that prince should make him, with regard to his reestablishment 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 lively remonstrances of Anthony, who sought occasions to signalize himself, and was besides inclined to please Ptolemy, whose entreaties flattered his ambition, fully determined him. This was the famous Mark Anthony, 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 enterprise, the more right Gabinius thought he had 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 one million five hundred thousand pounds, the greatest part to be advanced immediately in ready money, and the rest as soon as he should be reinstated. Gabinius accepted the offer without hesitation.

^m Egypt had continued under the government of queen Berenice. As soon as she ascended the throne,

¹ A. M. 3949. Ant. J. C. 55. App. in Syr. p. 120. et in Parth. p. 134. Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

^m Strab. l. xii. p. 538. Id. l. xvii. p. 794—796. Dion. I. xxxix. p. 115.—117. Cic. in Pison. n. 49, 50.

the Egyptians had sent to offer the crown and Berenice to Antiochus Asiaticus in Syria, who, on his mother Selena's side, was the nearest male heir. The ambassadors found him dead, and returned; they brought an account that his brother Selcucus, 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 in 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 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 Seleucides. She afterwards espoused Archelaus, high priest of Comana in Pontus, who called himself the son of the great Mithridates, though in effect only the son of that prince's chief general.

ⁿ Gabinius, after having repassed 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 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 Serbonida. Anthony, 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 the expedition.

The enemy found a considerable advantage in the desire of glory, which possessed Anthony; 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 Anthony, who rightly judged that act of cruelty would revert upon 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 valor, but distinguished himself by all the conduct of a great general.

As soon as Gabinius received advice of Anthony's good success, he entered the heart of Egypt. It was in winter, when the waters of the Nile are very low, the properest time, in consequence, for the 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 intrenchments, the Egyptians, accustomed to live an idle and voluptuous life, raised an outcry, that Archelaus should employ the mercenaries in such work, at the expense of the public. What could be expected from such troops in a battle? They were, in effect, soon put to the route. Archelaus was killed, fighting valiantly. Anthony, 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 valor 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 in to the luxury and effeminacy which reigned there in almost every 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 to him. 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 reestablishment.

° The Egyptians suffered all those violences without murmuring; but some days after, a Roman 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.

° Nothing farther is known in relation 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 his being paid when

° Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 74, 75.

° Cic. pro Rabir. Posth.

he was entirely reinstated, 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 reimburse 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 colour for causing him to be imprisoned, though one of the oldest and dearest of Cesar'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 went 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 use ; 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 alleged, he had a fellow feeling. Cicero's discourse in his defence, which we still have, is an eternal monument of the ingratitude and perfidy of this unworthy king.

^a Ptolemy Auletes died in the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Egypt, about four years after his reestablishment. He left two sons and two daughters. He gave 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. † We find the people appointed Pompey the young king's guardian, who some years after so basely ordered him to be put to death.

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SECTION II.

CLEOPATRA EXPELLED THE THRONE; BUT IS AFTERWARDS, WITH
HER YOUNGER BROTHER, REESTABLISHED. POMPEY AS-
SASSINATED.

° LITTLE is known of the beginning of Cleopatra's and her brother's reign. 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 all affairs to themselves, 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 difference between the brother and sister, that Pompey, after

† Eutrop. l. vi.

° A. M. 3956. Ant. J. C. 48. 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. Diod. l. xlii. p. 200—206.

having lost the battle of Pharsalia, fled to Egypt; conceiving, that he should find there an open and assured asylum in his misfortunes. He had been the protector of Auletes, the father of the reigning king, and it was solely to his credit he was indebted for his reestablishment. 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 Achillas, consulted with Theodotus, the rhetorician, the young king's preceptor, and with some others, what answer they should make. Pompey, in the mean time, waited the result of that council, and chose rather to expose himself to the decision of the three unworthy persons that governed the prince, than to owe his safety to Cesar, 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 the world of him. His reason was, because if they received him, Cesar 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 Cesar'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 carried it, as being, in their sense the wisest and most safe. Septimus, 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 great 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 Septimus tendered his hand to Pompey, in the name of his master, and bade him come to him, 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 that 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.

Cesar made all possible haste to arrive in Egypt, whither he suspected Pompey had retired, and where he was in hopes of finding him 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 it would admit, and to establish his authority in all those countries.⁵ 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

⁵ Cæsar confisus fama rerum gestarum, infirmis auxiliis proficisci non dubitaverat ; atque omnem sibi locum tutum fore existimabat. Cæs.

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 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 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. Cesar 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 in the dog days, and prevent all vessels from quitting Alexandria ; those winds are then always full north. Not to lose time, he demanded the payment of the money due to him from Auletes, and took cognisance of the difference between Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra.

We have seen that when Cesar was consul for the first time, Auletes had gained him, by the promise of six thousand talents, and by that means had assured himself of the throne, and been declared the friend and ally of the Romans. The king had paid him only a part of that sum, and had given him an obligation for the remainder.

Cesar therefore demanded what was unpaid, which he wanted for the subsistence of his troops, and ex-

acted with rigor. Pothinus, Ptolemy's first minister, employed various stratagems to make this rigor appear still greater than it really was. He plundered the temples of all the gold and silver to be 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 Cesar had seized upon all their silver and gold plate, in order to render him odious to the populace by such reports, which did not want appearance, though entirely groundless.

But what finally incensed the Egyptians against Cesar, 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 difference. 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. Cesar replied to these complaints, that he acted only in virtue of being arbiter by the will of Auletes, who had put his children under the tuition of the senate and people of Rome, of which the whole authority 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, as executor of the will, was to establish peace between the brother and sister. This explanation having facilitated the affair, it was

at length brought before Cesar, and advocates were chosen to plead the cause.

But Cleopatra, who knew Cesar's foible, believed 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 she employed in her behalf betrayed her, and demanded his permission to appear in person. Plutarch says, it was Cesar 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 was 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 wrapt it up in a cloth, tied it up with a thong, and in that manner carried it through the port of the citadel to Cesar'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 that she had desired.

Cesar 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 in Cesar's own apartment, he quit-
ted it in the utmost fury, and in the open street took 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 circum-

stances to the multitude who assembled round him. In a moment the whole city was in motion. He put himself at the head of the populace, and led them on tumultuously to charge Cesar with all the fury natural on such occasions.

The Roman soldiers whom Cesar had with him, secured the person of Ptolemy. But as all the rest, who knew nothing of what passed, were dispersed in the several quarters of that great city, Cesar had infallibly 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 purely a gift he made them, as the Romans were actually in possession of that island. But he feared the effects of the Alexandrians' fury; and to extricate himself out of danger, was the reason of his making this concession.

" The whole world were satisfied and charmed with this decree, except only 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 Cesar's decree, he inspired the people with new subjects of jealousy and discontent. He gave out, that Cesar had only granted this decree by force, and through fear, which would not long subsist; and that his true design was to place only Cleopatra upon the throne. This was what the Egyptians exceedingly feared, not being able to endure that a woman should govern them alone, and have all authority to herself. When he saw that the people came in to his views, he made Achilles advance at the head of the army from Pelusium, in order to drive Cesar out of Alexandria. The approach of that army put all things into their first confusion. Achilles, who had twenty thousand good troops, despised Cesar's small number, and believed he should overpower him immediately. But Cesar 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 Cesar again frustrated their designs, 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 had been ruined effectually. Some of the vessels on fire came 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 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 !

Cesar, 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 Cesar was best served by Mithridates the Pergamenian, whom he sent into Syria and Celicia ; for he brought him the troops, which extricated him out of danger, as we shall see in the sequel.

Whilst he waited the aids he had sent for, 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 tours 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 Cesar's hands ; and Pothinus, his governor and first minister, who was of

intelligence with Achilles, gave him advice of all that passed, and encouraged him to push the siege with vigor. One of his letters was at last intercepted, and his treason being thereby discovered, Cesar 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, 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 Cesar, that had been set on fire by the Romans, which occasioned that general's being put to death, and the command of the army to be transferred to him. He took also upon him the administration of all other affairs; and undoubtedly did not want capacity for the employment 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 Cesar 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, but that of the Nile. ^v In every house were vaulted reservoirs, where it was kept. Every year,

^v There are to this day exactly the same kind of caves at Alexandria which are filled once a year, as of old. Thevenot's travels.

upon the great swell of the Nile, the water of that river came in by a canal, which had been cut for that use, and by a sluice made on purpose, was turned into the vaulted reservoirs which were the cisterns of the city, when 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 served for the whole year. Every house had an opening, not unlike 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 Cesar 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, Cesar'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 Cesar's receiving advice, that the legion 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 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 ac-

tually ensued between the two fleets. Cesar 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 in 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 expected 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, to whom there was no resource left if they lost this battle. Cesar was again victorious. The Rhodians, by their valor and skill in naval affairs, contributed exceedingly to this victory.

Cesar, 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 with the too 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 in the sea, he held one hand above the water, in which were papers of consequence, and swam with the other; so that they were not spoiled.

The Alexandrians, seeing that ill success itself only served to give Cæsars troops new courage, entertained thoughts of making peace, or at least dissembled 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 the 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, 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.^w 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 vigor than ever. The Egyptians endeavoured, by the means of their fleet,

^w Regius animus disciplinis fallacissimis eruditus, ne agentis suæ moribus degeneraret, flens orare contra Cæsarem cœpit, ne se demitteret; non enim regnum ipsum sibi conspectu Cæsaris esse jucundius. Hiero. de Bell. Alex.

to cut off Cesar's provisions entirely. This occasioned a new fight at sea near Canopus, in which Cesar 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 Cesar.

* 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 such diligence and prudence, that he had soon formed a considerable army. Antipater, the Idumean contributed very much towards it. He not only joined him with three thousand Jews, but engaged several neighbouring princes of Arabia and Celosyria 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 Cesar's party. Upon the spreading of

* Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 14, 15.

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 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 broke 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 escape, by repassing the Nile.

Ptolemy then advanced with his whole army, in order to overpower the victors. Cesar 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.

Cesar returned to Alexandria about the middle of 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 Cesar 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 Cesario, 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. He arrived there only about the end of July the year before.

⁊ Cesar 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 have her brought 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 offices to the earnest solicitation of Cesar.

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 Anthony 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, Cesar, 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.

^z 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,² 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."

SECTION III.

CLEOPATRA REIGNS ALONE. DEATH OF JULIUS CESAR. TRAGICAL END OF ANTHONY AND CLEOPATRA.

CESAR, after the war of Alexandria, had set 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.^b When he attained his fifteenth year, which was the time when, according to the laws

^z Plut. in Cæs. p. 731,

² This was a city of Cappadocia.

^b A. M. 3961. Ant. J. C. 43. Joseph. Antiq. xv, c. 4. Porphyr. p. 226.

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.

In this interval Cesar had been killed at Rome by the conspirators, at the head of whom were Brutus and Cassius; and the triumvirate between Anthony, Lepidas, and Octavius Cesar, had been formed to avenge the death of Cesar.

^c 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 were part of the troops Cesar had left with her for the guard of Egypt. She had also a fleet in readiness for sailing, but prevented by storms from setting out. ^d Cassius made himself master of those four legions, and frequently solicited Cleopatra for aid, which she as often refused. She sailed some time after with a numerous fleet, to join Anthony and Octavius. A violent storm occasioned the loss of a great number of her ships, and falling sick, she was obliged to return into Egypt.

^e Anthony, 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 Phenicia, which was in the dependence of the kingdom

^c Appian. l. iii. p. 576. l. iv. p. 623. l. v. p. 675.

^d A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42.

^e A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41. Plut. in Anton. p. 926, 927. Died. l. xviii. p. 371. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 671.

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 Anthony in its effects, and occasioned 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 he might perhaps still retain.

Cleopatra, assured of her charms by the proof she had already so made of them upon Julius Cesar, was in hopes that she could also very easily captivate Anthony; 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 Anthony, at an age wherein women with the bloom of their beauty, unite the whole force of wit and address to treat 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 the 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 Anthony, who was at Tarsus, and from his friends, pressing her to hasten her journey; but she only laughed at their instances, and used never the more diligence for them. After 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 whole poop 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 Nereids, 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 burnt 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 Anthony, who at that time was giving audience, saw his tribunal abandoned by all the world, 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 Anthony 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 branches, which had been disposed with abundance of art, and were so luminous, that they made midnight seem agreeable day.

Anthony invited her, in his turn, for the next day. But whatever endeavours he had used to exceed her in his entertainment, he confessed himself overcome, as well in the splendour 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 Anthony, 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 such incentives in the heart, the very soul, as were not easily conceivable. 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 really without foundation. She struck Anthony so violently with her charms, and gained so absolute an ascendant over him, that he could refuse her nothing. It was at this time he caused Arsinoe her sister to be put to death, who had taken refuge in the temple of Diana at Melitus, as in a secure asylum.

† Great feasts were made every day. Some new banquet still outdid that which preceded it, and she seemed to study to excel herself. Anthony, in a feast which she made, 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 an air of indifference, that those were but trifles, and made him a present of them. The next day the banquet was still more superb. Anthony, 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.

Without doubt, in one of these feasts happened what Pliny, and after him, Macrobius, relate. Cleopatra jested, according to custom, upon Anthony's table, as very indifferently served, 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 one million of livres upon one supper. He affirmed that she only boasted; 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. Anthony calculated the expense, demanded of the

† Athen. l. iv. p. 147, 148.

§ Centies II. S. Hoc est centies centena millies sestertium. "Which amounted to more than one million of livres, or fifty two thousand five hundred pounds sterling"

queen the price of the several dishes, and with an air of raillery, as if secure of victory, told her that they were still far from a million. Stay, said the queen, this is only a beginning, I shall try whether I cannot spend a million upon myself. A second table was brought ;^h and, according to the order she had before given, nothing was set on it but a single cup of vinegar. Anthony, surprised at such a preparation, could not imagine for what it was intended. Cleopatra had at her ears two of the finest pearls that ever were seen, each of which were valued at about fifty thousand pounds. One of these pearls she took off, threw it into the vinegar,ⁱ and after having made it melt, swallowed it. She was preparing to do as much by the other.^j Plancus stopped her, and, deciding the wager in her favour, declared Anthony overcome. Plancus was much in the wrong, to envy the queen the singular and peculiar glory of having swallowed two millions in two cups.

^h The ancients changed their tables at every course.

ⁱ "Vinegar is of force to melt 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, to the disgrace of royalty, the son of a comedian, Clodius the son of Esopus, had done something of the same kind, and often swallowed pearls melted in that manner, from the sole pleasure of making the expense of his meals enormous."

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

^j 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.

^k Anthony was embroiled with Cesar. 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 excessive and incredible expenses ; which may be judged of from the following circumstance.

^l 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 Anthony's kitchen, he saw, among other things, eight wild boars roasting whole at the same time. He expressed surprise at the great number of guests that he supposed were to be at this supper. One of the officers could not forbear laughing, and told him that they were not so many as he imagined, and that there could 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 Anthony 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 eat."

Cleopatra, lest Anthony should escape her, never lost sight of him nor quitted him day nor 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 displeas'd on that account, because the queen was of the party, and he was unwilling to seem to want address or good fortune in her presence. It therefore came into his thoughts to order fishermen to dive secretly under water, and to fasten some of their large fishes to his hook, which they had taken before. That order was executed immediately, and Anthony 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 Anthony's good fortune; but told her friends privately what had pass'd, 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 Anthony's divers, and to make fast a large salt fish, of those that came from the kingdom of Pontus, to his hook. When Anthony perceived his line had its load, he drew it up. It is easy to imagine, what a great laugh 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 Anthony 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 profound sleep, 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 Cesar, 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. ^m 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.

ⁿ This queen, in the midst of the most violent passions and the intoxication of pleasures, retained always a taste for polite learning and the sciences. In the place where stood the famous library of Alexandria, which had been burnt some years before, as we have observed, she erected a new one, to the augmentation of which Anthony very much contributed, by presenting her 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, Troglodyte, Arabians,

^m A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39.

ⁿ A. M. 3966. Ant. J. C. 38. Epiphani. de mens. et pond.

Syrians, Medes, Parthians. ° She knew besides, several other languages ; whereas the kings who had reigned before her in Egypt, had scarce been able to learn the Egyptian, and some of them had even forgot the Macedonian, their natural tongue.

Cleopatra, pretending herself the lawful wife of Anthony, saw him marry Octavia with great emotion, whom she looked upon as her rival. Anthony, to appease her, was obliged to make her magnificent presents. He gave her Phenicia, the lower Syria, the isle of Cyprus, with a great extent of Cilicia. To these he added part of Judea and Arabia. These great presents, which considerably abridged 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 Anthony 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 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 supper. “ Is it true,” said that prince at table, talking of this story, “ that the man who made the first stroke at the statue

° Plut. in Anton. p. 927.

° Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 23.

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 since stood me in great stead; for if I have any thing, I am entirely indebted for it to the good goddess; upon one of whose legs, even now, my lord, you are at supper."

^a Anthony, 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 rigor of the season, and the continual snows, that he lost eight thousand men upon his route, and marched into Phenicia with very few followers. He rested there in expectation of Cleopatra; and as she was slow in coming, he fell into anxiety, grief, and languishment, 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 Anthony's heart with her. She was afraid, that with her virtue, wisdom, and gravity of 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 such danger, she affected to die for love of Anthony; and, with that view made herself lean and wan, by taking very little

^a A. M. 3969. Ant. J. C. 35. Plut. in Anton. p. 239—242

nourishment. Whenever he entered her apartment, she looked upon him with an air of surprise and amazement; and when he left 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 her weakness and disorder. Anthony, who feared nothing so much as occasioning the least displeasure 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. At the request of the king of the Medes, who promised him powerful succours, he was in reality 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 she had designed for him, since he did not think fit to let her deliver them in person. Anthony 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 Anthony more inexcusable. This was what Cesar desired, in order to have a juster reason for breaking entirely with him.

When Octavia came to Rome, Cesar, professing an high resentment of the affront she had received, ordered her to quit Anthony'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 Anthony 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 of Fulvia. What a contrast is here between Octavia and Cleopatra! In the midst of resentment 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 Anthony 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 was utterly 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 Anthony so effectually, that for fear of occasioning Cleopatra's death, he returned immediately to Alexandria, and put off the Medes till the following spring.

^r 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.

^s After having made himself master of Armenia, as well by treachery as force of arms, he returned to

^r A. M. 3970. Ant. J. C. 34.

^s A. M. 3971. Ant. J. C. 33.

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 night and day. That vain ^t Egyptian woman, at one of the banquets, seeing Anthony 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, Anthony, to bind the queen to him by new obligations, and to 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. Anthony was seated upon this throne, dressed in a purple robe, embroidered with gold, and buttoned with diamonds. On his side he wore a scimitar, after the Persian mode, the handle and sheath 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 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 Cesario, the son of Julius Cesar and

^t Hæc mulier Ægyptia ab ebrío imperatore, pretium libidinum, Romanum imperium petiit; et promisit Antonius. Flor. l. iv. c. 11.

Cleopatra, and the two other children, Alexander and Ptolemy, whom she had by Anthony.

Every one having taken the place assigned them, the heralds, by the command of Anthony, 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 Celosyria, in conjunction with her son Cesario. They afterwards proclaimed the other princes kings of kings, and declared, till they should possess a more ample inheritance, Anthony 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, Phenicia, and Cilicia. Those two young princes were dressed according to 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 Anthony 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.

Anthony repaired early into Armenia, in order to act against the Parthians, and advanced as far as the banks of the Araxis; 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, to be ready to act, in case of

an open rupture between Cesar and him ; which there was great reason to expect.

Cleopatra was of the party ; and that occasioned Anthony'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 Cesar, gained Canadius, by presents of money, to speak in her favour to Anthony, 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 a kingdom so long, might have learned, in her commerce with Anthony, how to conduct the most important and difficult affairs with wisdom and address. Anthony 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 expenses, and displayed excessive luxury in their entertainments.

^a It was probably in one of these feasts the circumstance happened related by Pliny. Whatever passion Cleopatra professed for Anthony, 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 banquets, 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 also, that if she had so bad an intention, all the precautions he took would be ineffectual. 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 drinking off those flowers to Anthony. He made no difficulty of it; 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 precautions. 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.

^a Plin. l. xxi. c. 3

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 Octavia had received, during her residence in that city. But whatever she could do, she could extort from them only forced civilities, that terminated in a trifling deputation, which Anthony obliged the citizens to send to her, and of which he himself would be the chief, in quality of a citizen of Athens.

⁂ The new consuls, Cajus Sosius, and Domitius Enobarbus, having declared openly for Anthony, quitted Rome, and repaired to him. Cesar, 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 Anthony.

When Anthony was apprized of this, he assembled all the heads of his party; and the result of their deliberations was, that he should declare war against Cesar, and repudiate Octavia. He did both. Anthony's preparations for the war were so far advanced, that if he had attacked Cesar 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 carried it; and the operations were put off till the next year. This was his

⁂ A. M. 5972. Ant. J. C. 32. Plut. in Anton. p. 942—955.

ruin. Cesar, by his delay, had time to assemblé all his forces.

The deputies sent by Anthony to Rome, to declare his divorce from Octavia, had orders to command her to quit his house, with all her children, and in casé 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 as 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 Cesar. 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 their resentment about it ; and that she should be very wretched, if she were the occasion of a new war ; she, who had solely consented to her marriage with Anthony, from the hope that it would prove the pledge of an union between him and Cesar. Her remonstrances had a very different effect from her intentions ; and the people, charmed with her virtue, had still more compassion for her misfortune, and detestation for Anthony, than before.

But nothing enraged them to such an height as Anthony's will, which he had deposited in the hands of the vestal virgins. This mystery was revealed by two persons of consular dignity,* who, incapable of

* Titus and Plancus.

suffering the pride of Cleopatra, and the abandoned voluptuousness of Anthony, had retired to Cesar. As they had been witnesses of this will, and knew the secret, they declared it to Cesar. The vestals made great difficulty to give up an act confided to their care ; alleging in their excuse the faith of deposits, 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 Anthony acknowledged Cesario the lawful son of Julius Cesar. 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 to Cleopatra, to whom he left the care of his funeral interment.

There are some authors, however, who believe this will to be a piece contrived by Cesar, to render Anthony more odious to the people. And indeed, what appearance was there, that Anthony, 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 Cesar 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 he acted in that man-

ner, and did not insert Anthony's name in the declaration of war, though actually intended against him ; for, besides throwing the blame upon Anthony, by making him the aggressor in a war against his country, he artfully managed 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 Anthony had been expressly named in the decree.

Anthony 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 Anthony, 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 to do 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, Judca, Lycaonia, 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 ; the flags and streamers floating in the

wind, while trumpets, and other instruments of war, made the heavens resound with airs of joy and triumph. Anthony followed her close in a galley almost as splendid. That queen,* drunk 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. Cesar had only two hundred and fifty ships, and eighty thousand foot, with as many horse as Anthony. But all his troops were chosen men, and on board his fleet were none but experienced seamen. His vessels were not so large as Anthony's, but they were much lighter, and fitter for service.

Cesar's rendezvous was at Brundisium, and Anthony advanced to Corcyra. But the season of the year was over, and bad weather came on ; so that they

* —————Dum Capitolio
 Regina dementes ruinas,
 Funus et imperio parabat
 Contaminato cum grege turpium
 Morbo virorum ; quidlibet impotens
 Sperare, fortunaque dulci
 Ebria—————

HOR. Od. 37. 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 :

were both obliged to retire, and to put their troops into winter quarters, and their fleets into good ports, till spring came on.

^y Anthony and Cesar, as soon as the season would admit, took the field both by sea and land. The two fleets entered the Ambracian gulf in Epirus. Anthony'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 number to Cesar'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 Anthony had not been susceptible of good advice, and had acted only to please Cleopatra. That proud princess, who judged things solely from appearances, believed her fleet invincible, and that Cesar's ships could not approach it without being dashed to pieces. Besides, she perceived aright, that in case of misfortune, it would be casier for her to escape in her ships than by land. Her opinion therefore took place against the advice of all the generals.

^z The battle was fought upon the second of September, at the mouth of the gulf 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. It was doubtful for some time,

^y A. M. 3973. Ant. J. C. 31.

^z The 4th. before the nones of September.

and seemed as much in favour of Anthony as Cesar, 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 flight, when she was in no danger, and drew after her the whole Egyptian squadron, that consisted of sixty ships of the line ; with which she sailed for the coast of Peloponnesus. Anthony, who saw her fly, forgetting every thing, forgetting even himself, followed her precipitately, and yielded a victory to Cesar, which, till then, he had exceedingly well disputed. It, however, cost the victor extremely dear ; for Anthony'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 Cesar's troops were obliged to pass it on board their ships.

The next day, Cesar seeing his victory complete, detached a squadron in pursuit of Anthony and Cleopatra. But that squadron despairing of ever coming up with them, because so far before it, soon returned to join the gross of the fleet. Anthony 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 she had brought upon him. He kept in that posture, and in those thoughts, during the three days they were going to Tenarus,^a without seeing or speaking to Cleopatra.

^a Promontory of Laconia.

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 twenty two thousand horse, under the command of Canidius, Anthony's lieutenant general, and might have made head, and given Cesar abundance of difficulty ; but seeing themselves abandoned by their generals, they surrendered to Cesar, who received them with open arms.

From Tenarus Cleopatra took the route of Alexandria, and Anthony 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 Cesar. He was so struck with this news, which he had no room 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 had 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. Anthony found her in the midst of these bloody executions.

^b Soon after, she formed another very extraordinary design. To avoid falling into Cesar'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 the others which she had in that sea. But the Arabians, who inhabited the coast, having burned all the ships she had there, she was obliged to abandon her design.

Changing, therefore, her resolution, she thought only of gaining Cesar, whom she looked upon as her conqueror, and to make him a sacrifice of Anthony, 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 a husband, she entertained hopes of preserving it, at the price of Anthony's life. But concealing her sentiments from him, she persuaded him to send ambassadors to Cesar, to negotiate a treaty of peace with him. She joined her ambassadors with his, but gave them instructions to treat separately for herself. Cesar would not so much as see Anthony'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 Anthony 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 follow-

ed him thither. In this 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 Cesar, to demand life of him, upon the shameful conditions of passing it at Athens as a private person, provided Cesar would assure Egypt to Cleopatra and her children.

The second deputation not having met with a more favourable reception than the former, Anthony 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 to different

persons. She made these experiments every day, and discovered at length, that the aspic was the only one that caused neither torture nor convulsions ; and which, throwing the persons bit 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 Anthony's suspicions and subjects of complaint, she applied herself with more than ordinary solicitude, in caressing him. Though she celebrated her own birthday with little solemnity, and suitably to her present condition, she kept that of Anthony with a splendour and magnificence above what she had ever instanced before ; so that many of the guests who came poor to that feast, went rich from it.

Cesar, 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 Anthony'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 ; professed immodesty,

breach of faith, injustice, cruelty, and what crowns all the rest, the false outside of a deceitful amity, 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 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. Cesar, alarmed for the latter, and apprehending, lest her despair should induce her to burn them, despatched 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 he held with Cleopatra, upon which he relied no less than upon his army.

Anthony was ignorant of that princess's intrigues, and being unwilling to believe what was told him of them, he prepared for a good defence. He made a vigorous sally ; and after having severely handled the besiegers, and warmly pursued to the very 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 his expiring valor ; 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 betrayed 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 Anthony, 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, Anthony resolved to attack Cesar by sea and land. He drew up his land army upon some eminences in the city, and from thence kept his galleys in view, which were going out of the port, in order to charge those of Cesar. 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 Cesar's, and surrender his whole fleet to him.

This treason opened Anthony's eyes, and made him 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 valor, capable, in his sense, of doing him abundance of honour. He sent to challenge Cesar to a single combat. Cesar made answer, that if Anthony was weary of life, there were other ways to die besides that. Anthony, seeing himself ridiculed by Cesar, and betrayed by Cleopatra, returned into the city, and was a moment after abandon-

ed 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 Anthony, had retired into the quarter where stood the tombs of the kings of Egypt which was fortified with good walls, and of which she had ordered the gates to be closed. She caused Anthony 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 chose her own sepulchre. Anthony, 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 into 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. Anthony, 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 caused herself to be shut up. Cleopatra would not permit the gates to be opened to give him entrance, for fear of some surprise; but she appeared at an high window, from whence she threw down chains and cords. Anthony 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. Anthony, 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 Anthony's hair, according to the superstition of the pagans, who believed that a relief to those who died a violent death.

Anthony, recovering his senses, and seeing Cleopatra's affliction, said to her, to comfort her, that he thought himself happy as 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 Ro-

mans. 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 Cesar's train, and to trust only Proculeius. He expired with these words.

The same moment Proculeius arrived from Cesar, who could not refrain from tears at the sad relation of what had passed, and at the sight of the sword still reeking with Anthony'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 Cesar. Proculeius, after having considered the place well, went to make his report to Cesar, 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 mean while Proculeius brought a ladder to the wall, and entered the tomb by the same window through which she and her women had drawn up Anthony, 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 Cesar too, in depriving him of so grateful an occasion of showing 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.

Cesar sent one of his freedmen, 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 regard and complacency she could desire; he likewise instructed Proculeius to ask the queen what she desired of him.

Cesar 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 Arieus, upon whom he leaned 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 Arieus, one of their citizens, whose merit and knowledge he esteemed.

Proculeius, in the mean time, acquitted himself of his commission to the queen, who at first asked nothing of Cesar, but his permission to bury Anthony, which was granted her without difficulty. She spared no costs 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 among the tombs of the kings of Egypt.

Cesar 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 faulting, her eyes almost dissolved by excessive weeping, and her bosom covered with wounds and bruises. That natural grace and lofty mien, which she derived from her beauty, were, however, not wholly extinct ; and notwithstanding the deplorable condition to which she was reduced, even through the depth of grief and dejection, as from a dark cloud, shot forth pointed graces, and a kind of radiance, which brightened in her looks, and in every motion of her countenance. Though she was almost dying, she did not despair of inspiring that young victor with love, as she had formerly done Cesar and Anthony.

The chamber where she received him was full of the portraits of Julius Cesar. "My lord," said she to him, pointing to those pictures, "behold those images of him who adopted you his successor in the Roman empire, and to whom I was obliged 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 Cesar's ruling passion, he did not seem affected with either her person or conversation; contenting himself with exhorting her to take courage, and with assuring her of his good intentions. She was far from not discerning that coldness, from which she conceived no good augury; but dissembling her concern, and changing the discourse, she thanked him for the compliments Proculeius had made her in his name, and 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 effect, she put an inventory 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 on the face. Then turning towards Cesar, "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 I now am, my own domestics should accuse me before you of retaining some women's jewels, not to adorn a miserable person as I am, but for a present to your sister Octavia, and your wife Livia; that their protection may induce you to afford a more favourable treatment to an unfortunate princess."

Cesar 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 imagine, he withdrew, imagining that he had deceived her, and was deceived himself.

Not doubting but Cesar 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, and under colour of doing her honour, followed her every where; and besides, that her time was short, Cesar's departure approaching. The better, therefore to amuse him, she sent to desire that she might go to pay her last duty at the tomb of Anthony, and take her leave of him. Cesar having granted her that permission, she went thither accordingly to bathe that tomb with her tears, and to assure Anthony, 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 laments, 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 rose from table, she wrote a letter to Cesar; and having made all quit her chamber except her two women, she shut the door, sat down upon a bed, and asked for a basket of figs, which a peasant had lately brought. She placed it by her, and a moment after lay 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 search into it; 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 design in a basket of figs, that the guards suffered him to enter. Thus all Cesar's precautions were ineffectual.

He did not doubt Cleopatra's resolution, after having read the letter she had wrote to him, to desire that he would suffer her body to be laid in the same tomb with that of Anthony, and instantly despatched 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

° *Ausa et jacentem visere regiam
Vultu sereno fortis, et asperas*

the wheels of the victor's chariot. Determined to die, and thence become capable of the fiercest resolutions, she saw, with dry eyes and indifference, the mortal venom of the aspic glide into her veins.

She died at thirty nine years of age, of which she had reigned twenty two from the death of her father. The statues of Anthony were thrown down, and those of Cleopatra remained as they were, Archibius, who had long been in her service, having given Cesar one thousand talents, that they might not be treated as Anthony'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, to date its commencement from the death of Alexander the Great, had continued two hundred and ninety three years, from the year of the world three thousand six hundred and eighty one, to three thousand nine hundred and seventy four.

Tractare serpentes, ut atrum

Corpore combiberet venenum,

Deliberata 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 wo,

That can both death and fear control ;

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

CONCLUSION
OF
THE ANCIENT HISTORY.

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 arises, 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, 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, an abridged picture of all ages; of the glory and power of all the empires of the world; in a word, of all that human greatness has of most splendid, and most capable of exciting admiration! All these, by an happy concurrence, generally unite in it; height of genius, delicacy of taste, attended with solid judgment;

the excellent taste of eloquence, carried to the highest degree of perfection, without departing from the natural and the true ; the glory of arms, with that of arts and sciences ; valor 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, as if 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 they appear above human nature.

In this manner we think and judge. But, whilst we are in admiration and ecstasy at the view of so many shining virtues, the Supreme Judge, who can alone estimate all things, sees nothing in them but trifle, meanness, vanity, and pride ; and, whilst mankind are continually busied in perpetuating the power of their families, in founding kingdoms, and eternizing themselves, if that were possible, 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 ; ^d “ He seeth from everlasting to everlasting.” He has assigned all empires their fate and duration. In all the different revolutions, we have seen

^d Eccles. xxxix. 19

that nothing has come to pass by chance. We know, that under the image of that statue which Nebuchodonosor saw of an enormous height, and terrible aspect, with the 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 glorious, grand, formidable, and powerful. And of what has the Almighty occasion for overthrowing this immense colossus ?
“ A small stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and break 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 descended 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 concealed from the eyes

° Dan. c. ii. v. 34, 35

of the proud Jews the divine lustre of his miracles, how shining soever it was, and from the sight of the devil himself, as 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 a prophet represents him to us ; † “ He went forth conquering 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 in 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 puissance, have nothing which approaches in the least 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. But with Jesus Christ it is quite otherwise ; ‡ “ 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 co-

† Apoc. vi. 2.

‡ Matth. xxviii. 18

operates 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 in the external view of these things, 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, determine our fate to all eternity. The duration of ages has no other end than the formation of the bodies of the elect, which augments, and tends daily towards perfection. When it shall receive its final accomplishment by the death of the last of the elect; ^h “ Then cometh the end, when he 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 kingdom is love, and whose duration is eternity. *Fiat, fiat.*

^h 1 Cor. xv. 24.

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INTRODUCTION
TO THE
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

CHRONOLOGY.

CHRONOLOGY is the knowledge of times. 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 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 three hundred and sixty five days five hours and forty nine minutes.

The lunar year, is composed of twelve lunar months, of which each is twenty nine days, twelve hours and forty four minutes, that make in all three hundred and fifty four days eight hours and forty eight minutes.

Both of these years are called astronomical, to distinguish them from that vulgarly used, which is termed civil or political.

Though nations may not agree among themselves in the manner of determining their years, some regulating them by the sun's motion, and others by the moon's, 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 people who used lunar years, added a certain number of intercalary days to make them agree with the solar; which reconcile them 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 has happened.

In chronology there are certain times distinguished by some great event, to which all the rest are referred. ⁱ These are

ⁱ Έποχη.

called epochs, from a Greek word, which signifies to stay, because we stay 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 those points distinguished by a considerable event, the enumeration and series of such years are called eras. There are almost as many eras as there have been different nations. The principal, and most used are those of the World, of Jesus Christ, of the Olympiads, and 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 derive their 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 Olympiad is meant the space of four years complete, which is the time that elapsed between one celebration of games and another. The first used by chronologers begins, according to Usher, in the summer of the year of the world three thousand two hundred and twenty eight, before Christ seven hundred and seventy six. When the time on which an event happened is reckoned by the 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 three thousand two hundred and fifty one, and the seven hundred and fifty third before Jesus Christ. Cato dates the foundation of that city two years later, in the year of the world three thousand two hundred and fifty three, before Jesus Christ seven hundred and fifty one. I shall follow the opinion of the

latter in my Roman history. 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 era in chronology, used principally for reckoning the years before Christ. I am going to explain 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, the revolution of a certain number of years is understood.

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 all the variations 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 near an hour and a 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 the cycle to Methon, 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 of 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 began three years before the birth of Christ.

If these three cycles, that is to say, twenty eight, nineteen, and fifteen, are multiplied by each other, the product will be seven thousand nine hundred and eighty, 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 era commences at the year four thousand seven hundred and fourteen of the Julian period. If that number be divided by twenty eight, what remains ^k 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 seven hundred and ten years, supposing the creation to precede the vulgar era only four thousand four years.

This period is also called Julian, because it is made to agree with the years of Julius Cesar. Scaliger invented it to reconcile the systems that divided the chronologers concerning the length of time elapsed since the beginning of the world. There are who believe that only four thousand and four 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 it began, and there is nobody who does not know, that the first year of the vulgar era falls in the four thousand seven hundred and fourteenth of that period. Thus in the Julian period there

^k 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.

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 era of the world; for as the beginning of the Julian period precedes that era seven hundred and ten years, by adding that number to the year proposed of the era 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 three thousand six hundred and seventy three. If to that number we add seven hundred and ten, it will be four thousand three hundred and eighty three, 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 in my book, 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 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, that, 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 abundantly interwoven 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.

ASSYRIANS.

Aut.
J. C.

1800 Nimrod, founder of the first empire of the Assyrians. 2204

Ninus, son of Nimrod.

Semiramis ; she reigned 42 years.

Ninyas.

The history of the successors of Ninyas for thirty generations, except of Phul and Sar-danapalus, is unknown.

A. M.	EGYPT.	GREECE.	Ant. J. C.
1816	Menes, or Mesraim first king of Egypt.		2188
	Busiris.		
	Osymandias.		
	Uchoreus.		
	Moeris.		
1915		Foundation of the king-	2089
1920	The king shepherds seize the Lower Egypt. They reign 260 years.	dom of Sicyon.	2084
2084	Abraham enters Egypt, where Sarah is in great danger from one of the king shepherds.		1920
2148		Foundation of the king- dom of Argos. Deluge of Ogyges in Attica.	1856
2179	Thethmosis expels the king shepherds, and reigns in the 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 carries a colony from Egypt, and founds the kingdom of Athens.	Foundation of the king- dom of Athens by Cecrops. He institutes the Areopa- gus.	1556

A.M.

EGYPT.

Ant.
J. C.

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

Rhampsinith.

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.
2488	Under Cranaus, successor of Cecrops, happens Deucalion's flood. 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 Mycene.	
2628	Sisyphus the son of Eolus makes himself master of Corinth.	1376
2710	The descendants of Sisyphus are driven out of Corinth by the Heraclide.	1294
2720	Egeus, the son of Pandion, king of Attica. The expedition of the Argonauts is dated in the reign of this prince.	1284
2800	The Heraclide make themselves master of Peloponnesus, from whence they are obliged to retire soon after.	1204
2820	Troy taken by the Greeks.	1184
2900	The Heraclide reenter Peloponnesus, and seize Sparta, where the 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 Judea.		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 era of the Olympiads.	776

A. M. I return to the chronology of the Assyrians, ^{Ant.} which I discontinued, because from Ninyas ^{J. C.} down to about this time, nothing is known of their history.

ASSYRIANS.

- 3233 Phul. The king of Nineveh, who repented upon 771
Jonah's preaching.
- 3237 Sardanapalus, the last king of the first empire of the 767
Assyrians. After a reign of twenty years, he burns him-
self in his palace.

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 743
Messenians and Lacede-
monians. It continues
twenty years.

3280

Archilochus the famous 724
poet.

3285 Sehon. He reigned four-
teen years.

719

A. M.	BABYL.	NINEVEH.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	Ant. J. C. 747
3257	Belesis, or Nabonassar. The scripture calls him Baladan	Theglath Phalasar. 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.	The Heraclide 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.	736
3268	Merodash 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.				
3269		Salmanassar. 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		706
	Anarchy two years in Egypt.		
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 Lacedemonians and Messenians 14 years.	684

A. M.	BABYL.	NINEVEH.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	Ant. J. C. 718
3286				Gyges. He puts Can- daules to death, and reigns in his stead.	
3287		Sennache- rib. In the fifth year of his reign he makes war against He- zekiah, king of Judah. An angel destroys his army at the time he is besieging Jerusalem. On his re- turn to his kingdom, he is killed by his two sons.			717
3294		Asarhad- don.			710
3296				Dejoces . causes him- self to be de- clared king of the Medes.	708

A.M.

EGYPT.

GREECE,

Ant.
J. C.

3354 Psammiticus, one of the twelve kings, defeats the other eleven, and remains sole master of Egypt. He takes Azoth after a siege of 29 years.

670

A. M.	BABYL.	NINEVEH.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	Ant. J. C. 681
3323	,	Asarhad- don unites the empire of Babylon with that of Nineveh.			
3324				Death of 680 Gyges. Ardys his son suc- ceeds him. In his reign, of 49 years, the Cimme- rians made themselves masters of Sardis.	
3327		Asarhad- don carries the remains of the king- dom of Is- rael into As- syria. The same year he puts Manasseh in chains, and carries him into Ba- bylon.			677

A. M.

EGYPT.

GREECE.

Ant.
J. C.

3364

Tyrteus, a poet, who ex- 640
celled in celebrating mili-
tary virtue.

Thales of Miletus, found-
er of the Ionic sect.

A. M.	NIN. ET BAB.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	Ant. J. C. 669
3335	Saosduchin, or Nabucodonosor I. The twelfth year of his reign	Death of Dejo- ces. Phraortes succeeds him.		657
3347	he defeats Phraortes, king of the Medes, and takes Ecbatana. It was after this expedition that he made Holophernes besiege Bethulia.			
3356	Death of Nabucodonosor. 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.

3380

Draco, legislator of
Athens. 624

3388 Nechao. 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.

Solon.

604

The seven sages of
Greece lived about this
time.

Alceus, 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. 607
3397	Nabopolassar associates his son Nabucodonosor in the empire, and sends him at the head of an army to reconquer the countries taken from him by Nechao.			
3398	Jerusalem taken by Nabucodonosor. 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 Nabucodonosor II. succeeds him in all his dominions.			605
3403	Nabucodonosor's first dream interpreted by Daniel.			601
3404		Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, gives his daughter in marriage to		602

A. M.

EGYPT.

GREECE.

Ant.
J. C.

- | | | |
|------|--|-----|
| 3410 | Apries. He makes himself master of Sidon, in the first year of his reign. | 594 |
| 3411 | Zedekiah, king of Judah, makes an alliance with the king of Egypt, contrary to the advice of the prophet Jeremiah. | 593 |

A. M.	BABYLON.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	Ant. J. C.
		Cambyses king of Persia.		

3405	Nabucodono- sor's lieutenants, after having rav- aged Judea, blockade Jerusa- lem, and put king Jehoiakim to death. About the end of the same year, Nabucod- onosor repairs in person to Jerusa- lem, makes him- self master of it, and appoints Ze- dekiah king in- stead of Jehoia- kim, whom he carries into cap- tivity.	Birth of Cyrus.	599
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3409	Death of Cy- axares. Astyages his son succeeds him. He reigns thirty five years.	595
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3416	Nabucodono- sor destroys Jeru- salem, and carries away Zedekiah captive to Baby- lon. At his re- turn into his do-	Cyrus goes for the first time into Media, to see his grandfather As- tyages. He re- mains three years with him.	588
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A. M.	EGYPT.	GREECE.	Ant. J. C.
3430	Unfortunate expedition of Apries into Lybia. Amasis revolts against Apries.		574
3432	Nabucodonosor sub- jects Egypt, and confirms Amasis on the throne.		572
3435	Apries dies in the twen- ty fifth year of his reign. Amasis reigns after him in peace.		569
3440		Thespis reforms trage- dy. Pythagoras lived about this time.	564
3444		Simonides, the cele- brated poet.	560

A. M.	BABYLON.	MEDIA	LYDIA.	Ant. J. C.
	minions, he causes the three young Hebrews to be thrown into the furnace.			
3432	Nabucodonosor makes himself master of Tyre, after a siege of thirteen years. He did not march against Egypt till after this expedition.			572
3434	Nabucodonosor's second dream interpreted by Daniel.			570
3435	Nabucodonosor 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			Cresus.	562
3444	Neriglissor. He makes great	Death of Assyages. Cyaxa-	Esop lived in his reign, and was in his court	560

A. M.

EGYPT.

GREECE.

Ant.
J. C.

3445

Pisistratus makes him- 559.
self master of Athens.

3400

Hypponax, author of 544,
the verse Scazon.Heraclitus, chief of the
sect which bears his name,

A.M.	BABYLON.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	Ant. J. C.
	preparations for war against the Medes, and calls Cresus to his aid.	ressucceeds him, known in the 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.	Cresus 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 Thymbrea between Cresus and Cyrus, followed with the taking of Sardis by the latter. End of the kingdom of Lydia.	548

A. M.	EGYPT.	GREECE.	Ant. J. C.
3464		Birth of Eschylus.	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.	528
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.	536

After the death of Cyaxares and Cambyses, Cyrus, who succeeded both in their dominions, 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 Judea.	536
3470	Daniel's vision concerning the succession of the kings of Persia.	534
3475	Cyrus dies on a tour which he makes into Persia, after his having reigned seven years alone, and thirty from 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 reunites it to the empire of the Persians.	

A. M.

GREECE.

Ant.
J. C.

- | | | |
|------|---|-----|
| 3490 | Miltiades goes to settle in the Chersonesus. | 514 |
| 3496 | The Pisistratide 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. It was about this time that Oretes, one of the Satrape of Cambyses, made himself master of the island of Samos, and caused Polycrates, the tyrant of it, to be put to death.	523
3482	Death of Cambyses. Smerdis the Magus, 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 GRECIANS.

3501	The Persians form the siege of the capital of the island of Naxos, and are obliged to raise it in six months.	503
3502	Aristagoras, governor of Miletus, revolts from Darius, and brings the Ionians and Athenians in to 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 Lados, and make themselves masters of Miletus. Eschylus.	497
3510	Darius sends Gobryas his son in law at the head of an army to attack Greece. Anacreon.	494
3513	Darius takes the command of his armies from Gobryas and gives it to Datis and Artaphernes.	491

A. M.	PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.	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 Thermopyle. Leonidas, king of the Lacedemonians, is killed in it. Sea fight near Artemisium, at the same time as the battle of Thermopyle. Birth of Euripides.	480
	Battle of Salamin, followed by the precipitate return of Xerxes into Persia.	
3525	Battle of Plataea. 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 Lacedemonians.	478
3528	The command of the armies of Greece, of which the Lacedemonians had been in possession from the battle of Thermopyle, is transferred to the Athenians. Pindar flourished about this time.	476
3530	Pausanias, general of the Lacedemonians, 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 appear 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 Eury-medon. Birth of the historian Thucydides.	471
3534	Great earthquake at Sparta, in the reign of Archidamus, which makes way for a sedition of the Helots. Birth of Socrates.	470
3535	Beginning of Pericles. Phidias, famous for his skill in architecture and sculpture. Difference and misunderstanding between the Athenians and Lacedemonians, occasioned by the affront offered to the Athenians by the Lacedemonians, in sending back their troops, after having called in their	469

A. M.	PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.	Ant. J. C.
	aid against the Messenians and Helots. Some time after, and in consequence of this quarrel, Cimon is banished by the Ostracism.	
3537	Esdras obtains a commission from Artaxerxes to return to Jerusalem with all who were 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 <i>Διαίτητικῶν</i> . 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 Danarus, where they sustain a siege of a year. Battle of Tanagra in Beotia, where the Athenians beat the Spartans, who were come to the aid of the Beotians.	456
3550	Nehemiah obtains Artaxerxes's permission to return to Jerusalem.	454
3554	Birth of Xenophon. Cimon, recalled from banishment after five years absence, reconciles the Athenians and Spartans, and makes them conclude a truce of five years.	450
3555	End of the war between the Greeks and Persians, which had continued, from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, fifty one years. Death of Cimon.	449
3558	The Lacedemonians conclude a truce for thirty years with the Athenians. The latter soon break it by new enterprises. Empedocles, the Pythagorean philosopher, flourished about this time. Myron, the famous sculptor of Athens.	446
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. Aristophanes, the comic poet.	440
3568	Birth of Isocrates. War between the Corinthians and the people of Corcyra. The Athenians engage in it in favour of the Corcyreans. The inhabitants of Potidea declare on the side of Corinth against Athens. Alcibiades begins to appear in this war, which occasions that of Peloponnesus. Scopas, architect and sculptor.	436

A. M.	PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.	AUG. J. C.
3573	Beginning of the Peloponnesian war. It subsists twenty seven years.	431
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 Lacedemonians besiege Platea. 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 Παιωνια, 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 Lacedemonians and Athenians, in the tenth year from the beginning of the Lacedemonian war. Alcibiades, by an imposture, occasions its being broken the following year.	421
3584	The banishment of Hyperbolus puts an end to the Ostracism.	420
3588	Alcibiades engages the Athenians to assist the people of Eggesta 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 Amyrteus 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 Lacedemonians, 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.	409
3597	Darius gives Cyrus, his youngest son, the government in chief of all the provinces of Asia Minor.	407

A. M.	PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.	Ant. J. C.
3598	Lysander is placed at the head of the Lacedemonians. He defeats the Athenians near Ephesus. In consequence of that defeat, Alcibiades is deposed, and ten generals are nominated to succeed him.	406
3599	Callicratidas has the command of the army in the room of Lysander, from whom the Lacedemonians had taken it. He is killed in a sea fight near the Argunise. Lysander is restored to the command of the Lacedemonian army. He gains a famous victory over the Athenians at Egospotamos.	405
3600	Conon, who commanded the Athenian forces, retires after his defeat to Evagoras, king of Cyprus. 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
3601	Cyrus the younger intends to assassinate his brother Artaxerxes. His design being discovered, he is sent to the maritime provinces, of which he was governor. Interview of Cyrus the younger and Lysander at Sardis.	403
3602	Thrasybulus expels the tyrants of Athens, and reestablishes its liberty. 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	Lacedemon declares war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabasus.	400
3606	Beginning of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, father of Philip.	398
3607	Agesilaus is elected king of Sparta. The year following he goes to Attica, to the aid of the Greeks settled there.	397
3609	Lysander quarrels with Agesilaus, and undertakes to change the order of the succession to the throne. The army of Tissaphernes is defeated near Sardis, by Agesilaus.	395
3610	Thebes, Argos, and Corinth, enter into a league against Lacedemon, at the solicitation of the Persians. Athens enters into the same league soon after. Agesilaus is recalled by the Ephori to the assistance of his country.	394
	The fleet of the Lacedemonians is defeated near Cnidos by Pharnabasus, and Conon the Athenian, who commanded that of the Persians and Greeks. Agesilaus defeats the Thebans almost at the same time in the plains of Coronea.	

A.M.	PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.	Ant. J. C.
	Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens.	
3617	Peace, shameful to the Greeks concluded with the Persians by Antalcides the Lacedemonian.	387
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 Salamin, 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 Lacedemonians declare war against the city of Olynthus. Birth of Philip, king of Macedon.	383
3622	Phebidas, on his way to the siege of Olynthus, at the head of part of the army of the Lacedemonians, 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. Perdiccas ascends the throne next, 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 Lacedemonians.	370
3635	Expedition of Pelopidas against Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ. He goes to Macedonia to terminate the differences between Perdiccas and Ptolemy, sons 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 Mantinea. Epaminondas is killed in it, after having secured the victory to the Thebans.	365
3642	The Lacedemonians 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 captious peace with the Athenians.	360

A. M.

PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

Ant.
J. C.

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 it to that of the Parthians and of 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, alarmed by the preparations of war making by the king of Persia. 355
Beginning of the sacred war.
- 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 to seize Thermopyle in vain.
- 3653 Successful expedition of Ochus against Phenicia, 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 Thermopyle, and part of 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 Elatea. 338
Battle of Cheronea, 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:

A.M.	PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.	Ant. J. C.
3667	Philip causes himself to be declared general of the 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.	337
3668	Philip's death. Alexander, his son, then twenty years of age, succeeds him. Arses, king of Persia, is assassinated by Bagoas. 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. Battle of the Granicus, followed with the conquest of almost all Asia Minor.	334
3671	Alexander is taken at Tarsus with a dangerous illness, from having bathed in the river Cydnus. He is cured in a few days. Battle of Issus.	333
3672	Alexander makes himself master of Tyre, after a siege of seven months. Apelles, one of the most famous painters of antiquity. Aristides and Protogenes were his contemporaries. 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. The Lacedemonians revolt against the Macedonians. Antipater defeats them in a battle, wherein Agis their king is killed. Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes to see Alexander at Zadracrata. 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. Alexander, after having subdued the Sogdians and Bactrians, builds a city upon the Iaxartes, to which he gives his name. Embassy of the Scythians to Alexander, followed by a victory gained by him over that people.	329

A.M.	PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.	Ant. J. C.
	Lysippus of Sicyon, a famous sculptor, flourished about this time.	
3676	Alexander makes himself master of the rocky eminence of Oxus.	328
	Clitus is killed by Alexander at a feast in Maracanda. The death of Callisthenes happens soon after.	
	Alexander marries Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes.	
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.	326
	The city of Oxydrace taken. Alexander is in great danger there.	
3679	Alexander's marriage with Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius.	325
	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.	
3680	Death of Hephestion at Ecbatana.	324
	Menander, the inventor of the new comedy, lived about this time.	
3681	Alexander, on his return to Babylon, dies there, at the age of thirty two years and eight months. Arideus, that prince's natural brother, is declared king in his stead. The regency of the kingdom is given to Perdiccas.	323
	The generals divide the provinces amongst themselves. From this division commences the era 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.	
3682	Antipater is besieged in Lamia by the Athenians, and is forced to surrender it by capitulation. He soon after seizes Athens, and puts a garrison into it.	322
	Death of Demosthenes.	
3683	Alexander's magnificent funeral.	321
	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.	
3684	Eumenes, defeated by Antigonus, shuts himself up in the castle of Nora, where he sustains a siege of a year.	320
	Ptolemy makes himself master of Jerusalem.	

A. M.	PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.	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 Arideus, and Eurydice his wife, to be put to death, as she herself is soon after by order of Cassander.	317
3689	Eumenes is delivered up to Antigonus by his own soldiers, and put to death.	315
3691	Antigonus takes Tyre, after a siege of fifteen months. Demetrius his son, surnamed Poliorcetes, begins to appear.	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 Seleucides, called by the Jews the era of contracts. Ptolemy retires into Egypt, and carries a great number of the inhabitants of Phenicia and Judea thither along with him. Cassander causes Roxana, and her son Alexander, to be put to death.	311
3695	Polysperchon puts Hercules, the son of Alexander, and his mother, Berenice, to death.	309
3696	Ophellas, governor of Lybia, revolts against Ptolemy.	308
3698	Demetrius Poliorcetes makes himself master of Athens, and reestablishes the democratical government. The same year he makes himself master of Salamin, and the whole island of Cyprus. Demetrius Phalereus, who commanded at Athens, retires 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 seventh of November of this year.	305
3700	Demetrius Poliorcetes forms the siege of Rhodes, which he is forced to raise a year after.	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 GRECIANS.	Ant. J. C.
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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
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Battle of Ipsus, wherein Antigonus is defeated. It is followed by the division of the empire of Alexander amongst the four allied princes.

Argesilaus, founder of the middle academy.

A. M.

Ant.
J. C.

There is so much connection between the events which happen 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 Alexan- der, the sons of Cassan- der, dispute the king- dom, and possess it almost three years.		297
3710			Demetri- us Poliorce- tes.		294
3717			Pyrrhus and Lysima- chus.		287
3719	Ptolemy Philadel- phus.				285
3723			Seleucus Nicator, a very short time.	Lysimachus is killed in a battle. After his death his dominions are dismem-	281

A. M.	EGYPT.	SYRIA.	MACEDO- NIA.	THRACE AND BITHYN. bered, and cease to form a dis- tinct king- dom.	Ant. J. C
3724		Antiochus Soter.	Ptolemy Ceraunus. His brother Meleager reigned some time after him.		280
3726			Sosthenes.		278
3728			Antigonus Gonatas.		276
3743		Antiochus Theos.			261
3758	Ptolemy Evergetes.	Seleucus Callinicus.			246
3762			Demetri- us, son of Antigonus Gonatas.		242
3772			Antigo- nus Dason.		232
3778		Seleucus Ceraunus.			226
3781		Antiochus 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.		124
3887	Ptolemy Lathyrus.	Antiochus Grypus.		117
3890		Antiochus the Cyzicene divides the kingdom with Grypus.		114

A. M.	EGYPT.	SYRIA.	Ant. J. C. 107
3897	Alexander I. brother of Lathyrus.		
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, reigns 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.		53

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 reigns only 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. Foundation of the kingdom of Pergamus by Phileterrus.	285
3721	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 Acheans resumes its ancient form, which it had lost under Philip and Alexander. 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.	280
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 during 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 Soter.	275
3730	Pyrrhus returns into Italy, and is defeated by the Romans. He goes to Macedonia, where he attacks and defeats Antigonus. Ptolemy Philadelphus, in effect of the reputation of the Romans, sends an embassy to them to demand their amity.	274
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 Lacedemonians against him.	268
3739	Abantidas makes himself tyrant of Sicyon, after having put Clinias, its governor, to death. Magus, governor of Cyrenaica and Lybia, revolts against Ptolemy Philadelphus.	265
3741	Death of Phileterrus, 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 Magus 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 Achean 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. Ptolemy 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 Gonatus, 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 Syrenian, 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 Arsaces, 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 an 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 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 the Great, 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 Etolians gain a great victory at Caphye, 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 Etolians, in favour of the Achæans.	220
3785	Hermias, 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 Etolians on the other, which puts an end to the war of the allies.	217
3788	Antiochus besieges Acheus, 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 Etolians with the Romans. Attalus, king of Pergamus, enters into it. The Lacedæmonians come into it some short time after.	211

A. M.	SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.	Ant. J. C.
3796	Famous battle between Philip king of Macedonia and the Etolians near Elis. Philopemen distinguishes himself in it.	208
3798	Battle of Mantinea, wherein Philopemen 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 Chio. 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 with Philip. P. Sulpitius is appointed to command in it. He gains a considerable victory near the town of Octolopha in Macedonia.	200
3805	Villicus succeeds Sulpitius in the command of the army against Philip. The year following Flamininus is sent to succeed Villicus.	199
3806	Antiochus, king of Syria, subjects Palestine, and Celosyria.	198
	The Acheans declare for the Romans against Philip.	
3807	Interview of Philip and the consul Flamininus. Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, declares for the Romans. The Beotians do the same. Death of Attalus, king of Pergamus. Eumenes succeeds him.	197
	Battle of Cynoscephale, where the Romans gain a complete victory over Philip.	
3808	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 Etolian, against Ptolemy Epiphanes, discovered and punished.	
3809	Flamininus makes war against Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta.	195
3813	Philopemen gains a considerable advantage over Nabis, near Sparta.	191
	The Etolians resolve to seize Demetrius, Chalcis, and Sparta, by treachery and stratagem.	
	Nabis is killed. Philopemen makes the Lacedaemonians enter into the Achean league.	

A. M.	SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.	Ant. J. C.
	Antiochus goes to Greece to the aid of the Etolians. The Romans declare war against him, and soon after defeat him near the straits of Thermopyle.	
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. The philosopher Panectius was born about this time.	190
3815	The consul Fulvius forces the Etolians to submit to the Romans. Manlius, his colleague, almost at the same time, subjects all the Gauls in Asia. The cruel treatment of the Spartans by their exiles, supported by Philopemen, happened this year.	189
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	Philopemen 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 Philometer 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 Philometer. The Romans declare war against Perseus. That prince has some advantage in the first battle near the river Peneus.	171
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 Philometer, who had fallen into the hands of Antiochus, make Ptolemy Evergetes, his younger brother, king. Philometer is set at liberty the same year, and unites with his brother. That union induces Antiochus to renew the war.	169
3836	Paulus Emilius 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. The pretor 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.	168

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 among 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 Emilius abandons the cities of Epirus to be plundered by his army, for having taken Perseus's part. The Acheans, 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 seventeen 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 Judea, with design to exterminate the Jews. The hand of God strikes him on the way, and he dies with 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 Difference between Philometer, 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 Maccabeus. 161
- 3844 Demetrius is acknowledged king of Syria by the Romans. 160
- 3845 Death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Attalus Philometer 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. 153

A. M.	SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.	Ant. J. C
3852	Andriscus 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 Dieus and Critolaus. The commissioners sent thither by the Romans are insulted.	147
3858	Metellus goes to Achaia, where he gains several advantages over the Acheans. Mummius succeeds him, and, after a great battle near Leucopetra, takes Corinth, and entirely demolishes it. Greece is reduced into a Roman province under the name of the province of Achaia.	146

A. M.

Ant.
J. C.

The sequel of the history of the kings of Syria is much embroiled, for which reason I shall separate it from that of the Egyptians, in order to complete its chronology.

SYRIA.

- 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. 144
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.
- 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 Triphon to death, he is declared king himself. 140

A. M.

Ant.
J. C.

EGYPT.

3859 Death of Ptolemy Philometer. Ptolemy Physcon, 145
his brother, succeeds him.

3866 { Death of Attalus king of Pergamus. Attalus } 138
his nephew, surnamed Philometer, succeeds
him. He reigns five years. }

A. M.

SYRIA.

Ant.
J. C.

3869

Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.

135

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.	EGYPT.	Ant. J. C.
3868	The cruelties of Physcon at Alexandria, oblige most of the inhabitants to quit the place.	136
3871	{ Attalus Philometer, 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 Pergamus is reduced the year following into a Roman province, by Manius Aquilius. }	130
<p>Physcon repudiates Cleopatra, his first wife, and marries his 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 reascends the throne of Egypt.	127
3882	Physcon gives his daughter in marriage to Grypus, king of Syria.	122

A.M.

SYRIA.

Ant.
J. C.
120'

3884 Cleopatra attempts to
poison Grypus, and is poi-
soned herself.

3890

Antiochus, the Cyzice-
nian, son of Cleopatra and
Antiochus Sidetes, takes
arms against Grypus. He
has the worst in the be-
ginning; but in two years
obliges his brother to di-
vide 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 Cyzicene,
causes himself to be de-
clared king. He marries
Selena, the widow of Gry-
pus.

A. M.	EGYPT.	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 Selena, 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 Selena from Lathyrus, and makes her marry Antiochus the Cyziceniian.	101

A. M.	SYRIA.	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 reestablish 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.	Eusebes takes refuge in Cilicia, where he remains concealed.	83

A. M.

EGYPT.

Ant.
J. C.

- | | | |
|------|---|----|
| 3915 | Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra. | 89 |
| 3916 | Alexander is expelled, and dies soon after.
Lathyrus is recalled. | 88 |
| | | |
| 3922 | Lathyrus ruins Thebes in Egypt, where the rebels,
he had before defeated, had taken refuge. | 82 |
| 3923 | Death of Lathyrus. Alexander II. son of Alexan-
der I. under the protection of Sylla, is elected king. | 81 |

A. M.

SYRIA.

Ant.
J. C.

3935 Tigranes recalls Magda-
lus, his viceroy in Syria.

69

Antiochus Asiaticus
takes possession of some
parts of Syria, and reigns
four years.

3939

Pompey deprives Anti-
ochus Asiaticus of his do-
minions, and reduces Syria
into a Roman province.

65

A. M.

EGYPT.

Ant.
J. C.

- | | | |
|------|---|----|
| 3928 | { Death of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia. His }
{ kingdom is reduced into a Roman province; as }
{ is Cyrenaica the same year. } | 76 |
| | | |
| 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 | Gabinus and Anthony 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 Achilles, 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. Cesar 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 Anthony at Tarsus in Cilicia. She gains the ascendant of him, and carries him with her to Alexandria. | 41 |
| 3971 | Anthony makes himself master of Armenia, and brings the king prisoner to Cleopatra. Coronation of Cleopatra and all her children. | 33 |
| | Rupture between Cesar and Anthony. Cleopatra accompanies the latter, who repudiates Octavia at Athens. | |
| 3973 | Cleopatra flies at the battle of Actium. Anthony follows her, and thereby abandons the victory to Cesar. | 31 |
| 3974 | Anthony dies in the arms of Cleopatra. | 30 |
| | Cesar 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 sets 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. Arsaces II. brother of the first. Priapatius. Phraates I.	250
3814	Ariarathes V.		190

A. M.

PONTUS.

Ant.
J. C.

- | | | |
|------|---|-----|
| 3490 | The kingdom of Pontus was founded by Darius the son of Hystaspes, in the year 3490. Artabasus 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 one hundred years. The last of them was Mithridates IV. great grandfather of Mithridates the Great. | 302 |
| | | |
| 3819 | Pharnaces, son of Mithridates IV. | 185 |

A. M.	CAPPADOCIA.	PARTHIAN EMPIRE.	Ant. J. C.
3840		Mithridates I.	164
3842	Ariarathes VI. surnamed Philopater.		162
3873		Phraates II.	131
3875	Ariarathes VII.	Artabasus. After a very short reign he is succeeded by Mithridates II. who reigns forty years.	129
3913	Ariarathes VIII. Mithridates, 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 presently after reestablished by his father.		91
3914	Sylla enters Cappadocia, drives the son of Mithridates out of it, and sets Ariobarzanes I. upon the throne.		90
3915	Tigranes, king of Armenia, drives Ariobarzanes out of Cappadocia, and reinstates the son of Mithridates.		89

Mnaschires, and after him Sinatroces. These two princes reign about twenty years.

A. M.

PONTUS.

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. 913915 Beginning of the war between Mithridates and the
Romans. 893916 Mithridates causes all the Romans in Asia Minor to
be massacred in one day. 88Archelaus, one of the generals of Mithridates, seizes
Athens, and most of the cities of Greece.

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

3935

Phraates III. who assumes the surname of the Good. 69

A. M.	PONTUS.	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 Cheronea. He gains a second battle soon after, at Orchomenes.	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
3928	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 Cebire. 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 effect of the misunderstandings that take place in the Roman army.	67

A. M.	CAPPADOCIA.	PARTHIAN EMPIRE.	Ant. J. C.
3948		Mithridates, eldest son of Phraates.	56
3950		Orodes. Unfortunate expedition of Crassus against the Par- thians.	54
3953	Ariobarzanes III. He is put to death by Cassius.		51
3962	Ariarathes X.		42
		Ventidius, general of the Romans, gains a victory over the Parthians, which retrieves the honour they had lost at the battle of Carre.	
3973	M. Anthony drives Ari- arathes out of Cappadocia, and sets Archelaus in his place. On the death of that prince, which happen- ed in the year of the world 4022, Cappadocia was re- duced into a Roman prov- ince.		31

A. M.	PONTUS.	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 Caina, 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.

- | | | |
|------|--|-----|
| 520 | 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 years 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 the tyranny in his own person.
New troubles at Syracuse against Dionysius. He finds means to put an end to them. | 404 |

A. M.	CARTHAGE.	Ant. 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 ter- minated by a treaty of peace with the Syracusans.	404

A. M.	SYRACUSE.	A. D. 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 despatched 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 place for two years.	357
3654	Dionysius reinstated.	350
3656	The Syracusans call in Timoleon to their aid.	348
3657	Dionysius is forced by Timoleon to surrender himself, and to retire to Corinth.	347'
3658	Timoleon abolishes tyranny at Syracuse, and throughout Sicily, the liberty of which he reinstates.	346
3685	Agathocles makes himself tyrant of Syracuse.	319

A. M.

CARTHAGE.

Ant.
J. C.

3607 Imilcon goes to Sicily with an army to carry on the war against Dionysius. It subsists four or five years. 397

3654 Second treaty of peace concluded between the Romans and Carthaginians. 350

3656 The Carthaginians make a new attempt to seize Sicily. They are defeated by Timoleon, sent by the Corinthians to the aid of the Syracusans. 348

Hanno, citizen of Carthage, forms the design of making himself master of his country.

3672 Embassy of Tyre to Carthage, to demand aid against Alexander the Great. 332

3685 Beginning of the wars between the Carthaginians and Agathocles in Sicily and Africa. 319

A. M.	SYRACUSE.	An. J. C.
3724	A Roman legion seizes Rhegium by treachery.	280
3729	Hiero and Artemidorus are made supreme magistrates by the Syracusan troops.	275
3736	Hiero is declared king by the Syracusans.	268
3741	Appius Claudius goes to Sicily to aid the Mamertines against the Carthaginians. Hiero, who was at first against him, comes to an accommodation with him, and makes an alliance with the Romans.	263
3763	Hiero sends the Carthaginians aid against the foreign mercenaries.	241
3786	Hiero goes to meet the consul Tib. Sempronius, in order to offer him his services against the Carthaginians.	218

A. M.	CARTHAGE.	Ant. J. C.
3727	The Carthaginians send the Romans aid under Mago against Pyrrhus.	277
3741	Beginning of the first Punic war with the Romans. It subsists twenty four years.	263
3743	The Romans besiege the Carthaginians in Agrigentum, and take the city, after a siege of seven months.	261
3745	Sea fight between the Romans and Carthaginians, near the coast of Myle.	259
3749	Sea fight near Ecnome, in Sicily.	255
3750	Regulus in Africa. He is taken prisoner. Xanthippus comes to the aid of the Carthaginians.	254
3755	Regulus is sent to Rome to propose the exchange of prisoners. At his return the Carthaginians put him to death with the most cruel torments.	249
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- Amestris, wife of Xerxes; barbarous and inhuman revenge of that princess, iii. 104.
- Amisas, city of Asia, besieged by Lucullus, viii. 130. The engineer Callimachus, who defended it, sets it on fire, and burns it, 137.
- Ammonians, ii. 285; famous temple of that people, 287.
- Amorges, bastard of Pissuthnes, revolts against Darius Nothus, iii. 324; he is taken and sent into Persia, *ibid.*
- Amasis, king of Egypt. See Thethmosis.
- Amphares, one of the Spartan ephori, vi. 223; his treachery and cruelty to king Agis, 224.
- Amphictyon, king of Athens, ii. 412.
- Amphictyons; institution of that assembly, iv. 124; their power, 125; oath taken at their installation, *ibid.* their condescension for Philip occasions the diminution of their authority, 127; famous sacred war undertaken by order of this assembly, 512.
- Amphipolis, city of Thrace, besieged by Celon, general of the Athenians, iii. 334; Philip takes that city from the Athenians, and declares it free, iv. 496; it is soon after taken possession of by that prince, 500.
- Amyntas I. king of Macedonia, submits to Darius, ii. 554.
- Amyntas II. king of Macedonia, father of Philip, iv. 489; his death, 490.
- Amyntas, son of Perdicas, excluded from the throne of Macedonia, iv. 494.
- Amyntas, deserter from Alexander's army, seizes the government of Egypt, v. 137; he is killed there, 138.
- Amyntas, one of Alexander the Great's officers, v. 172.
- Anacharsis, by nation of the Scytho Nomades, one of the seven sages, ii. 503; his contempt for riches, *ibid.*
- Anacreon, Greek poet, ii. 495.
- Anaxagoras, his care of Pericles, iii. 172; his doctrine, *ibid.*
- Anaxander, king of Lacedemonia, i. 181.
- Anaxilus, tyrant of Zancle, iii. 241.
- Anaximenes, in what manner he saved his country, v. 32.
- Andranadorus, guardian of Hieronymus, king of Syracuse, viii. 31; his strange abuse of his authority, *ibid.* after the death of Hieronymus, he seizes part of Syracuse, 34; he forms a conspiracy for ascending the throne, 37; he is accused, and put to death, *ibid.*
- Andriscus of Adramyttium, pretends himself the son of Perseus, and is declared king of Macedonia, vii. 338; he defeats the Roman army commanded by the pretor Juventius, *ibid.* he is twice defeated by Metellus, *ibid.* he is taken, and sent to Rome, 239; he serves to adorn the triumph of Metellus, 342.
- Androcles, son of Codrus, king of Athens, ii. 419.
- Andromachus, governor of Syria and Palestine for Alexander, v. 146; sad end of that governor, *ibid.*
- Andromachus, father of Acheus, is taken and kept prisoner by Ptolemy Evergetes, vi

- 272; Ptolemy Philopater sets him at liberty, and restores him to his son, 286.
- Andronicus, general for Antigonus, makes himself master of Tyre, v. 498; he is besieged in that place by Ptolemy, and forced to surrender, *ibid.*
- Andronicus, Perseus's officer, put to death, and why, vii. 235.
- Andronicus of Rhodes, to whom the world is indebted for the works of Aristotle, vii. 235.
- Angels. Opinions of the pagans concerning them, iv. 15.
- Anicius, Roman pretor, is charged with the war against Gentius, king of Illyria, vii. 256; he defeats that prince, takes him prisoner, and sends him to Rome, *ibid.* he receives the honours of a triumph, 297.
- Antalcides, Lacedemonian, concludes a shameful peace with the Persians for the Greeks, iii. 635.
- Anthony (Mark) contributes by his valor to the reestablishment of Auletes upon the throne of Egypt, viii. 206; when triumvir, he cites Cleopatra before him, and why, 213; his passion for that princess, 214; her ascendant over him, *ibid.* she carries him with her to Alexandria, 232; Anthony returns to Rome, and marries Octavia, Cesar's sister, 234; he makes some expeditions into Parthia, 235; then goes to Phenicia to meet Cleopatra, 236; his injurious treatment of Octavia, 237; he makes himself master of Armenia, and returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph, 239; he celebrates there the coronation of Cleopatra and her children, *ibid.* open rupture between Cesar and Anthony, 241; the latter repudiates Octavia, 243; Anthony puts to sea, accompanied by Cleopatra, 248; he is entirely defeated in a sea fight near Actium, 249; all his troops surrender themselves to Cesar, 250; he returns to Alexandria, *ibid.* he sends ambassadors to treat of peace with Cesar, 251; seeing himself betrayed by Cleopatra, he sends a challenge to Cesar to a single combat, 255; believing Cleopatra had killed herself, he falls upon his sword, 256; he expires in Cleopatra's arms, 258; that princess celebrates his funeral with great magnificence, 260.
- Antigonia, Philotas's mistress, accuses him to Alexander, v. 217.
- Antigonia, the daughter of Ptolemy, wife of Pyrrhus, vi. 9.
- Antigonia, city built by Antigonus, v. 569; and destroyed by Seleucus, vi. 4.
- Antigonus, one of Alexander's captains, divides the empire of that prince with the rest of them, v. 398; he makes war against Eumenes, and besieges him in Nora, 440, 441; he marches into Pisidia against Alcetas and Attalus, 442; he becomes very powerful, 447; he revolts against the kings, and continues the war with Eumenes who adheres to them, 464; he is defeated by that captain, 483; he gets Eumenes into his hands by treachery, 491; and rids himself of him in prison, *ibid.* a league is formed against him,

- 492; he takes Syria and Phenicia from Ptolemy, 496; and makes himself master of Tyre, after a long siege, 497; he marches against Cassander, and gains great advantages over him, 500; he concludes a treaty with the confederate princes, 511; he puts Cleopatra, Alexander's sister, to death, 514; he forms the design of reinstating the liberty of Greece, 517; he besieges and takes Athens, 518, &c. excessive honours paid him there, 523; he assumes the title of king, 534; he makes preparations to invade Egypt, 535; his enterprise is unsuccessful, *ibid.* he loses a great battle at Ipsus, and is killed in it, 572.
- Antigonus Gonatus offers himself as an hostage for Demetrius his father, vi. 28; he establishes himself in Macedonia, 74; Pyrrhus drives him out of it, 114; he retires into his maritime cities, *ibid.* he sends troops to the aid of the Spartans against Pyrrhus, 122; he marches to the assistance of Argos, besieged by that prince, 125; he takes the whole army and camp of Pyrrhus, and celebrates the funeral of that prince with great magnificence, 128; he besieges Athens, and takes it, 134; his death, 167.
- Antigonus Doseon, as Philip's guardian, reigns in Macedonia, vi. 176; the Achæans call him in to their aid against Sparta, 240; he occasions their gaining several advantages, 246, &c. he is victorious in the famous battle of Selasia against Cleomenes, 262; he makes himself master of Sparta, and treats it with great clemency, 265; he marches against the Illyrians, and dies, after having gained a victory over them, 266.
- Antigonus, nephew of Antigonus Doseon, Philip's favourite, discovers to that prince the innocence of his son Demetrius, and the guilt of Perseus, vii. 102; Philip's intentions in respect to him, 105; he is put to death by order of Perseus, 181.
- Antigonus, a Macedonian lord, in the court of Perseus, vii. 252.
- Antigonus, the brother of Aristobulus I. is appointed by his brother to terminate the war in Itrurea, vii. 504; at his return his brother puts him to death, *ibid.*
- Antigonus, son of Aristobulus II. is sent to Rome by Pompey, vii. 522; he is set upon the throne of Judea, 526; he is besieged in Jerusalem, vii. 527; he surrenders, and is put to death, 528.
- Antimachus, officer in the army of Perseus, 224.
- Antioch, city built by Seleucus upon the Orontes, vi. 4.
- Antiochus, lieutenant of Alcibiades, attacks the Lacedæmonians with ill conduct, and is defeated with great loss, iii. 468.
- Antiochus I. surnamed Soter, reigns in Syria, and marries Stratonice, his father's wife, vi. 60; he endeavours to seize the kingdom of Pergamus, 138; he is defeated by Eumenes, *ibid.* he puts one of his sons to death, and dies himself soon after, *ibid.*
- Antiochus II. surnamed Theos,

ascends the throne of Syria, vi. 139; he delivers Miletus from tyranny, *ibid.* he carries the war into Egypt against Ptolemy, 143; the provinces of the east revolt against him, 144; he loses most of those provinces, 145; he makes peace with Ptolemy, and marries Berenice, the daughter of that prince, after having repudiated Laodice, 146; he repudiates Berenice, and takes Laodice again, who causes him to be poisoned, 158; Daniel's prophecies concerning him, 159.

Antiochus Hierax commands in Asia Minor, vi. 159; he enters into a league with his brother Seleucus against Ptolemy, 167; he declares war against Seleucus, gives him battle, and defeats him with great danger of his life, 168; he is attacked and defeated by Eumenes, 169; he retires to Ariarathes, who soon after seeks occasion to rid himself of him, 171; he takes refuge with Ptolemy, who imprisons him; he escapes, and is assassinated by robbers, *ibid.*

Antiochus III. surnamed the Great, begins to reign in Syria, vi. 273; fidelity of Acheus in respect to him, *ibid.* he appoints Hermias his prime minister, *ibid.* Molon and Alexander, whom he had appointed governors of Media and Persia, revolt against him, 274; he marries Laodice, the daughter of Mithridates, 275; he sacrifices Epigenes, the most able of his generals, to the jealousy of Hermias, 280; he marches against the rebels, and re-

duces them, 281; he rids himself of Hermias, 284; he marches into Celosyria, and takes Seleucia, 287; Tyre and Ptolemais, 289; he makes a truce with Ptolemy, 290; the war breaks out again, 291; Antiochus gains many advantages, 292; he loses a great battle at Raphia, 294; he makes peace with Ptolemy, 297; he turns his arms against Acheus, who had revolted, 299; Acheus is put into his hands by treachery, and executed, 300; expeditions of Antiochus into Media, 412; Parthia, 414; Hyrcania, *ibid.* Bactria, 415; and even into India, 417; he enters into an alliance with Philip to invade the kingdom of Egypt, 422; and seizes Celosyria and Palestine, *ibid.* he makes war against Attalus, 450; upon the remonstrances of the Romans, he retires, *ibid.* he recovers Celosyria, which Aristomenes had taken from him, 452; Antiochus forms the design of seizing Asia Minor, 453; he takes some places there, 494; an embassy is sent to him from the Romans upon that head, 495; Hannibal retires to him, 499; the arrival of that general determines him upon a war with the Romans, 517; he marches against the Pisidians, and subdues them, 522; he goes to Greece at the request of the Etolians, 538; he makes himself master of Chalcis, and all Euboea, 539; the Romans declare war against him, 545; he makes an ill use of Hannibal's counsels, 548; he goes to Chalcis, and marries the daughter of

the person in whose house he lodges, 549; he seizes the straits of Thermopyle, 550; he is defeated near those mountains, and escapes to Chalcis, 552; on his return to Ephesus he ventures a sea fight, and loses it, 559; his fleet gains some advantages over the Rhodians, 563; he loses a second battle at sea, 564; conduct of Antiochus after this defeat, 567; he makes proposals of peace, 570; which are rejected, 572; he loses a great battle near Magnesia, 578, &c. he demands peace, and obtains it, 581; on what conditions, *ibid.* in order to pay the tribute to the Romans, he plunders a temple in Elymais, vii. 16; he is killed, *ibid.* character of Antiochus, 17; Daniel's prophecies concerning that prince, *ibid.*

Antiochus, eldest son of Antiochus the Great, dies in the flower of his youth, vi. 523; character of that young prince, *ibid.*

Antiochus IV. surnamed Epiphanes, goes to Rome as an hostage, vi. 582; he ascends the throne of Syria, vii. 112; dispute between that prince and the king of Egypt, 116; he marches against Egypt, 117; and gains a first victory over Ptolemy, 120; then a second, 122; he makes himself master of Egypt, *ibid.* and takes the king himself, *ibid.* upon the rumour of a general revolt, he enters Palestine, 123; besieges and takes Jerusalem, 124; where he exercises the most horrid cruelties, *ibid.* &c. Antiochus renews the war in Egypt, 126; he replaces Ptolemy

Philometer upon the throne, and with what view, 130; he returns to Syria, *ibid.* he comes back to Egypt, and marches to Alexandria, 133; Popilius, the Roman ambassador, obliges him to quit it, 134.

Antiochus, incensed at what happened in Egypt, vents his rage upon the Jews, vii. 136; he orders Apollonius, one of his generals, to destroy Jerusalem, *ibid.* cruelties committed there by that general, 137; Antiochus endeavours to abolish the worship of the true God at Jerusalem, 138; he enters Judea, and commits horrible cruelties, 142; he celebrates games at Daphne, near Antioch, 149; several of his generals defeated by Judas Maccabeus, 157, &c. he goes to Persia, 159; attempts to plunder the temple of Elymais, and is shamefully repulsed, 160; upon receiving advice of the defeat of his armies in Judea, he sets out instantly with design to exterminate the Jews, *ibid.* he is struck by the hand of God in the way, and dies in the most exquisite torments, 161; Daniel's prophecies concerning this prince, 163.

Antiochus V. called Eupator, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria, vii. 384; he continues the war with the Jews, 385; his generals, and himself in person, are defeated by Judas Maccabeus, 389; he makes peace with the Jews, and destroys the fortifications of the temple, 390; Romans discontented with Eupator, 398; his soldiers deliver him up

- to Demetrius, who puts him to death, 399.
- Antiochus VI. surnamed Theos, is set upon the throne of Syria by Tryphon, vii. 419 ; he is assassinated soon after, 421.
- Antiochus VII. surnamed Sides, marries Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius, and is proclaimed king of Syria, vii. 427 ; he dethrones Tryphon, who is put to death, 428 ; he marches into Judea, 441 ; besieges John Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, *ibid.* the city capitulates, *ibid.* he turns his arms against Parthia, 444 ; where he perishes, 445 ; adventure of this prince in hunting, 446.
- Antiochus VIII. surnamed Grypus, begins to reign in Syria, vii. 457 ; he marries Tryphena, the daughter of Physcon, king of Egypt, *ibid.* he defeats and expels Zebina, *ibid.* his mother Cleopatra endeavours to poison him, and is poisoned herself, 458 ; Antiochus reigns some time in peace, *ibid.* war between that prince and his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum, 460 ; the two brothers divide the empire of Syria between them, 463 ; Grypus marries Selena, the daughter of Cleopatra, and renews the war against his brother, 475 ; he is assassinated by one of his vassals, *ibid.*
- Antiochus IX. surnamed the Cyzicenean, makes war against his brother Antiochus Grypus, vii. 460 ; he marries Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had repudiated, *ibid.* after several battles he comes to an accommodation with his brother, and divides the empire of Syria with him, 463 ; he goes to the aid of the Samaritans, and is unsuccessful in that war, *ibid.* after his brother's death he endeavours to possess himself of his dominions, 476 ; he loses a battle against Seleucus, the son of Grypus, who puts him to death, *ibid.*
- Antiochus X. surnamed Eusebes, son of Antiochus the Cyzicenean, causes himself to be crowned king of Syria, and expels Seleucus, vii. 476 ; he gains a battle against Antiochus and Philip, brothers of Seleucus, 477 ; he marries Selena the widow of Grypus, *ibid.* he is entirely defeated by Philip, and obliged to take refuge amongst the Parthians, 478 ; by their aid he returns into Syria, *ibid.* he is again expelled, and retires into Cilicia, where he ends his days, 480.
- Antiochus XI. son of Grypus, endeavours to revenge the death of his brother Seleucus, vii. 477 ; he is defeated by Eusebes, and drowned in endeavouring to pass the Orontes, *ibid.*
- Antiochus XII. surnamed Dionysius, seizes Celosyria, and reigns some short time, vii. 478.
- Antiochus XIII. called Asiaticus, sent by Selena his mother to Rome, vii. 483 ; on his return he goes to Sicily, and receives an enormous affront from Verres, 486 ; he reigns some time in Syria, 487 ; Pompey deprives him of his dominions, *ibid.*
- Antipas, or Antipater, Herod's father, excites great troubles in Judea, vii. 515, &c. he sends troops to aid Cesar, besieged in Alexandria, viii. 222.

- Antipater, Alexander's lieutenant, is appointed by that prince to govern Macedonia in his absence, v. 29 ; he defeats the Lacedemonians who had revolted against Macedonia, 202 ; Alexander takes his government from him, and orders him to come to him, 336 ; suspicions of Antipater in respect to Alexander's death, 353 ; Antipater's expeditions into Greece after Alexander's death, 407 ; he is defeated by the Athenians near Lamia, to which he retires, 408 ; he surrenders that place by capitulation, 410 ; he seizes Athens, and puts a garrison into it, 413 ; he puts Demosthenes and Hyperides to death, 417 ; he gives Phila, his daughter, to Craterus in marriage, 423 ; he is appointed regent of the kingdom of Macedonia in the room of Perdiccas, 445 ; death of Antipater, *ibid.*
- Antipater, eldest son of Cassander, vi. 15 ; dispute between that prince and Alexander for the crown of Macedonia, *ibid.* he kills his mother Thessalonica, who favoured his younger brother, *ibid.* Demetrius drives him out of Macedonia, 16 ; he retires into Thrace, and dies there, *ibid.*
- Antiphon, courtier of Dionysius. Witty saying, which cost him his life, iv. 225.
- Anysis, king of Egypt, i. 100.
- Aornos, a rock of India, besieged and taken by Alexander, v. 275.
- Apaturie, feasts celebrated at Athens, iii. 480.
- Apaturius, officer of Seleucus Ceraunus, forms a conspiracy against that prince, and poisons him, vi. 272 ; he is put to death, *ibid.*
- Apega, infernal machine invented by Nabis, vi. 409.
- Apelles, courtier of Philip, vi. 319 ; abuses his power, *ibid.* he endeavours to humble and enslave the Acheans, *ibid.* he perishes miserably, 342.
- Apelles, Perseus's accomplice in accusing Demetrius, is sent ambassador to Rome by Philip, vii. 98 ; after the death of Demetrius, he escapes into Italy, 102.
- Apelles, officer of Antiochus Epiphanes, endeavours to make Mattathias sacrifice to idols, vii. 140 ; Mattathias kills him with all his followers, 141.
- Apellicon, Athenian library erected by him at Athens, viii. 112.
- Apis, ox adored under that name by the Egyptians, i. 46.
- Apis, king of Argos, ii. 410.
- Apollo, temple erected in honour of him at Delphi, i. 65.
- Apollocrates, eldest son of Dionysius the younger, commands in the citadel of Syracuse in the room of his father, iv. 269 ; he surrenders that place to Dion, and retires to his father, 281.
- Apollodorus of Amphipolis, one of Alexander's officers, v. 171.
- Apollodorus, friend of Cleopatra, favours the entrance of that princess into Alexandria, and in what manner, viii. 214.
- Apollodorus, governor of Gaza, for Lathyrus, defends that place against Alexander Janneus, vii. 507 ; he is assassinated by his brother Lysymachus, *ibid.*
- Apollonides, officer in the army

of Eumenes, occasions the loss of a battle, v. 440 ; he is seized, and put to death, *ibid.*

Apollonides, magistrate of Syracuse, viii. 42 ; his wise discourse in the assembly of the people, *ibid.*

Apollonius, lord of the court of Antiochus Epiphanes, is sent ambassador by that prince, first to Egypt, vii. 117 ; and then to Rome, 118 ; Antiochus sends him with an army against Jerusalem, with orders to destroy that city, 136 ; his cruelties there, 137 ; he is defeated by Judas Maccabeus, and killed in the battle, 150.

Apollonius, governor of Celosyria and Phenicia, marches against Jonathan, and is defeated, vii. 411 ; he forms a plot against the life of Ptolemy Philometer, 412.

Apollophanes, physician to Antiochus the Great, discovers to that prince the conspiracy formed against him by Hermias, vi. 283 ; salutary advice which he gave Antiochus, 286.

Appius, Claudius, Roman consul, is sent into Sicily to aid the Mamertines, i. 219 ; viii. 6 ; he defeats the Carthaginians and Syracusans, i. 223 ; viii. 6.

Appius, Claudius, Roman senator, prevents the senate from accepting the offers of Pyrrhus, vi. 91.

Appius, Claudius, a Roman, commands a body of troops, and is beat near Uscana, against which he marched with design to plunder it, vii. 225.

Apries ascends the throne of Egypt, i. 114 ; success of that prince, *ibid.* Zedekiah,

king of Judah, implores his aid, 115 ; declares himself protector of Israel, 116 ; Egypt revolts against him, 117 ; and sets Amasis on the throne, 118 ; he is obliged to retire into Upper Egypt, *ibid.* Amasis defeats him in a battle, in which he is taken prisoner, and put to death, 120.

Aquilius, Manius, Roman proconsul, is defeated in a battle by Mithridates, who takes him prisoner, and puts him to death, viii. 92.

Arabians, Nabuthean, character of that people, v. 508.

Aracus, Lacedemonian admiral, iii. 485.

Areus, one of the Spartan exiles, is reinstated by the Achæans, and carries accusations against them to Rome, vii. 39 ; the Achæans condemn him to die, 42 ; his sentence is annulled by the Romans, 46.

Areus, grandson of Cleomenes, reigns in Sparta, vi. 116.

Areus, another king of Sparta, vi. 204.

Araspes, lord of Media, is appointed by Cyrus to keep Panthea prisoner, ii. 184 ; passion which he conceives for that princess, 185 ; goodness of Cyrus in respect to him, *ibid.* he does that prince great service in going as a spy among the Assyrians, 186.

Aratus, son of Clinias, escapes from Sicyon, to avoid the fury of Abantidas, vi. 180 ; he delivers that city from the tyranny, 181 ; and unites it with the Achæan league, 182 ; he appeases a sedition upon the point of breaking out at Sicyon, 184 ; he is elected general of the Achæans, 188 ; he takes Corinth from Anti-

- gonus, 189 ; he makes several cities enter into the Achean league, 196 ; he has not the same success at Argos, 200 ; he marches against the Etolians, 217 ; Cleomenes, king of Sparta, gains several advantages over him, 231 ; Aratus's envy of that prince, 239 ; he calls in Antigonus to aid the Achæans against the Lacedæmonians, 240 ; he marches against the Etolians, and is defeated near Capye, 305 ; Philip's affection for Aratus, 306 ; Apelles, Philip's minister, accuses him falsely to that prince, 321, 322 ; he is declared innocent, 325 ; he accompanies Philip into Etolia ; his expeditions against the Etolians, Lacedæmonians, Eleans, 329, &c. Philip causes him to be poisoned, 356 ; his funeral solemnized magnificently, *ibid.* praise and character of Aratus, 357, &c.
- Aratus, the younger, son of the great Aratus, is chief magistrate of the Achæans, vi. 317 ; Philip causes him to be poisoned, 357.
- Arbaces, governor of the Medes for Sardanapalus, revolts against that prince, and founds the kingdom of the Medes, ii. 92, 93, 117.
- Arbaces, general of the army of Artaxerxes Mnemon against his brother Cyrus, iii. 535.
- Arbela, city of Assyria, famous for Alexander's victory over Darius, v. 168.
- Arcesilas, Alexander's lieutenant, provinces that fell to his lot after that prince's death, v. 399.
- Archagathus, son of Agathocles, commands in Africa after his father's departure, i. 212 ; he perishes there miserably, 213.
- Archelaus, governor of Susa for Alexander, v. 175.
- Archelaus, general for Antigonus, marches against Aratus, who besieged Corinth, and is taken prisoner, vi. 194 ; Aratus sets him at liberty, 195.
- Archelaus, one of the generals of Mithridates, takes Athens, viii. 94 ; he is driven out of it by Sylla, 100 ; he is defeated by the same captain, first at Cheronea, 107 ; and then at Orchomenos, 109 ; he escapes to Chalcis, *ibid.* and has an interview with Sylla near Delium, 112 ; Archelaus goes over to Murena, 120 ; he engages the latter to make war against Mithridates, *ibid.*
- Archelaus, son of the former, is made high priest, and sovereign of Comana, viii. 185 ; he marries Berenice, queen of Egypt, 204 ; he is killed in a battle with the Romans, 205.
- Archelaus, son of the latter, enjoys the same dignities as his father, viii. 591 ; he marries Glaphyra, and has two sons by her, *ibid.*
- Archelaus, second son of Archelaus and Glaphyra, ascends the throne of Cappadocia, viii. 591 ; Tiberius does him great service with Augustus, 592 ; he draws the revenge of Tiberius upon himself, 593 ; he is cited to Rome, and why, 594 ; he is very ill received there, and dies soon after, 595.
- Archias, Corinthian, founder of Syracuse, iii. 249, 357.
- Archias, Theban, is killed by the conspirators at a feast given by Philidas, one of them, to the beotarchs, iv. 335.
- Archias, comedian, delivers up

- the orator Hyperides, and several other persons, to Antigonus, v. 417.
- Archidamia, Lacedemonian lady, heroic action of hers, vi. 118 ; she is put to death by order of Amphares, 226.
- Archidamus, king of Sparta, iii. 181 ; he saves the Lacedemonians from the fury of the helots, 182 ; he commands the troops of Sparta at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, 263 ; he besieges Platea, 288.
- Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, gains a battle against the Arcadians, iv. 366 ; his valor during the siege of Sparta, by Epaminondas, 388 ; he reigns in Sparta, 417.
- Archidamus, brother of Agis, escapes from Sparta to avoid the fury of Leonidas, vi. 228 ; Cleomenes recalls him, 232 ; he is assassinated in returning home, *ibid.*
- Archimedes, famous geometrician, viii. 20 ; he invents many machines of war, 21 ; prodigious effects of those machines, 48, 49 ; he is killed at the taking of Syracuse, 66 ; his tomb discovered by Cicero, 67.
- Archon, one of Alexander's officers, provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, v. 399.
- Archon, is elected chief magistrate of the Achæans, vii. 226 ; wise resolutions which he makes that people take, 229 ;
- Archons instituted at Athens, ii. 413, 455 ; iv. 117 ; their function, *ibid.* Ardys, king of Lydia, ii. 136.
- Areopagus ; its establishment, ii. 412 ; iv. 114 ; authority of that senate, ii. 463 ; iv. 114, &c. Pericles weakens its authority, 117.
- Arete, daughter of Dionysius the tyrant, first married to her brother, Theorides, and afterwards to her uncle Dion, iv. 229 ; she marries Timocrates in the banishment of the latter, 257 ; Dion takes her again, 232 ; her death, 287.
- Arethusa, fountain famous in fabulous history, iii. 382.
- Argæus is placed by the Athenians upon the throne of Macedonia, iv. 494 ; is defeated by Philip, 496.
- The Argilian, a name given the slave who discovered Pausanau's conspiracy, iii. 118.
- Arginuse isles, famous for the victory of the Athenians over the Lacedemonians, iii. 475.
- Argo, king of Lydia, ii. 133.
- Argos, foundation of that kingdom, ii. 410 ; kings of Argos, *ibid.* war between the Argives and Lacedemonians, i. 171 ; they refuse to aid the Greeks against the Persians, iii. 41 ; Argos besieged by Pyrrhus, vi. 124 ; Aratus endeavours to bring that city into the Achæan league, 200 ; but without success, *ibid.* Argos is subjected by the Lacedemonians, 243 ; and afterwards by Antigonus, 246 ; Argos surrenders to Philocles, one of Philip's generals, 365 ; the latter puts it again into the hands of Nabis, 468 ; it throws off the yoke of that tyrant, and reinstates its liberty, 510.
- Argus, king of Argos, ii. 410.
- Ariens commands the left wing of Cyrus's army at the battle of Cunaxa, iii. 530 ; he flies upon advice of that prince's

- death, 541 ; the Greeks offer him the crown of Persia, 549 ; he refuses it, 550 ; and makes a treaty with them, 551.
- Ariamnes, king of Cappadocia, vii. 580.
- Ariarathes I. king of Cappadocia, vii. 581.
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- Bessus, chief of the Bactrians, betrays Darius, and puts him in chains, v. 189; he assassinates that prince, 192; he is seized and delivered up to Alexander, 227; who causes him to be executed, 241.
- Bestia, Calpurnius, is sent by the Romans against Jugurtha, ii. 57; his conduct in that war, *ibid.*
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- Bias, one of the seven sages of Greece, ii. 500.
- Bibius, commander in Etolia for the Romans, vii. 309; his conduct in that province, *ibid.*
- Biblos, city of the isle of Proserpitis, iii. 162.
- Bibulus, M. Calpurnius, is appointed by the Romans to command in Syria after the defeat of Crassus by the Parthians, vii. 572; his incapacity, *ibid.*

- Bisaltæ, people of Thrace; valiant action of one of their kings, iii. 49.
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C.

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- Charondas is chosen legislator at Thurium, iii. 252 ; he kills himself upon having broken one of his own laws, 254.
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- Cleander, Alexander's lieutenant in Media, assassinates Parmenio by his order, v. 223.
- Clearchus, Lacedemonian captain, takes refuge with Cyrus the younger, iii. 527 ; he is placed at the head of the Greek troops in that prince's expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, 530 ; he is victorious on his side at the battle of Cunaxa, 540 ; he commands the Greek troops in their retreat after the battle, 551 ; he is seized by treachery, and sent to Artaxerxes, who causes him to be put to death, 558 ; praise of Clearchus, *ibid.*
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- Cleombrotus, king of Sparta, marches against the Thebans, iv. 338 ; he is killed at the battle of Leuctra, 352.
- Cleombrotus, son in law of Leonidas, causes himself to be elected king of Sparta to the prejudice of his father in law, vi. 215 ; he is dethroned soon after by Leonidas, 220 ; and banished, from Sparta, 222.
- Cleomenes, king of Sparta, refuses to join the Ionians in their revolt against the Persians, ii. 562 ; he marches against the people of Egina, 580 ; he effects the expulsion of his colleague Demaratus from the throne, *ibid.* he reduces the people of Egina, and dies soon after, 581.
- Cleomenes, son of Leonidas, marries Agiatis, vi. 228 ; he ascends the throne of Sparta, 233 ; he enters into a war with the Achaeans, 231 ; he gains many advantages over them, 232, &c. he reforms the government of Sparta, and reestablishes the ancient discipline, 234 ; he gains new advantages over the Achaeans, 238, &c. he sends his mother and children as hostages into Egypt, 247 ; he takes Megalopolis by surprise, 249 ; he is defeated at Selasia by Antigonus king of Macedonia, 262 ; he retires into Egypt, 266 ; he cannot obtain permission to return into his country, 310 ; unfortunate death of Cleomenes, 312 ; his character, 229, 266.
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- Cleonis commands the troops of the Messenians in the first war with Sparta, i. 174 ; after the battle of Ithoma, he disputes the prize of valor with Aristomenes, 177 ; he afterwards disputes the crown with him on the death of king Eupheus, 179.
- Cleonymus, Spartan, being disappointed of the throne, retires to Pyrrhus, and engages him to march against Sparta, vi. 116 ; history of this Cleonymus, *ibid*.
- Cleopatra, niece of Attalus, marries Philip king of Macedonia, iv. 593.
- Cleopatra, Philip's daughter, is married to Alexander, king of Epirus, iv. 595 ; Antigonus causes her to be put to death, v. 515.
- Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus the Great, is promised and then given in marriage to Ptolemy Epiphanes, vi. 454, 521 ; after her husband's death she is declared regent of the kingdom, and her son's guardian, vii. 65 ; death of that princess, 115.
- Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Epiphanes, makes an accommodation between her brothers Philometer and Evergetes, vii. 130 ; after the death of Philometer her husband, she marries Physcon, 413 ; that prince puts her away, to marry one of her daughters, 449 ; the Alexandrians place her upon the throne in Physcon's stead, *ibid* ; she is obliged to take refuge in Syria, 452.
- Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Philometer, is married to Alexander Bala, vii. 408 ; her father takes her from Alexander, and marries her to Demetrius, 412 ; whilst her husband is kept prisoner by the Parthians, she marries Antiochus Sidetes, 426 ; after the death of Sidetes, she returns to Demetrius, 452 ; she causes the gates of Ptolemais to be shut against him, 453 ; she kills Seleucus her eldest son, 455 ; she dies of poison she would have given her second son Grypus, 458.
- Cleopatra, Philometer's daughter, marries Physcon, vii. 413 ; after her husband's death she reigns in Egypt with her son Lathyrus, whom she first obliges to repudiate his eldest sister Cleopatra, and to marry his youngest sister Selena, 459 ; she gives her son Alexander the kingdom of Cyprus, 469 ; she takes his wife Selena from Lathyrus, drives him out of Egypt, and sets his younger brother Alexander upon the throne, *ibid* ; she aids this prince against his brother, 471 ; she marries Selena to Antiochus Grypus, 474 ; Alexander causes her to be put to death, 478.
- Cleopatra, Physcon's daughter, and wife of Lathyrus, is repudiated by her husband, vii. 460 ; she gives herself to Antiochus the Cyzicenean, *ibid* ; Tryphena her sister causes her to be murdered, 462.

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- Cleophes, mother of Assacanus, king of the Mazage, reigns after the death of her son, v. 273 ; she surrenders to Alexander, who reinstates her in her dominions, 275.
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- Dionysius the elder, tyrant of Syracuse; his peculiar characteristic, iv. 174; means which he uses for possessing himself of the tyranny, *ibid.* he is appointed generalissimo with unlimited power, 183; he succeeds in having guards assigned him, 184; and establishes himself tyrant, 185; attempts at Syracuse and in Sicily against him, 186; he makes preparation for a war with the Carthaginians, 193; the people of Rhegium refuse to ally themselves with the tyrant, 197; he marries two wives at the same time, 198; his

- friendship and deference for Dion, 199 ; he besieges and takes Motya, 203 ; he is defeated at sea, 205 ; the Syracusan troops gain an advantage over the Carthaginians in the absence of Dionysius, 208 ; new movements at Syracuse, against him, 209 ; he entirely defeats the Carthaginians and obliges them to quit Sicily, 215 ; he punishes the inhabitants of Rhegium, 215 ; violent passion of Dionysius for poetry, 217 ; 225 ; reflections upon that taste of his, 217 ; 218 ; he sends his brother Thearides to Olympia, to dispute the prizes of the chariot race and poetry, 221 ; new enterprises of Dionysius against the Carthaginians, 227 ; he carries the prize of poetry at Athens, 228 ; death of Dionysius, 229 ; his character, *ibid.*
- Dionysius the younger succeeds his father, *iv.* 235 ; his conduct in the beginning of his reign, 238 ; his good qualities, 240 ; Dion induces Dionysius to cause Plato to come to his court, 242 ; in what manner Plato is received there, 244 ; wonderful change occasioned by the presence of that philosopher, 245 ; Dionysius banishes Dion, 248 ; he dismisses Plato, 250 ; he presses him to return to Syracuse, with which Plato complies, 254 ; Dionysius grants Plato permission to return into Greece, 256 ; embassy from Dionysius to Dion, who had possessed himself of Syracuse, 265 ; defeat of Dionysius's troops, 266 ; method which he uses for rendering Dion suspected, 267 ; he retires into Italy, 269 ; he reascends the throne, 291 ; Ictetas obliges him to shut himself up in the citadel of Syracuse, 297 ; Dionysius treats with Timoleon, who sends him to Corinth, 301 ; wise answer of Dionysius to a stranger, 303.
- Diopithes, chief of the colony sent by the Athenians into the Chersonesus, makes an irruption into the lands of Philip, king of Macedonia, *v.* 546 ; he is accused by Philip's pensioners, and defended by Demosthenes, 547.
- Discoboli ; those who exercised themselves in throwing the discus, *i.* 93.
- Discus, kind of athletic combat, *i.* 93.
- Distribution of lands instituted at Sparta by Lycurgus, *ii.* 427 ; reflections upon that institution, 442.
- Dodanim, the fourth of the sons of Javin, *ii.* 407.
- Dodona, oracle of Dodona, *i.* 62.
- Dolphins, machine of war, *iii.* 413.
- Domitius Enobarbus sent commissioner by the Romans into Achaia, where he commits the most enormous oppressions, *vii.* 313.
- Donations, how regulated by Solon, *ii.* 467.
- Doric dialect, *ii.* 420.
- Doris, country of ancient Greece ; origin of its inhabitants, *ii.* 417.
- Doris, second son of Hellenus, gives his name to Doris, *ii.* 419.
- Dorylaus, one of Mithridates's generals, is defeated by Sylla in the plains of Orchomenos, *viii.* 108.
- Doryphori ; body of troops;

- guards of the kings of Persia, ii. 336.
- Draco, legislator of Athens, ii. 456; his laws are annulled by Solon, 462.
- Drypetis, Hephestion's widow; she is destroyed perfidiously by Roxana, v. 401.
- Duilius, consul, commands the fleet fitted out by the Romans, i. 222; he is the first of the Romans who triumphed for a victory at sea, 223.
- Dymnus conspires against Alexander, v. 213; he runs himself through with his sword, 214.

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- ECBATANA, capital city of Media; its foundation, ii. 122.
- Ecnomus, city of Sicily, famous for a victory of the Romans over the Carthaginians, i. 224.
- Education of children among the Persians, ii. 152; at Sparta, 431; in Crete, iv. 93; at Athens, 136; it was regarded by those nations as an essential part of government, ii. 431; iv. 140.
- Ection, admiral of the Athenians, is defeated by Clitus, who commanded the Macedonian fleet, v. 411.
- Egesimachus, officer in Alexander's army; rashness that costs him his life, v. 280.
- Egesta, city of Sicily; its foundation, iii. 356; its inhabitants implore aid of Athens against the Syracusans, 358.
- Egypt divided into three parts, i. 2; Upper Egypt, or Thebais, *ibid.* Middle Egypt, or Heptanomis, 4; Lower Egypt, or Delta, 27; fertility of Egypt, 68; Egyptian monarchy, 76; Egypt subjected by the Persians, ii. 285; and afterwards by the Macedonians, v. 139.
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- Eion, city of Thrace; unhappy fate of that city, iii. 149.
- Elatea, city of Phocis, falls into Philip's hands, iv. 573.
- Eleazar, Simon's brother, high priest of the Jews, exercises that office during the minority of Onias, vi. 17.
- Eleazar, doctor of the law, prefers death to eating impure meats, vii. 143.
- Eleazar, one of the sons of Mattathias, sacrifices himself in a battle to deliver his people, vii. 389.
- Eleazar, of the sect of the Pharisees, forms a false accusation against Hyrcanus, vii. 466.
- Electrion, king of Mycene, ii. 411.
- Eleusis, a small city of Attica, where the Athenians celebrated a feast in honour of Ceres, i. 51.
- Elis, province of Peloponnesus,

- where the Olympic games were celebrated, i. 79 ; ii. 401.
- Eliza, son of Javan, settles in Peloponnesus, ii. 406.
- Elos, city in the territory of Sparta, subjected by the Lacedemonians, i. 169.
- Embalming. Manner of embalming bodies amongst the Egyptians, i. 53.
- Emilius, Paulus, is chosen consul, vii. 240 ; he sets out for Macedonia, 249 ; exact and severe discipline which he establishes in his army, 257 ; he gains a famous victory over Perseus near the city of Pydna, 272, &c. he pursues Perseus in his flight, 276 ; that prince puts himself into his hands, 279 ; Paulus Emilius is continued in the command of the army in Macedonia, 283 ; during the winter quarter he visits the most famous cities of Greece, 284 ; upon his return to Amphipolis he imparts to the Macedonians the regulations made by himself and the senate in respect to Macedonia, 290, &c. he gives a great feast there, 291 ; he sets out for Rome by the way of Epirus, the cities of which he abandons to be plundered by the troops, 293 ; he enters Rome in triumph, 295.
- Emilius, deputy from the Romans, goes to Philip, who had besieged Abydos, and exhorts him in the name of the senate to lay down his arms, vi. 432 ; he goes to Egypt to take possession of the guardianship of the king for the Roman people, *ibid.*
- Emilius, L. Paulus, is elected consul with Varro, i. 307 ; he is killed at the battle of Canne, 311.
- Emilius, Q. gives Pyrrhus advice of the design to poison him, vi. 103.
- Epaminondas, Theban, his character, iv. 326 ; his conduct in the conspiracy against the tyrants of Thebes, 329 ; he goes to Sparta to treat of peace, 346 ; he gains a great victory over the Lacedemonians near Leuctra, 355 ; he ravages Laconia, 357 ; and advances to the gates of Sparta, 360 ; at his return he is accused before the people, and acquitted, 364 ; he marches against Alexander tyrant of Phere, and delivers Pelopidas out of his hands, 380 ; he returns to Thebes, *ibid.* he is placed at the head of the Theban army, 387 ; his second attempt against Sparta, 388 ; his famous victory at Mantinea, 393 ; he is mortally wounded in the battle, *ibid.* his death and praise, 396.
- Ephesus, city of Ionia, ii. 419.
- Ephori, magistrates of Sparta ; their institution, ii. 426 ; their authority, *ibid.*
- Epic poem, its origin, i. 121.
- Epicides, Carthaginian, sent by Hannibal to Hieronymus, remains with that prince, viii. 32 ; after the death of Hieronymus he demands to return to Hannibal, 37 ; he is elected magistrate at Syracuse, 41 ; he marches to the aid of Leontium, and is put to flight by Marcellus, 44 ; he usurps supreme authority at Syracuse, after having caused the magistrates to be put to death, 46 ; he retires to

- Agrigentum, when he sees Marcellus master of Syracuse, 60.
- Epidamnum, or Dirrachium, a maritime city of Macedonia, iii. 209.
- Epigonus; signification of that word, v. 328.
- Epirus; geographical description of it, ii. 400.
- Erectheus, king of Athens, ii. 413.
- Eretria, city of Eubea, supports the Ionians in their revolt against the Persians, ii. 564; it is destroyed by the Persians, 582.
- Esarhaddon ascends the throne of Assyria, ii. 102; he takes Babylon and the country of Israel, *ibid.* he carries away Manassch king of Judah, 103; his death, *ibid.*
- Esculapius, inventor of medicine, ii. 358; his knowledge occasions his being ranked in the number of the gods, 359.
- Esdras, obtains permission of Artaxerxes Longimanus to return to Jerusalem, iii. 167; he disposes the holy scriptures into their proper order, 171.
- Esther causes the fatal edict of Ahasuerus against the Jews to be revoked, ii. 318, 524.
- Evagoras, king of Salamin, iii. 637; brief history of that prince, 634; his war with Artaxerxes Mnemon, 646, &c. his death, iv. 403; character and praise of Evagoras, iii. 649.
- Evagoras, son of Nicocles, is deprived of the throne of Salamin by Protagoras, iv. 452; he demands in vain to be reinstated, 457; tragical end of that prince, 458.
- Evander of Crete, general of the auxiliaries to Perseus, is sent by that prince to assassinate Eumenes, vii. 189; he prevents Perseus from improving the advantage he had gained over the Romans, 220; attachment of Evander to Perseus, 275; that prince causes him to be killed, 278.
- Eubea, isle of Greece, ii. 403; subjected by the Athenians, iii. 207; the Lacedemonians seize it, 438; Antiochus takes that island, vi. 545; it is soon after taken from him by the consul Acilius, 553.
- Euclid of Megara, founder of the Megarean sect; his ardour to hear Socrates, iv. 18.
- Euclidas, Lacedemonian. His brother Cleomenes, king of Sparta, makes him reign with him, vi. 234; he is routed at the battle of Selasia, where he commanded part of the army, 261.
- Eudamidas, Lacedemonian, commands in a war against Olynthus, iv. 319.
- Evilmerodach, king of Babylon, ii. 114.
- Eumenes, general in Alexander's army; provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, v. 398; his marriage with Barsina, 401; he retires to Perdiccas, who puts him into possession of Cappadocia, 429; victory of Eumenes over Neoptolemus, and then over Craterus and Neoptolemus together, 433; he is defeated by Antigonus, and retires into the castle of Nora, where he was besieged, 441; battles between Eumenes and Antigonus, 483; he is betrayed by his troops,

- 491; delivered up to Antigonus, *ibid.* and put to death, 492; praise of Eumenes, *ibid.*
- Eumenes I. nephew of Philaretus, succeeds his uncle in the kingdom of Pergamus, vi. 138; he gains a great victory over Antiochus Soter, who came to possess himself of his dominions, *ibid.* he attacks Antiochus Hierax, who was engaged in a war against his brother, 169; he abandons himself to excesses, which occasions his death, *ibid.*
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- Eumolpide, priests of Ceres, successors of Eumolpus, who first exercised that office, i. 53.
- Eunomus, king of Sparta, is killed in a popular commotion, i. 171.
- Eunuchs. The use of them introduced by Cyrus in the east, ii. 247; credit and power which they acquired with their princes, *ibid.* iv. 465.
- Euphes, king of Messenia, is attacked by the Lacedæmonians, i. 173; he is wounded in battle near Ithoma, 175; adjudges the prize of valor to Aristomenes, 178; he dies of his wounds, *ibid.*
- Eupolis, comic poet, i. 142.
- Eurolochus, chief magistrate of the Magnetes, influences them against the Romans, vi. 530.
- Euripides heads a detachment of the Eleans to ravage the territory of Sicyon, vi. 318; he falls into the hands of Philip, *ibid.*
- Euripides, tragic poet, i. 119; character of that poet, 129.
- Euriptodemus takes upon him the defence of the generals condemned by the Athenians after the battle of Arginuse, iii. 484.
- Eurybiades, Lacedæmonian, appointed generalissimo of the Greeks in preference to Themistocles, 47; the latter determines to fight in the straits of Salamin, 65; the Lacedæmonians decree him the prize of valor, 74.
- Eurydice, wife of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, prevails upon Iphicrates, by her entreaties to reinstate her children upon the throne of their father, v. 491.
- Eurydice, wife of Arideus; Olympias causes her to be put to death, v. 471.

- Eurydice, Athenian, wife of Ophelus, v. 517; after her husband's death, she marries Demetrius, 529.
- Eurydice, widow of Ptolemy Soter, marries her daughter Ptolemaida to Demetrius, vi. 25.
- Eurymedon, general of the Athenians, is condemned to pay a great fine, and why, iii. 354; he goes into Sicily to the aid of Nicias, 406; he is killed in a battle, 421.
- Eurysthenes, king of Sparta, i. 168.
- Eurytion, or Eurypon, king of Sparta, renounces some part of the absolute power of the kings in favour of the people, i. 170.
- Euthydemus, appointed by the Athenians to command jointly with Nicias, forces that general to engage in a sea fight, wherein he is beat, iii. 412.
- Euthydemus, king of Bactria, makes an honourable peace with Antiochus, who intended to dethrone him, vi. 416.
- Exiles, name given the citizens expelled by Nabis from Sparta, vi. 408; supported by the Achæans, they commit great cruelties at Sparta, vii. 6; they accuse the Achæans at Rome, 37; consequence of that accusation, 39.

F.

- FABIUS, Maximus, Quintus, is appointed dictator, i. 300; his slow conduct in respect to Hannibal, 301; the people give Minucius, general of the horse, equal power with him, 304; Fabius extricates him out of a danger in which his ill conduct had engaged him, 305.
- Fabius Maximus, son of Paulus Emilius, distinguishes himself in the war against Perseus, vii. 262.
- Fabricius is deputed by the Romans to Pyrrhus, vi. 93; he commands in the war against that prince, 104.
- Fannius, C. Roman officer, distinguishes himself at the siege of Carthage, ii. 35.
- Fimbria, commander of the Romans in Asia, defeats the troops of Mithridates, viii. 109; he kills Flaccus, seizes that consul's army, and marches against Mithridates, 115; upon being abandoned by his troops, he kills himself in despair, 117.
- Flaccus, L. Valerius, is elected consul, and marches against Mithridates, viii. 107; he is killed by Fimbria, 115.
- Flamininus, Quintus, is elected consul, and marches against Philip king of Macedonia, vi. 449; he gains a first advantage over that prince, 455; different expeditions of Flamininus in Phocis, 457; he is continued in the command as proconsul, 465; he has an ineffectual interview with Philip, 466; he gains a great victory over that prince near Scotusa and Cynoscephale, 474; and concludes a peace with him, 486; honours and applauses which he receives in the Isthmian games, 489; he makes war against Nabis, 501; besieges him in Sparta, 508; and grants him peace, 510; he triumphs at Rome, 515.

- Flaminius, C. consul, marches against Hannibal, i. 296; he is defeated and killed near the lake of Thrasymenus, 299.
- Four hundred men invested with all authority at Athens, and abuse it tyrannically, iii. 449; their power is annulled, 453.
- Friarius, one of Lucullus's lieutenants, is defeated by Mithridates, viii. 161.
- Funerals. Funeral ceremonies in Egypt, i. 53.

G.

- GABINIUS, Pompey's lieutenant, subjects part of Syria, viii. 179; he commands there as proconsul, 202; upon the earnest instances of Pompey he reestablishes Ptolemy Auletes upon the throne of Egypt, 203; 204.
- Gadates, prince of Assyria, submits to Cyrus, ii. 187.
- Gagemela, or Camel's house, place famous for Alexander's second victory, over Darius, ii. 549.
- Gala, Masinissa's father, joins the Carthaginians against the Romans, ii. 2.
- Galacia, or Gallo Grecia, a province of Asia Minor, inhabited by the Gauls after their irruption into Greece, vi. 73.
- Games, part of the religion of the ancients, i. 77; solemn games of Greece; the Olympic, the Pythian, the Nemean, the Isthmian, 79; rewards granted to the victors in those games, 80; 106.
- Ganymede, Ptolemy's eunuch, supplants Achilles, and becomes prime minister of Egypt in his place, viii. 218; his stratagems against Cesar during his war in Egypt, 219, &c.
- Gaos, admiral to Artaxerxes, revolts against that prince, and on what occasion, iii. 655.
- Gauls; they dispute the passage of the Alps with Hannibal, i. 276, &c. irruption of the Gauls into Greece, vi. 66; their attempt against the temple of Delphi, 69.
- Gaza in Palestine besieged and taken by Alexander, vii. 507; destruction of Gaza by Alexander Jannens, *ibid.*
- Gelano, king of Argos, ii. 410.]
- Gela, city of Sicily, iii. 357.
- Gelon possesses himself of supreme authority at Syracuse, iii. 228; reasons that prevent him from aiding the Greeks when attacked by Xerxes, 41; he defeats Hamilcar general of the Carthaginians, i. 178; the Syracusans proclaim him king, 180; his wise conduct during his reign, iii. 232; his death, 235; respect which the Syracusans retained for his memory, *ibid.*
- Gelon, son of Hiero, espouses the party of the Carthaginians against the Romans, viii. 58; he dies soon after, *ibid.*
- Gentius, king of Illyria, becomes suspected by the Romans, vii. 193; he makes an alliance with Perseus, 249; he declares against the Romans, and imprisons their ambassadors, 255; the Romans send the pretor Anicius against him, 256; he is obliged to throw himself at his feet, and implore his mercy, *ibid.* Anicius sends him to Rome with all his family, *ibid.*

- Gisgo, son of Hamilcar, is punished for his father's ill success, and is banished, i. 179.
- Gisgo, Carthaginian, endeavours to suppress the revolt of the mercenaries, i. 249; Spendius their general puts him to death, 254.
- Gisgo endeavours to prevent the Carthaginians from accepting the conditions of peace proposed by Scipio, i. 338.
- Glabrio, Man. Acilius, obtains Bithynia and Pontus for his province, where Lucullus had commanded before, viii. 162; his discourse on his arrival augments the license of Lucullus's troops, *ibid.*
- Glaucius, king of Illyria, takes Pyrrhus under his protection, and reestablishes him in his dominions, vi. 9.
- Glaucos, a young Athenian, desirous of having a share in the administration of the public affairs, iv. 20; Socrates, in a conversation, obliges him to own his incapacity for them, 22.
- Gobryas, Assyrian lord, puts himself and family under the protection of Cyrus, ii. 186; he puts himself at the head of a body of troops at the siege of Babylon, 235; he enters into the conspiracy against Smerdis the Magian; his sense of the present given Darius by the Scythians, 549.
- Gobryas, Persian lord, commands in the army of Artaxerxes at the battle of Cunaxa, iii. 535.
- Gordian, capital city of Phrygia, famous for the chariot to which the Gordian knot was tied, which Alexander cut, v. 47.
- Gorgias, officer to Antiochus Epiphanes, marches with Nicanor against Judas Maccabeus, vii. 153; his troops are put to flight, 157.
- Gorgias, Athenian, joins Pelopidas to expel the tyrants of Thebes, iv. 336.
- Gorgias, sophist, is sent deputy from the Leontines to Athens to demand aid against the Syracusans, iii. 354.
- Gracchus, Tiberius, distinguishes himself at the siege of Carthage, ii. 35; being tribune of the people, he proposes a law concerning the will of Attalus, and is killed soon after, vii. 437.
- Granicus, river of Phrygia, famous for the victory of Alexander over the Persians, v. 32.
- Greece, Greeks; geographical description of ancient Greece, ii. 400; history of Greece divided into four ages, 404; vii. 360; primitive origin of the Greeks, ii. 406; different states of which it was composed, 410; transmigrations of the Greeks into Asia Minor, 416; settlement of the Greeks in Sicily, iii. 357; manners and customs of the Greeks, iv. 75; republican form of government instituted almost universally in Greece, ii. 421; ships and naval forces, iv. 150; people of Greece very warlike in all times, 138; origin and cause of courage and military virtue among the Greeks, 140; religion of the Greeks, i. 41; of the augurs, 57; of the oracles, 62; famous games and combats of Greece, 77; difference of taste of the Greeks and Romans in respect to public shows, 110; disputes for the prize of wit, shows, and representations of the theatre, 114; illustrious men

- who distinguished themselves most by the arts and sciences among the Greeks, ii. 484; dialects of the Greeks, 419. See the articles Athenians and Lacedemonians for what relates to the wars of Greece with the Persians and Macedonians. Reflections upon the causes of the grandeur, decline, and ruin of Greece, vii. 359.
- Gulussa, son of Masinissa, divides the kingdom with his two brothers after his father's death, ii. 51.
- Gyges kills Candaules, king of Lydia, whose principal officer he was, and ascends the throne in his stead, ii. 134; what Plato says of his ring, 135.
- Gylippus, Lacedemonian, goes to the aid of Syracuse besieged by the Athenians, iii. 397; his arrival changes the face of things, 398; he obliges the Athenians to surrender at discretion, 430; his sordid avarice sullies the glory of his great actions, 497.
- Gymnastic, art of forming the athlete, i. 84.

H.

- HALICARNASSUS, city of Doris, ii. 404; besieged and taken by Alexander, v. 42.
- Halyattes, king of Lydia, ii. 137; war of that prince with Cyaxares, *ibid.* continues the siege of Miletus begun by his father, *ibid.* he raises the siege of that city, and wherefore, 138.
- Hamilcar commands the army sent by the Carthaginians into Sicily at the request of Xerxes, i. 177; iii. 227; he is defeated by Galon, tyrant of Syracuse, 228; his death, i. 178.
- Hamilcar, son of Gysco, commands the Carthaginian army against Agathocles, and gains a great victory over him, i. 200; he falls alive into the hands of the Syracusans whilst besieging their city, 210; he is put to death, *ibid.*
- Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, general of the Carthaginians, i. 241; he commands the army against the mercenaries, 253; and defeats them entirely, 257; he goes to Spain, which he conquers in a short time, 264; he is killed in a battle, 265.
- Hamilcar, surnamed Rhodanus, a Carthaginian, goes into the camp of Alexander by order of Carthage, i. 213; at his return he is put to death, 214.
- Hannibal, son of Gisgo, is placed at the head of the troops sent by the Carthaginians into Sicily to the aid of the people of Egesta, i. 180; actions of that general in Sicily, 181; he dies there of the plague, 183.
- Hannibal commands the Carthaginian fleet, and is defeated by the consul Duilius, i. 222; he besieges the mercenaries in Tunis, 256; he falls into their hands, and is crucified, 257.
- Hannibal, surnamed the Great, at nine years old goes with his father sent to command in Spain, i. 264; he is appointed to command there after Asdrubal's death, 268; after several conquests he besieges Saguntum, 269; and takes it, 270; he prepares

for his march into Italy, 273; he goes to Cadiz, and with what view, 274; he begins his march, 275; his expeditions as far as the Rhone, *ibid.* he passes that river, 277; he passes the Alps, 280; he enters Italy, 285; he defeats the Romans near the river Ticinus, 286, 294; he marches to Tuscany, 295; he loses an eye in passing the Appennines, 296; he gains a battle near the lake of Thrasymene, *ibid.* he concludes a treaty with Philip, and sends ambassadors to him, vi. 351; his conduct in regard to Fabius, i. 300; his manner of extricating himself from the wrong step he had taken at Casilinum, 303; he gains a famous victory near Canne, 311; he sends deputies to Carthage with the news of his victory, and to demand reinforcement, 313; he makes a treaty with Hieronymus, viii. 32; he winters at Capua, i. 315; and suffers the courage of his troops to be enervated by the luxury of that place, 316; bad success of Hannibal, i. 320; he flies to the aid of Capua, besieged by the Romans, *ibid.* to make a diversion, he marches suddenly back against Rome, *ibid.* after various attempts he abandons that enterprise, 321; he is recalled into Africa, 331; he has an interview there with Scipio, 334; followed by a battle, in which he is defeated, 336; he escapes to Carthage, *ibid.* he causes a peace to be concluded with the Romans, *ibid.* he undertakes and effects the reformation of the courts of justice and finances of Carthage,

344; pursued by the Romans, he retires to Antiochus, 349; his discourse to that prince, and the counsels he gives him, 350; he goes to Syria and Phenicia to bring ships from thence, vi. 559; he is defeated at sea by the Rhodians, 564; he retires first to the island of Crete, i. 356; then to Prusias, *ibid.* he does that prince great services, *ibid.* betrayed by Prusias, he poisons himself, 358; Hannibal's character and praise, 359.

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Hanno, citizen of Carthage, forming the design of making himself master of the commonwealth, is discovered and punished, i. 199.

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- Hegetorides, a Thasian, exposes his life for the safety of his city besieged by the Athenians, iii. 156.
- Helenus son of Pyrrhus, accompanies his father to the siege of Argos, vi. 126; he enters the city with a body of troops, which occasions a confusion, in which his father perishes, 127.
- Helepolis, machine of war invented by Demetrius, v. 538.
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- Hellanodice, name of those who presided in the athletic games of Greece, i. 87.
- Helenus, son of Deucalion, king of Thessaly, from whom the Greeks derive their name *Ἑλληνες*, ii. 417.
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- Heptanomis, or Middle Egypt, description of it, i. 4.
- Heraclea, city of Pontus; destroyed by Cotta, viii. 142.
- Heraclea, in Etolia, besieged and taken by the consul Acilius, vi. 553.
- Heraclide, or descendants from Hercules; they succeed the Atyades in the kingdom of Lydia, ii. 133; they seize Peloponnesus, and are soon after driven out of it, 411; they reenter Peloponnesus, and seize Lacedemon, 418; they endeavour to oppose the augmentation of the Athenians, who defeat them in a battle, 419.
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- Heraclides, exile of Syracuse, comes to the aid of his country against Dionysius, iv. 267; the Syracusans choose him admiral, 268; his envy of Dion, *ibid.* he is obliged to call in Dion to the aid of Syracuse, 276; and to put himself into his hands, 278; Dion restores him the command in chief by sea, 280; Heraclides, renews his intrigues against Dion, *ibid.*

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- Heraclides of Byzantium is deputed by Antiochus to Scipio Africanus, vi. 570.
- Heraclides, treasurer of the province of Babylon, is banished by Demetrius Soter, vii. 399 ; he is appointed by Ptolemy, Attalus, and Ariarathes, to prepare Alexander Bala for personating the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, in order to his reigning instead of Demetrius, 405 ; he carries him to Rome, where he succeeds in causing him to be acknowledged king of Syria, 406.
- Herbesses, city of Sicily, iv. 189.
- Hercules, son of Alexander and Barsina, v. 395 ; is put to death by Polysperchon, 513.
- Herippidas, Spartan ; his too rigid exactness obliges Spithridates to abandon the party of the Lacedemonians, iii. 614.
- Hermias, Carian, is declared prime minister of Antiochus the Great, vi. 273 ; his character, 274 ; he removes Epigenes, the most able of Antiochus's generals, 279 ; Antiochus causes him to be assassinated, 280.
- Hermocrates, Syracusan, encourages his citizens to defend themselves against the Athenians, iii. 387 ; he is elected general, 388.
- Hermolaus, officer in the train of Alexander, conspires against that prince, v. 262 ; he is discovered, and punished, *ibid.*
- Herod, Idumean, is made governor of Galilee, vii. 525 ; he escapes from Jerusalem to avoid falling into the hands of the Parthians, *ibid.* he goes to Rome, and is declared king of Judea by the senate, 526 ; he forms the siege of Jerusalem, vii. 528 ; he goes to Samaria, and espouses Mariamne, 529 ; he makes himself master of Jerusalem, and ascends the throne of Judea, *ibid.*
- Herodicus, one of the principal persons of Thessaly ; unhappy fate of that prince and his family, vii. 71.
- Herodotus, Greek historian ; his birth, iii. 14.
- Herodotus, friend of Demetrius, son of Philip, is seized on that prince's account, vii. 100 ; he is put to the torture, and dies on the rack, 101.
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- Hiempsal, son of Micipsa, king of Numidia, i. 52 ; Jugurtha causes him to be murdered, 54.
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- Hieronymus, Hiero's grandson, reigns after him at Syracuse, and by his vices causes him to be much regretted, viii. 29 ; he makes an alliance with Hannibal, 32 ; he is killed in a conspiracy, 33.
- Himera, city of Sicily ; its foundation, iii. 357 ; its destruction, i. 181.
- Himilcon, Carthaginian general, comes to Sicily to drive the Romans out of it, viii. 54 ; he perishes there, 59.
- Hippacra, city of Africa, refused at first to join the mercenaries, i. 251 ; and joins them afterwards, 255.
- Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, governs at Athens after his father's death, ii. 476 ; his taste for literature, *ibid.* he is killed in the conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogiton, 478.
- Hipparinus, brother of Dionysius, drives Calippus out of Syracuse, and reigns there two years, iv. 288.
- Hippias, son of Pisistratus, retains the sovereignty after the death of his father, ii. 476 ; he finds means to frustrate the conspiracy formed by Harmodius and Aristogiton, 478 ; he is compelled to quit Attica, and goes to settle in Phrygia, 480 ; he takes refuge in Asia with Artaphernes, 484, 563 ; he engages the Persians in the war against the Greeks, and serves them as a guide, 582 ; he is killed at Marathon, fighting against his country, 588.
- Hippocrates, famous physician ; his great ability, ii. 360 ; his disinterestedness, iii. 275.
- Hippocrates, native of Carthage, is sent by Hannibal to Hieronymus, and resides at his court, viii. 32 ; he becomes one of the principal magistrates of Syracuse, 41 ; he marches to the aid of Leontium, 44 ; and is reduced to fly, *ibid.* he, with Epicyles, possess themselves of all authority at Syracuse, 46 ; he makes war in the field against Marcellus, 54 ; the plague destroys him and his troops, 59.
- Holophernes, general for the king of Assyria, marches against the Israelites, and besieges Bethulia, ii. 104 ; Judith cuts off his head, 127.
- Holophernes, supposed brother

- of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, dethrones him, and reigns in his stead, vii. 403 ; he is driven out by Attalus, and retires to Antioch, *ibid* ; he enters into a conspiracy against Demetrius his benefactor, *ibid.* that prince imprisons him, *ibid.*
- Homer, famous poet, ii. 484, &c. to what perfection he carried the species of poetry to which he applied himself, 486.
- Hosea, king of Samaria, revolts against the king of Assyria, ii. 97 ; he is laden with chains by Salmanaser, and put in prison for the rest of his life, 98.
- Hybla, a city of Sicily, iii. 357.
- Hyperbolus, Athenian ; his character, iii. 350 ; he endeavours to irritate the people against Nicias and Alcibiades, 351 ; he is banished by the ostracism, *ibid.*
- Hyrcanians, people in the neighbourhood of Babylonia, subjected by Cyrus, ii. 181.
- Hyrcanus, son of Joseph, is sent by his father to the court of Alexandria, to compliment the king upon the birth of his son Philometer, vii. 25 ; he distinguishes himself at the court by his address and magnificence, 26.
- Hyrcanus, John, son of Simon, is declared high priest and prince of the Jews after his father's death, vii. 441 ; he is besieged by Antiochus Sidetes in Jerusalem, *ibid.* and surrenders by capitulation, *ibid.* he renders himself absolute and independent, 447 ; he renews the treaty with the Romans, 453 ; he augments his power in Judea, 463 ; he takes Samaria, and demolishes it, 465 ; he becomes an enemy to the Pharisees, 469 ; he dies, *ibid.*
- Hyrcanus, son of Alexander Jannæus, is made high priest of the Jews, vii. 511 ; after the death of Alexandra, he takes possession of the throne, 514 ; he is obliged to submit to Aristobulus his younger brother, 515 ; he has recourse to Pompey, who replaces him upon the throne, 522, &c. he is again dethroned by Paccorus, son of Orodes, and delivered up to Antigonus, who causes his ears to be cut off, 525 ; the Parthians carry him into the east, *ibid.* he returns to Jerusalem, where Herod puts him to death, *ibid.*
- Hystaspes, father of Darius, governor of Persia, ii. 300.
- Hystaspes, second son of Xerxes, is made governor of Bactriana, iii. 105 ; his remoteness from court makes way for his brother Artaxerxes to ascend the throne, *ibid.* Artaxerxes undertakes to reduce him, 139 ; and entirely ruins his party, *ibid.*
- Hystieus, tyrant of Miletus, prevails upon the generals of Ionia not to abandon Darius, then employed in a war with the Scythians, ii. 551 ; Darius grants him a territory in Thrace, where he builds a city, 553 ; that prince recalls him to court, 554 ; Hystieus secretly supports the revolt of the Ionians, 560 ; he forms a conspiracy against the government, 567 ; he is discovered, *ibid.* he is taken by the Persians, delivered up to Artaphernes, and put to death, 569 ; character of Hystieus, 570.

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- Iambic verse** proper for tragedy, i. 133.
- Jason**, tyrant of Phere, is declared generalissimo of the Thessalians, iv. 372 ; death puts a stop to his designs, *ibid.*
- Jason** supplants his brother Onias, high priest of the Jews, vii. 115 ; he is supplanted himself by his brother Menelaus, 118 ; he takes Jerusalem, and obliges Menelaus to retire into the citadel, 123.
- Javan**, or Ion, son of Japhet, father of all the people known under the name of the Greeks, ii. 406.
- Iberians**, people of Asia, subjected by Pompey, viii. 177.
- Ibis**, animal adored by the Egyptians, i. 45.
- Icetas** of Syracuse, tyrant of the Leontines, causes the wife and mother in law of Dion to be put to death, iv. 286 ; the Syracusans call in his aid against Dionysius, and elect him their general, 294 ; he conceives the design of making himself master of Syracuse, *ibid.* and seizes great part of the city, 297 ; Timoleon marches against him and obliges him to live as a private person in the city of the Leontines, 309 ; Icetas revolts against Timoleon, who punishes him and his son with death, 310.
- Idumeans**, people of Palestine ; Hyrcanus obliges them to embrace judaism, vii. 503.
- Jechonias**, or Jehoiakim, king of Judah, is led captive to Babylon, ii. 109 ; he is set at liberty, after an imprisonment there of thirty seven years, 114.
- Jehoaz**, king of Judea, led captive into Egypt, where he dies, i. 111.
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- Jerusalem**, city of Palestine, i. 40 ; taking of that city by Nechao, 111 ; it is besieged by Sennacherib, and delivered miraculously, ii. 101 ; it is besieged and taken by Nebuchodonosor, 109 ; its fortifications demolished by that prince, *ibid.* rebuilt by order of Artaxerxes, iii. 167 ; Alexander's entrance into Jerusalem, v. 124 ; it is besieged and taken by Ptolemy, 443 ; it is taken and plundered by Antiochus Epiphanes, vii. 124 ; its temple is profaned, *ibid.* it is taken by Antiochus Sidetes, who causes its fortifications to be demolished, 441 ; Pompey takes Jerusalem by storm, vii. 520 ; Cesar permits its walls to be rebuilt, which Pompey had caused to be demolished, 524 ; Herod takes Jerusalem, vii. 527.
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- Jonathan, brother of Judas Maccabeus, succeeds him in the government of Judea, vii. 402 ; he accepts of the high priesthood from Alexander Bala, and aids that prince against Demetrius Soter, 407 ; he undertakes to drive the Greeks out of the citadel which they had in Jerusalem, 415, &c. Demetrius Nicator orders him to attend him upon that affair, *ibid.* Jonathan aids that prince against the people of Antioch, 417 ; disgusted by the ingratitude of Demetrius, he declares for Antiochus Theos, 419 ; he suffers himself to be deceived by Tryphon, who puts him to death, 420.
- Ionia, province of Asia Minor, ii. 406 ; from whom it takes its name, *ibid.*
- Ionians ; revolt of the Ionians against Darius, ii. 557 ; they burn the city of Sardis, 564 ; their party is entirely ruined, 565 ; they throw off the Persian yoke after the battle of Salamin, and unite with the Greeks from thenceforth, iii. 65.
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- Josiah, king of Judah, marches against Nechao, is defeated, and dies of a wound received in battle, i. 111.
- Iphicrates, Athenian, is sent to aid Corcyra, iv. 342 ; he is placed at the head of the Grecian troops in the expedition of Artaxerxes against Egypt, 407 ; he retires to Athens, where Pharnabasis causes him to be accused of making the expedition miscarry, 411 ; the Athenians employ him in the war with the allies, 434 ; he is accused by Chares, 437 ; and cited to take his trial, *ibid.* means which he employed for his defence, *ibid.* he reestablishes Perdicas upon the throne of Macedonia, 493 ; praise of Iphicrates, iv. 433 ; military discipline which he establishes among the troops, 478.
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- Ismenius, polemarch of Thebes, is seized by Leontidas, and carried prisoner to the citadel, iv. 320 ; he is condemned and executed, 323.
- Isocrates, Greek orator ; services which he endeavoured to render the Athenians by his writings, iv. 536 ; v. 440 ; his death, 587.
- Ithobal, king of Tyre, when besieged by Nabuchodonosor, ii. 111.
- Ithoma, a city of Messenia, subjected by the Lacedemonians, 180.
- Iturea, part of Celosyria, vii. 503 ; the Itureans are obliged by Aristobulus to embrace Judaism, *ibid.*
- Juba I. king of Mauritania, is conquered by Cesar, and kills himself, ii. 63.
- Juba II. son of the former, is led in Cesar's triumph whilst an infant, ii. 64 ; Augustus restores him the dominions of

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Judas, called Maccabeus, third son of Mattathias, is chosen general by his father against Antiochus Epiphanes, vii. 148; he gains several great victories over that prince, 157, &c. he retakes the temple and dedicates it anew to the service of God, 159; he gains new advantages over the generals of Antiochus Eupator, and over that prince in person, 385; repeated victories of Judas Maccabeus over the generals of Demetrius Soter, 387; he dies in battle, fighting gloriously, 402.

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- Laconia, province of Peloponnesus, ii. 401.
- Laius, king of Thebes, his misfortunes, ii. 414.
- Lamachus is appointed general with Nicias and Alcibiades, in the expedition of the Athenians against Sicily, iii. 359; his poverty makes him contemptible to the troops, 378; he is killed at the siege of Syracuse, 394.
- Lamia, courtesan to Demetrius; her enormous expenses, v. 568.
- Laodice, wife of Antiochus Theos, is repudiated by that prince, vi. 146; Antiochus takes her again, 158; she causes him to be poisoned, and Seleucus Callinicus to be declared king in his stead, 159; she causes Berenice and her son to be put to death, 160; Ptolemy puts her to death, 161.
- Laodice, daughter of Mithridates, king of Pontus, marries Antiochus the Great, vi. 275.
- Laodice, sister of Demetrius Soter, and widow of Perseus, king of Macedonia, is put to death by Ammonius, favourite of Alexander Bala, vii. 410.
- Laodice, wife of Ariarathes VI. acts as regent during the minority of six princes, her children, vii. 586; she poisons five of them, and prepares to do the same by the sixth, but is herself put to death by the people, *ibid.*
- Laodice, sister of Mithridates Eupator, marries first Ariarathes VII. king of Cappadocia, and afterwards Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, vii. 586; part which he makes her act at Rome before the senate, 85.
- Laomedon, one of Alexander's captains; provinces which fell to him after that prince's death, v. 399; he is dispossessed of them by Nicanor, who takes him prisoner, 442.
- Laranda, city of Pisidia, revolts against Perdiccas, who destroys it, v. 429.
- Larissa, city of Thessaly, ii. 402.
- Lasthenes, chief magistrate of Olynthus, puts that city in the hands of Philip, iv. 531.
- Lasthenes, of Crete, supplies Demetrius Nicator with troops

- for ascending the throne of Syria, vii. 411; his bad conduct makes that prince commit many faults, 414.
- Lentulus, consul, is ordered to reinstate Ptolemy Anletes upon the throne, viii. 197; he is prevented from executing that commission by a pretended oracle of the Sibyls, 199.
- Leonatus, one of Alexander's captains; provinces that fall to him after that prince's death, v. 398; he marches to the aid of Antipater besieged in Lamia, 409; he is killed in a battle, *ibid.*
- Leonidas I. king of Sparta, defends the pass of Thermopyle against the army of Xerxes, iii. 52; he is killed there, *ibid.* the Spartans erect a monument to him, *ibid.*
- Leonidas II. reigns in Sparta jointly with Agis, vi. 205; he opposes the design of that prince, 213; he is divested of the sovereignty, 215; he escapes to Tegea, 216; he is recalled, and replaced upon the throne, 220; he lays snares for Agis, 223; and puts him to death, 225; he obliges the wife of that prince to marry his son Cleomenes, 228; death of Leonidas, 230; his character, 205.
- Leontidas, polemarch of Thebes, puts the citadel of that place into the hands of the Spartans, iv. 321; he imprisons Ismenius, who was his opponent, *ibid.* he sends persons to Athens to assassinate the principal exiles, 327; Pelopidas at the head of the conspirators, kills him, 335.
- Leontium, city of Sicily, iii. 357.
- Leontius, Philip's general, insults Aratus grossly at a feast, vi. 335; he is security for the fine laid on Megaleas upon the same account, *ibid.* Philip takes the command of his troops from him, and puts him to death, 341, &c.
- Leosthenes, Athenian, informs Athens of Alexander's death, and animates them to throw off the Lacedemonian yoke, v. 404; he is placed at the head of the Greeks allied against Antipater, 333; his glorious exploits, 334; he receives a wound at the siege of Lamia, *ibid.* and dies soon after, 413.
- Leotychides, king of Lacedemonia, in conjunction with Xanthippus the Athenian, gains a famous victory over the Persians near Mycale, iii. 99.
- Leotychides, son of Temea, wife of Agis, passes for the son of Alcibiades, and for that reason is excluded the throne, iii. 380, 593.
- Leptinus, brother of Dionysius, is put to flight by the Carthaginians with the fleet under his command, iv. 205; he is banished, 226; and soon after recalled, *ibid.* he kills Callippus, Dion's murderer, 286; he surrenders himself to Timoleon, who sends him to Corinth, 309.
- Leptinus, Syrian, kills Octavius the Roman ambassador, vii. 397; Demetrius delivers him up to the senate, 403.
- Leptinus, Syracusan, Hiero's father in law, viii. 2.
- Lesbos, island of Greece, ii. 403; revolt of that island against the Athenians, iii. 291; the Athenians reduce it to its former obedience, 302.

- Levinus, Roman consul, defeated by Pyrrhus, vi. 89.
- Levinus, M. Valerius, is sent into Greece and Macedonia in quality of pretor, to oppose the enterprises of Philip, vi. 359; enemies he excites against that prince, *ibid.* &c.
- Lewis XV. king of France, glorious testimony, which that prince renders the French nation, vii. 13.
- Lybia, part of Africa; war of Lybia, or of the mercenaries, i. 247.
- Licinius, consul, is sent into Macedonia against Perseus, vii. 205; he encamps near the river Peneus, 210; he is defeated in a battle, 215, &c. and afterwards gains some advantage over Perseus, 221.
- Liguria, province of Italy, vi. 330; its inhabitants subjected to the Marseillans by the Romans, *ibid.*
- Lilybeum, city of Sicily, besieged by the Romans, i. 239.
- Livius, consul, is sent into Cisalpine Gaul to oppose the entrance of Asdrubal into Italy, i. 324; he defeats that general in a great battle, 327.
- Lucretius, pretor, commands the Roman fleet sent against Perseus, vii. 204; he besieges Haliartus, a city of Beotia, and takes and demolishes it entirely, 223.
- Lucullus commands the Roman fleet sent against Mithridates, and gains two great victories over that prince, viii. 110; he is elected consul, and charged with the war against Mithridates, 125; he obliges that prince to raise the siege of Cyzicum, 128; and defeats his troops, *ibid.* he gains a complete victory over him, 129; and obliges him to take refuge with Tigranes, king of Armenia, 134; he sends an ambassador to demand Mithridates, 136; he regulates the affairs of Asia, *ibid.* &c. he declares war against Tigranes, 140; and marches against him, 143; he besieges Tigranocerta, 145; he gains a great victory over Tigranes, 151; and takes Tigranocerta, 152; he gains a second victory over the joint forces of Mithridates and Tigranes, 158; his army refuses to obey him, 159; Pompey is sent to command in his stead, 164; Lucullus returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph, 170; his character, 162.
- Lusitania, part of the ancient Spain, i. 171.
- Lycia, province of Asia Minor, i. 39.
- Lycortas, Polybius's father, is sent by the Achæans to Ptolemy Epiphanes, vii. 24; he is elected their general, and avenges Philopemen's death, 50.
- Lycurgus, son of Eunomus, king of Sparta, governs the kingdom as guardian to his nephew Charilaus, ii. 424; he endeavours to reform the government of Sparta, and makes several voyages with that view, 425; on his return he changes the form of the government, *ibid.* he goes to Delphi to consult the oracle, and dies voluntarily by abstaining from food, 439; reflections upon Lycurgus's death, *ibid.*
- Lydia, country of Asia Minor, i. 40.
- Lyncestes, Alexander, is con-

- victed of a conspiracy against Alexander the Great, and put to death, v. 222.
- Lysandra, Ptolemy's daughter, marries Agathocles, son of Lysimachus, vi. 56 ; after the death of her husband, she retires to Seleucus, and engages him to make war against Lysimachus, 57.
- Lysander, Spartan, is appointed admiral by the Spartans, iii. 464 ; his influence with Cyrus the younger, 466 ; he beats the Athenian fleet near Ephesus, 468 ; his envy of Callicratidas, sent to succeed him, 471 ; he commands the fleet of the Spartans a second time, and gains a famous victory over the Athenians at Egospotamos, 491 ; he takes Athens, and entirely changes the form of the government, 497 ; he returns to Sparta, and sends thither before him all the gold and silver taken from the enemy, *ibid.* he is sent to reestablish the thirty tyrants, 517 ; he strangely abuses his power, and suffers the Grecian cities of Asia Minor to consecrate altars to him, 520 ; upon the complaint of Pharnabazus, he is recalled to Sparta, 522 ; Lysander accompanies Agesilaus into Asia, 599 ; he quarrels with him, 601 ; and returns to Sparta, 603 ; his ambitious designs for changing the succession to the throne, 604 ; he is killed before Haliartus, which he was going to besiege, 620 ; some time after his death, the plot he had formed against the two kings is discovered, 633 ; Lysander's character, iii. 466.
- Lysander is elected one of the ephori at Sparta by the favour of Agis, vi. 211 ; he endeavours to make the people receive the ordinances of that excellent young king, 213.
- Lysiades, tyrant of Megalopolis, renounces his power upon the remonstrances of Aratus, and makes his city enter into the Achean league, vi. 203 ; they make him their captain general three times successively, and then expel him, *ibid.* he is killed in battle, 232.
- Lysias, kinsman of Antiochus Epiphanes, is made governor by that prince of part of his dominions, and preceptor to Antiochus Epiphanes, vii. 152 ; Antiochus gives him the command of the army against the Jews, *ibid.* he is defeated by Judas Maccabeus, 159 ; he possesses himself of the regency during the minority of Antiochus Eupator, 384 ; the government of Celosyria and Palestine is given to him, 385 ; he is defeated by Judas Maccabeus, 387 ; he makes peace with the Jews, 388 ; he is delivered up to Demetrius Soter, who puts him to death, 399.
- Lysias, one of the Athenian generals, who defeated the Spartans near the islands Arginuse, and at his return was condemned to die, iii. 476, 482.
- Lysias of Syracuse, Greek orator, goes to settle at Thurium, iii. 252 ; he raises five hundred men to aid the Athenians against the tyrants, 515 ; he carries Socrates's discourse for his defence, 516 ; character of Lysias's style, *ibid.*

Lysicles commands the Athenian army at Cheronea, and is defeated by Philip, iv. 582.

Lysimachus, one of Alexander's captains; provinces which fell to him after Alexander's death, v. 398; he enters into a league with Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Cassander, against Antigonus, 495; treaty of peace between those princes, which is immediately broken, 511; Lysimachus,

Ptolemy, Cassander, and Seleucus, against Antigonus and Demetrius, 586; they divide Alexander's empire amongst them, vi. 1. alliance of Lysimachus with Ptolemy, 6; he takes Macedonia from Demetrius, 18; and divides it with Pyrrhus, 22; he obliges Pyrrhus soon after to quit it, 23; he marches against Seleucus, gives him battle, and is killed, 61.

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MACCABEES, martyrdom of them, vii. 143.

Macedonia, Macedonians, kingdom of Greece, ii. 402; origin of the Macedonians, 407; commencement of their empire, 416; kings before Philip, iv. 488; reigns of Philip, 494; and his son Alexander, v. 14; Alexander's successors who reigned in Macedonia; Cassander, vi. 2; Demetrius Poliorcetes, 15; Pyrrhus, 18; Lysimachus, 23; Seleucus, 61; Ptolemy Ceraunus, 62; Sosthenes, 68; Antigonus Gonatus, 74; Demetrius, son of Antigonus, 167; Antigonus Doston, 176; Philip, son of Demetrius, 266; Perseus, vii. 73; Macedonia is declared free by the Romans, vii. 283; and some time after reduced into a Roman province, 342.

Machanidas becomes tyrant of Sparta, vi. 364; endeavours to subject Peloponnesus, 399; Philopemen marches against him, *ibid.* Machanidas is defeated and killed in battle, 404.

Magas, governor of Cyrenaica and Lybia, revolts against

Ptolemy Philadelphus, and causes himself to be declared king of those provinces, vi. 135; he causes overtures of accommodation to be made to that prince, and dies during the negotiation, 142.

Magas put to death by his brother Ptolemy Philopater, vi. 288.

Magi, directors of the worship of the Persians, ii. 372; their religion, 373.

Magnesia, city of Caria in Asia Minor, i. 39; Artaxerxes gives the revenues of it to Themistocles, iii. 147.

Mago, Carthaginian general, is sent into Sicily to make war against Dionysius the elder, iv. 204; after various efforts he concludes a peace with that tyrant, 214; he loses a great battle, and is killed in it, i. 192.

Mago, the former's son, commands the army of the Carthaginians in Sicily, and gains a great victory over Dionysius the elder, i. 192; the Carthaginians place him at the head of their troops in Sicily against Dionysius the younger, 196; he shamefully aban-

- dons the conquest of Sicily, *ibid.* he returns to Carthage, and kills himself through despair, *ibid.*
- Mago, Carthaginian general, is placed at the head of the fleet sent to aid the Romans against Pyrrhus, i. 214; he goes to Pyrrhus in order to sound his designs in respect to Sicily, 215.
- Mago, Hannibal's brother, carries the news of that general's victory over the Romans at the battle of Canne to Carthage, i. 313.
- Mago, Carthaginian general, taken prisoner in Sardinia, i. 320.
- Malli, a people of India; their war with Alexander, v. 305; they submit to that prince, 309.
- Mamertines, people originally of Italy, seize Messina, i. 218; defeated by Pyrrhus, vi. 107; a division amongst them occasions the first punic war, i. 218.
- Manasseh, king of Judah, is put in chains by the generals of Esaraddon, and carried captive to Babylon, ii. 103; obtains his liberty, and returns to Jerusalem, *ibid.*
- Mandana, daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes, is given in marriage to Cambyses king of Persia, ii. 54; she goes to Media, and carries her son Cyrus with her, 56; she returns into Persia, 58.
- Mania, wife of Zenis, governs Etolia, after the death of her husband, with admirable conduct, iii. 586; she is assassinated, with her son, by Midias her son in law, 588.
- Manius Curius, consul, defeats Pyrrhus, and obliges him to quit Italy, vi. 112.
- Manius Aquilius, consul, ends the war with Aristonicus, vii. 439; and enters Rome in triumph, 440.
- Manlius, L. is appointed consul with Regulus, i. 223; they jointly gain a great victory over the Carthaginians near Ecnoma in Sicily, 224; they go to Africa, *ibid.* Manlius is recalled, *ibid.*
- Marcellus, M. consul, is sent into Sicily to appease the troubles there, viii. 41; he forms the siege of Syracuse, 46; the considerable losses of men and ships by the dreadful machines of Archimedes obliges him to turn the siege into a blockade, 52; he undertakes several expeditions in Sicily, 54; he makes himself master of Syracuse by means of his intelligence in it, 65; he abandons the city to be plundered, 66; honours which he pays to the memory of Archimedes, 67; Marcellus, at first as pretor, and afterwards as consul, gains several advantages over Hannibal, i. 320.
- Marcus, ambassador of the Romans in Greece, has an interview with Perseus near the river Peneus, vii. 198; he returns to Rome, 201; he is sent again into Greece to regulate affairs there, 204.
- Marcus Philippus, Q. consul, charged with the war against Perseus, vii. 227; advances towards Macedonia, 228; which he penetrates into, and takes several cities there, 229, &c.
- Mardonius, son in law of Darius, enters Macedonia, ii. 570; his ill success obliges Darius to recal him, 571; persuades Xerxes to invade Greece, iii. 15; Xerxes chooses him one

- of his generals, 37 ; and leaves him with a numerous army to reduce Greece, 72 ; makes advantageous offers to the Athenians, 79 ; enters Athens, and burns it, 82 ; defeated and killed at Platea, 89.
- Maronea, city of Thrace ; cruel treatment of its inhabitants by Philip, vii. 39.
- Marius, lieutenant under Metellus, supplants that general, and causes himself to be appointed general for terminating the war with Jugurtha, ii. 60 ; whom he gets into his hands, and makes an ornament of his triumph, 63.
- Marius, M. sent to the aid of Mithridates, viii. 124 ; taken by Lucullus, and put to death, 130.
- Marseillians ; their embassy to Rome, vii. 329 ; their origin, 330 ; they settle in Gaul, 331 ; wisdom of their government, 333 ; attachment to the Romans, 335 ; obtain grace for Phoecea, which had been condemned to be destroyed, 439.
- Masinissa, king of Numidia, espouses the party of the Romans against the Carthaginians, i. 329 ; ii. 2 ; aids the Romans against Perseus, vii. 195 ; marries Sophonisba, and poisons her, ii. 3 ; contests between him and the Carthaginians, whom he defeats in battle, 7 ; at his death appoints Scipio Emilianus guardian of his children, 23.
- Masistus, son of Darius and Atossa, is one of the six commanders of the army of Xerxes, iii. 37 ; tragical death of him and his children, 105.
- Mattathias, Jew, refuses to obey Antiochus, vii. 141 ; retires with his family to avoid the persecution, *ibid.* his death, 148.
- Matho, in concert with Spendius, causes the mercenaries to revolt against the Carthaginians, i. 250 ; he is placed at their head, *ibid.* takes Hannibal prisoner, and causes him to be hanged up in the room of Spendius, 257 ; taken by the Carthaginians, and executed, 259.
- Mausolus, king of Caria, enters into a conspiracy against Artaxerxes, iv. 418 ; he subjects the Rhodians and the people of Cos, 446 ; his death, 447 ; honour paid to his memory by Artemisa his wife, *ibid.*
- Medes, ancient people of Asia inhabiting Media, ii. 117 ; history of the kingdom of the Medes, *ibid.* empires of the Medes and Persians united, 226 ; revolt of the Medes against Darius Nothus, iii. 326 ; that prince obliges them to return to their duty, *ibid.* manners of the Medes, ii. 154 ; manner in which they contracted alliances, 130.
- Media, kingdom of Upper or Greater Asia, i. 37.
- Medon, son of Codrus, is placed at the head of the common people of Athens, under the title of archon, ii. 216.
- Megabates, noble Persian, occasions the miscarrying of the enterprise of the Persians against Naxos through jealousy of Aristagoras, iii. 559.
- Megabysus, governor of Thrace for Darius, occasions the permission that prince had given Hystieus to build a city in Thrace to be revoked, ii. 553 ; he sends deputies to demand earth and water of Amintas, 554 ; insolence of those deputies at the court of Amintas,

- and revenge taken of them by the sons of that prince, 555.
- Megabysus, son of Zopyrus, is one of the six generals in the army of Xerxes, iii. 37; discovers the plot formed by Artabanes against Artaxerxes, 134; charged with the war against the Egyptians, 162; whom he subjects and promises to spare their lives, *ibid.* in despair' on seeing the Egyptians put to death, contrary to the faith of treaty, revolts against Artaxerxes, 165; defeats two armies sent against him, *ibid.* restored to favour, and returns to court, *ibid.* Artaxerxes's jealousy of Megabysus at an hunting match, 166; death of Megabysus, *ibid.*
- Megacles, son of Alcmeon, puts himself at the head of one of the factions that divided Athens in Solon's time, ii. 471; his marriage with Agorista; daughter of Cleisthenes, *ibid.* drives Pisistratus out of Athens, and soon after recalls him, 475; he is obliged to quit Athens, *ibid.*
- Megaleas, Philip's general, devotes himself to Apelles, that prince's minister, vi. 342; he insults Aratus, in concert with Leontius, at the breaking up of a feast, 335; Philip imprisons him, and then sets him at liberty, *ibid.*; his bad designs against Philip are discovered, 342; he kills himself to avoid a trial, and the execution of sentence against him, *ibid.*
- Megalopolis, city of Arcadia; Aratus makes it enter into the Achean league, vi. 203.
- Megara, city of Achaia, ii. 419.
- Melitus, Athenian orator, accuses Socrates, iv. 35; success of that accusation, 47; he is condemned to die. 48.
- Memnon, Rhodian, reinstated in the favour of Octavius, against whom he had taken arms, iv. 461; advises Darius's generals from fighting the battle of the Granicus, v. 33; defends Miletus, 41; and Halicarnassus, against Alexander, 42; he transports the inhabitants of that city to the island of Cos, 43; he advises Darius to carry the war into Macedonia, 47; that prince gives the execution of that enterprise to him, and makes him generalissimo, 48; Memnon besieges Mitylene, and dies before that place, *ibid.*
- Memphis, city of Egypt; its foundation, i. 81; taken by Cambyses, ii. 284; and afterwards by Alexander, v. 139.
- Menander, Athenian, colleague to Nicias in Sicily, iii. 405; whom he forces to engage in a sea fight, in which he is worsted, 413; partly the cause of the Athenian's defeat near Egospotamos, 491.
- Menander, one of Alexander's captains; provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, v. 398.
- Mendes, city of Egypt, iv. 415; a prince of that city disputes the crown with Nectanebus, *ibid.* but is defeated by Agesilaus, 416.
- Menelaus supplants his brother Jason, high priest of the Jews, vii. 119; Jason drives him out of Jerusalem, 123; reinstated by Antiochus, 124; Menes, or Misraim, first king of Egypt, i. 79.
- Mentor, Rhodian, is sent by Nectanebus into Phenicia to support the rebels there, iv

- 452; confounded on the approach of Ochus, 455; he puts the city of Sidon into that prince's hands, *ibid.* Ochus gives him the command of a detachment of his army against Egypt, 458; Mentor's actions in Egypt, 459; Ochus makes him governor of all the coast of Asia, and declares him generalissimo of all the troops on that side, 461; Mentor's conduct in his government, 462.
- Mercury, to whom Egypt was indebted for most of their arts, i. 160.
- Merodach Baladan, king of Babylon, sent to congratulate Hezekiah upon his recovery, ii. 96.
- Messenia, part of Peloponnesus, i. 173.
- Messenians; first war with the Lacedemonians, i. 173; whom they defeat near Ithoma, 175; they submit to the Lacedemonians, 180; second war with the Lacedemonians, *ibid.* are at first victorious, 182; then defeated, 184; and entirely reduced to the condition of the helots, 185; reinstated by the Thebans, iv. 361; troubles between the Messenians and Achæans, vii. 49; the Messenians put Philopemen to death, 50; subjected by the Achæans, 51; fault of the Messenians, which occasioned all their misfortunes, iv. 361.
- Metellus, L. consul, commands against Jugurtha, ii. 59; supplanted by Marius, 60; enters Rome in triumph, 61.
- Metellus, Q. Cæcilius, Roman pretor, defeats Andriscus, vii. 341; and sends him to Rome, 342; he reduces another adventurer, named Alexander, *ibid.*
- Methone, city of Thrace, destroyed by Philip, iv. 516.
- Micipsa succeeds his father Masinissa in the kingdom of Numidia, ii. 52; adopts Jugurtha his nephew, and makes him coheir with the rest of his children, 53; his death, 54.
- Miletus, city of Ionia, ii. 568; cruelties acted there by Lysander, iii. 521; besieged and taken by Alexander, v. 41.
- Milo, champion of Crotona, defeats the Sybarites, iii. 251; the extraordinary strength of that combatant, 257; voracity, 258; and death, 259.
- Miltiades, Athenian tyrant of the Thracian Chersonesus, accompanies Darius in his expedition against the Scythians, and is of opinion that satisfaction ought to be made them, ii. 551; an irruption of the Scythians into Thrace obliges him to abandon the Chersonesus, whither he returns soon after, 555; he settles at Athens, 573; he commands the army of the Athenians, and gains a famous victory at Marathon over the Persians, 585; moderate reward given him by the Athenians, 592; he sets out with a fleet to reduce the revolted islands, and has ill success in the isle of Pharos, 593; he is cited to take his trial, and has a great fine laid upon him, 594; not being able to pay it, he is put in prison, and dies there, *ibid.*
- Mindarus, Spartan admiral, is defeated and killed in a battle by Alcibiades, iii. 456.

- Minerva, goddess, i. 45; feast at Athens in honour of her, *ibid.*
- Mines; product of mines was the principal riches of the ancients, i. 148.
- Minos, first king of Crete, iv. 89; laws instituted by him in his kingdom, *ibid.* hatred of the Athenians for Minos, 99; cause of that hatred, *ibid.*
- Minucius, M. is appointed master of horse to Fabius, i. 300; he gains a slight advantage over the Carthaginians in that dictator's absence, 304; which procures him equal advantage with the dictator, *ibid.* engages with disadvantages, out of which Fabius extricates him, 305; he acknowledges his fault, and returns to his obedience, 306; he is killed at the battle of Canne, 311.
- Mithridates I. king of Pontus, i. 198; that prince submits to Alexander, and accompanies him in his expeditions, v. 44.
- Mithridates II. king of Pontus, flies to avoid the rage of Antigonus, i. 198.
- Mithridates III. king of Pontus, adds Cappadocia and Paphlagonia to his dominions, i. 198.
- Mithridates IV. king of Pontus, i. 199.
- Mithridates V. surnamed Evergetes, king of Pontus, aids the Romans against the Carthaginians, i. 199; the Romans reward him with Phrygia Major, vii. 439; his death, 455.
- Mithridates VI. surnamed Eupator, ascends the throne of Pontus, i. 199; vii. 455; viii. 83; the Romans take Phrygia from him, 84; he possesses himself of Cappadocia and Bithynia, after having expelled their kings, 85; he gives his daughter in marriage to Tygranes, king of Armenia, 86; open rupture between Mithridates and the Romans, 88; that prince gains some advantages over the Romans, 91; he causes all the Romans and Italians in Asia Minor to be massacred in one day, 93; he makes himself master of Athens, 94; two of his generals are defeated by Sylla, 107, &c. and himself by Fimbria, 109; his fleet is also twice beaten, 110; he has an interview with Sylla, and concludes peace with the Romans, 116; second war of the Romans with Mithridates under Murena, 119; it subsists only three years, 121; Mithridates makes a treaty with Sertorius, 122; he prepares to renew the war with the Romans, 124; he seizes Paphlagonia and Bithynia, *ibid.* the Romans send Lucullus and Cotta against him, 125; Mithridates defeats Cotta by sea and land, *ibid.* he forms the siege of Cyzicum, 127; Lucullus obliges him to raise it, and defeats his troops, 129; Mithridates takes the field to oppose the progress of Lucullus, 132; he is entirely defeated and obliged to fly, *ibid.* he sends orders to his sisters and wives to die, 134; he retires to Tigranes his son in law, 136; Tigranes sends him back into Pontus to raise troops, 145; Mithridates endeavours to console Tigranes after his defeat,

- 152 ; these two princes apply in concert to raising new forces, *ibid.* they are defeated by Lucullus, 158 ; Mithridates, taking advantage of the misunderstanding in the Roman army, recovers all his dominions, 161, 162 ; he is defeated on several occasions by Pompey, 172 ; he endeavours in vain to find an asylum with Tigranes his son in law, *ibid.* he retires into the Bosphorus, 181 ; he puts his son Xiphares to death, *ibid.* he makes proposals of peace to Pompey, which are rejected, 184 ; he forms the design of attacking the Romans in Italy, 185 ; Pharnaces makes the army revolt against Mithridates, who kills himself, 186 ; character of Mithridates, 187.
- Mithridates II. surnamed the Great, ascends the throne of Parthia, vii. 448 ; he reestablishes Antiochus Eusebes, 478 ; sends an ambassador to Sylla to make an alliance with the Romans, viii. 85 ; his death, vii. 534.
- Mithridates III. king of Parthia, vii. 537 ; Orodes his brother dethrones and puts him to death, *ibid.*
- Mithridates of Pergamus brings troops to Cesar in Egypt, viii. 217.
- Mitylene, capital of the isle of Lesbos, ii. 403 ; that city is taken by the Athenians, iii. 302.
- Modesty ; traces of it among the ancients, ii. 135.
- Meris, king of Egypt, i. 82 ; famous lake made by him, *ibid.*
- Molo is made governor of Media by Antiochus the Great, vi. 273 ; he makes himself sovereign in his province, 274 ; but being defeated he kills himself out of despair, 281.
- Monarchy ; original design of monarchy, ii. 120 ; the best form of government, 303.
- Mummius, consul, is charged with the war in Achaia, vii. 348 ; defeats the Achaeans, 351 ; takes Corinth, and demolishes it, 352 ; preserves the statues of Philopemen, 357 ; his disinterestedness, *ibid.* enters Rome in triumph, 359 ; goes on an embassy into Greece, Asia, and Egypt, 432.
- Murena commands the left wing of Sylla's army at the battle of Cheronea, viii. 104 ; Sylla, on setting out for Rome, leaves him the government of Asia, 119 ; he makes war against Mithridates, 120 ; and is defeated, 121 ; but receives the honour of a triumph, *ibid.*
- Museum ; academy of the learned, instituted under that name at Alexandria, vi. 32 ; description of the building called the Museum, 35.
- Music ; to what perfection carried by the ancients, ii. 354 ; considered by the Greeks as an essential part in the education of youth, iv. 130, &c. theatre of music at Athens, iii. 194 ; prize of music instituted at the feast of Panathenia by Pericles, i. 45.
- Mycene, city of Argos, ii. 411 ; kings of Mycene, *ibid.*
- Mycerinus, king of Egypt, i. 96 ; mildness of his reign, *ibid.*
- Myscellus, Achean general, founder of Crotona, iii. 250.

N.

- NABARZANES, general of the horse in the army of Darius, betrays that prince, v. 189; he surrenders himself to Alexander upon his promise, 206.
- Nabis makes himself tyrant of Sparta, vi. 408; instances of his avarice and cruelty, 409, &c. Philip puts Argos into his hands by way of deposit, 468; Nabis declares for the Romans against that prince, 469; the Romans declare war against him, 502; Q. Flaminius marches against him, *ibid.* besieges him in Sparta, 508; obliges him to demand peace, 509; and grants it him, 510; Nabis breaks the treaty, 520; he is defeated by Philopemen, 527; and obliged to shut himself up in Sparta, 528; he is killed, 535.
- Nabonassar, or Belesis, king of Babylon, ii. 96.
- Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, joins with Cyaxares king of Media, besieges and entirely ruins Nineveh, ii. 105; he associates his son Nabuchodonosor with him in the empire, and sends him at the head of an army against Nechao, *ibid.* his death, 106.
- Nabuchodonosor I. or Saosduchimus, king of Nineveh, ii. 103; attacked by Phraortes king of the Medes, 126; whom he defeats and puts to death, 127; sends Holophernes with a powerful army to revenge him upon the nations who had refused him aid, *ibid.* entire defeat of his army *ibid.*
- Nabuchodonosor II. is associated in the empire of Assyria by Nabopolassar, ii. 106; defeats Nechao, and conquers Syria, and Palestine, *ibid.* takes Jerusalem, and carries away a great number of Jews to Babylon, *ibid.* reigns alone after the death of his father, *ibid.* his first dream, 107; marches against Jerusalem, takes it, and carries away all its treasures, 109; defeats Pharaoh, king of Egypt, returns to Jerusalem, and demolishes its fortifications, *ibid.* causes himself to be adored as a God, 110; besieges Tyre, and takes it, *ibid.* he makes himself master of Egypt, where he takes great spoils, i. 120; his second dream, ii. 112; he is reduced to the condition of a beast, 113; recovers his former shape, reascends the throne, and dies, 114.
- Naupactum, city of Etolia, taken by Acilius, vi. 556.
- Naxos, island, one of the Cyclades, ii. 557.
- Nearchus, officer of Alexander, surveys the coast from the Indus to the bottom of the Persian gulf, v. 316; he succeeds in his enterprise, 319.
- Nechao, king of Egypt, i. 109; he undertakes to open a communication between the Nile and the Red Sea, *ibid.* able navigators, by his order, undertake to sail round Africa, and happily effect it, 110; marches against the Babylonians and Medes, to put a stop to their progress, *ibid.* defeats Josiah king of Judah, who opposed his march, 111; beats the Babylonians, takes

- Carchemish, and returns into his kingdom, *ibid.* on his way he goes to Jerusalem, deprives Jehoahaz of the crown, and gives it to Jehoiakim, *ibid.* conquered by Nabuchodonosor, who retakes Carchemish, 113; his death, *ibid.*
- Nectanebis is placed by the revolted Egyptians upon the throne of Egypt, in the room of Tachos, *iv.* 415; he is supported by Agesilaus, *ibid.* by his aid he reduces the party of the prince of Mendes, 416; not being able to defend himself against Ochus, he escapes into Ethiopia, from whence he never returns, 460.
- Nehemiah, Jew, cupbearer to Artaxerxes, obtains permission to return to Jerusalem, and to rebuild its fortifications, *iii.* 169; he acquits himself of his commission, with incredible zeal, 170.
- Neoptolemus, one of Alexander's captains; provinces that fell to him after the death of that prince, *v.* 398; he joins Antipater and Craterus against Perdiccas and Eumenes, 433; he marches with Craterus against the latter, 434; is killed in a battle, 435; character of Neoptolemus, 432.
- Neoptolemus, uncle of Pyrrhus, reigns in Epirus in his nephew's place, *i.* 201; Pyrrhus causes him to be killed, 202.
- Neriglissar conspires against Evilmerodach king of Assyria, and reigns in his stead, *ii.* 115; he makes war against the Medes, and is killed in a battle, 180.
- Nero, C. Claudius, consul, quits his province, and makes haste to join his colleague, in order to their attacking Asdrubal, *i.* 325.
- Nicanor, lieutenant general of Antiochus Epiphanes, marches against the Jews, and is defeated by Judas Maccabeus, *vii.* 153; Demetrius Soter sends him with an army into Judea to assist Alcimus, 400; he is killed in battle, 401.
- Nicias, general for the Athenians, makes them conclude a peace with the Lacedemonians, *iii.* 338; opposes the war of Sicily in vain, 359; he is appointed general with Lamachus and Alcibiades, *ibid.* his conduct on arriving in Sicily, 374; after some expeditions he forms the siege of Syracuse, 385; the city is reduced to extremities, 396; the arrival of Gylippus changes the face of affairs, 397; Nicias writes to the Athenians, the state of his condition, and to demand reinforcement, 402; two colleagues are appointed him, 406; who compel him to engage in a sea fight, in which he is defeated, 413; as is also his land army, 417; hazards another sea fight, and is again defeated, 423; determines to retire by land, *ibid.* reduced to surrender at discretion, 450; condemned to die, and executed, 434.
- Nicocles, king of Paphos, submits to Ptolemy, *v.* 501; makes an alliance secretly with Antigonus, and kills himself, *ibid.*
- Nicolaus, one of Ptolemy's generals, refuses to desert with Theodotus, and continues to adhere to Ptolemy, *vi.* 289.

- Nicomedes I. king of Bithynia, i. 196.
- Nicomedes II. son of Prusias king of Bithynia, goes to Rome, vii. 327; kills his father, who had given orders to kill him, and reigns in his stead, *ibid.* sets up a child under the name of Ariarathes, and causes the kingdom of Cappadocia to be demanded for him of the Romans, viii. 85; his death, 86.
- Nicomedes III. ascends the throne of Bithynia, viii. 84; dethroned by Mithridates, 89; but reinstated by the Romans, *ibid.* again expelled by Mithridates, *ibid.* Sylla reconciles him with Mithridates, who restores him his dominions, 116; Nicomedes in gratitude, at his death, leaves the Roman people his heirs, 124.
- Nile, river of Africa; its sources, i. 16; cataracts of the Nile, *ibid.* causes of its inundation, 17; time that its inundation continues, 18; measure or depth of its inundation, 19; canals of the Nile, 21; fertility occasioned by the Nile, 22; canal of communication between the two seas by the Nile, 26.
- Nimrod, founder of the Assyrian empire, ii. 66. history confounds him with his son Ninus, 67; the scripture places him very near Abraham, and for what reason, 71.
- Nineveh, city of Assyria, its foundation, ii. 69; description of that city, 72; kings of Nineveh, 96; its destruction, 130.
- Ninus, king of Assyria, often confounded with Nimrod, ii. 67; builds Nineveh, 69; conquers the Bactrians, 73; marries Semiramis, has a son by her, and dies soon after, 74.
- Ninyas, son of Ninus, reigns in Assyria, ii. 90; effeminacy and sloth of that prince, *ibid.*
- Nitocris, queen of Babylon, ii. 116; inscription on her tomb, *ibid.*
- No Amon, famous city of Egypt, i. 103.
- Nobility; what is truly so, v. 493.
- Nomi, or governments of Egypt, i. 2.
- Numidians, people of Africa, whose principal force consisted in cavalry, ii. 2.
- Nipsius, general of Dionysius the younger, relieves the citadel of Syracuse, closely besieged by the Syracusans, iv. 271; he burns and plunders part of the city of Syracuse, 275; Dionysius drives him out of Syracuse, of which he had made himself master, 292.

O.

- OCHUS, son of Artaxerxes Longimanus, marches at the head of a great army against Sogdianus, iii. 321; whom he takes and puts to death, *ibid.* he ascends the throne of Persia, and changes his name from Ochus to Darius. *ibid.* See Darius Nothus.
- Ochus, son of Artaxerxes Mne-mon, opens his way to the empire by the murder of his brothers, iv. 421; he ascends the throne of Persia, and takes the name of Artaxerxes, 429; cruelties which he commits, 430; successful expedition against Phenicia,

- 455; Cyprus, 457; and Egypt, 460; he abandons himself to pleasures, 463; poisoned by Bagoas, *ibid.*
- Octavius, Cn. pretor, commands the Roman fleet against Perseus, vii. 249; means which he uses to make that prince quit the island of Samothracia, which was deemed a sacred and inviolable asylum, 277; Perseus puts himself into his hands, 279; Octavius receives the honour of a triumph, 297; sent into Syria as ambassador, 387; where he is murdered, 397; the senate erect a statue to him, 398.
- Olympiads, their epocha, ii. 415.
- Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus is married to king Philip, and has by him Alexander the Great, iv. 503; Philip repudiates her, 593; Alexander carries her to Epirus, 594; Polysperchon recalls her, and divides the government with her, v. 449; she causes Arideus and his wife to be put to death, 471; Cassander besieges her in Pydna, takes her prisoner, and puts her to death, *ibid.*
- Olympia, city of Elis, famous for the temple of Jupiter, i. 79.
- Olympic, solemn games of Greece, i. 79.
- Olynthus, city of Thrace, iv. 318; the Lacedemonians declare war against it, 319; it is reduced to surrender, 324; Olynthus, upon the point of being besieged by Philip, implores aid of the Athenians, iv. 525; Philip makes himself master of that city by the treason of two of its citizens, and plunders it, 531.
- Onias, son of Jaddus, high priest of the Jews, succeeds his father, v. 439; his death, vi. 4.
- Onias, high priest of the Jews, venerable for his piety, vii. 107; refuses Heliodorus the treasures in the temple of Jerusalem, 103; deposed by Jason his brother, 115; his death, 119.
- Onias, son of the former, retires into Egypt, vii. 409; and builds a temple there for the Jews, *ibid.*
- Ophellas, governor of Lybia, and Cyrenaica, revolts against Ptolemy, v. 516; he suffers himself to be seduced by Agathocles, and carries his troops into the country of the Carthaginians, 517; put to death by Agathocles, *ibid.*
- Orestes, Roman commissary, goes to Corinth, and notifies to the Achæans the decree of the senate for separating several cities from their league, vii. 344; flies to escape the violence of the people, *ibid.*
- Oretes, governor of Sardis, puts Polycrates to death, and seizes the island of Samos, ii. 293; himself put to death by Darius, 517.
- Orodes, king of Parthia, vii. 536; war of that prince with the Romans under Crassus, *ibid.* Orodes, jealous of Surenâ's glory by the defeat of Crassus, puts him to death, 570; grief of that prince for the death of his son Pacorus, 578; he chooses Phraates for his successor, who puts him to death, 579.
- Orontes, son in law of Artaxerxes Mnemon, commands the land army of that prince in the war against Evagoras, iii. 646; he accuses Tiribastus falsely, 648; he termin-

- ates the war with Evagoras, by a treaty of peace, 649; Artaxerxes punishes him for his false accusation, 656.
- Orontes, governor of Mysia, joins in a plot against Artaxerxes Mnemon, and then betrays it, iv. 418.
- Orsaces, old general, accompanies Pacorus in his expeditions, by order of Orodes, vii. 573; killed in battle, *ibid.*
- Orsines, governor of Passagarde, reestablishes good order throughout the whole province, v. 321; he goes to Alexander with magnificent presents, *ibid.* put to death by the intrigues of the eunuch Bagoas, 324.
- Ostracism; sentence amongst the Athenians, by which persons were condemned to banishment, ii. 594; an end put to it by the banishment of Hyperbolus, 351.
- Osymandias, king of Egypt, i. 80; magnificent edifices which he causes to be erected, *ibid.* famous library founded by that prince, *ibid.* his tomb surrounded by a circle of gold, 81; which Cambyses afterwards took away, ii. 288.
- Otanes, Persian lord, discovers the imposture of Smerdis the Magus by the means of his daughter, ii. 299; he forms a conspiracy against that usurper, *ibid.* reestablishes Syloson tyrant of Samos, 526.
- Oxydrace, people of India, v. 305; their capital taken by Alexander, 307; to whom they submit, 309.
- Oxyrinchus, city of the Lower Thebais, full of nuns and monks, i. 52; wonder related of that city by the Abbe Fleury, *ibid.*

P.

- PACORUS, son of Orodes, king of the Parthians, enters Syria at the head of an army, and besieges Antioch, vii. 570; he raises the siege of that city, and is defeated in a battle, *ibid.* returns into Syria, and is defeated and killed, 578.
- Palestine, province of Syria, i. 40.
- Palisades, difference of those used by the Greeks and Romans for fortifying their camps, vi. 422.
- Pamphylia, province of Asia Minor, i. 39.
- Panthea, wife of Abradates, is taken prisoner by Cyrus, ii. 184; conduct of that prince in regard to her, *ibid.* she brings over her husband to Cyrus, 186; her discourse with him before the battle of Thym-
- bria, 205; her excessive grief upon the death of Abradates, 213; stabs herself with a dagger, and falls dead upon her husband, *ibid.*
- Paphlagonia, province of Asia Minor, i. 38.
- Parasanga, Persian measure, iii. 578.
- Parchment, invention of it, i. 69.
- Paris, Trojan, returning home with Helen, whom he had ravished, is carried by a tempest into one of the mouths of the Nile, i. 93; Proteus king of Egypt obliges him to leave Helen with him, and to quit Egypt, 94; Paris returns to Troy, *ibid.*
- Parmenio, one of Alexander's generals, is placed at the head of the infantry in the expedition of that prince against

- the Persians, and does him great service, v. 30; seizes the pass of Syria, and makes himself master of Issus, 63; Alexander confides the treasures laid up in Damascus, and the keeping of the prisoners, to him, 84; Parmenio advises Alexander to accept Darius's offers, 120; surprise on seeing Alexander prostrate himself before the high priest, Jaddus, 124; Alexander causes him to be killed as an accomplice in the conspiracy of Philotas, 223; his praise, 224.
- Parthia, country of the Parthians, province of Upper Asia, i. 37; beginning of the empire of the Parthians, vii. 532; kings of Parthia, from Arsaces I. to Orodes, *ibid.*
- Parysatis, sister and wife of Darius Nothus, iii. 322; fondness of Parysatis for her son Cyrus, 465, 503; she obtains pardon of Artaxerxes for him, and causes him to be sent back to his government, 503; cruelty and jealousy of Parysatis, 581; she poisons Statira, 583; Artaxerxes confines her in Babylon, 584.
- Pasargarda, city of Persia, submits to Alexander, v. 188.
- Patisithes, chief of the magi, places his brother Smerdis upon the throne of Persia, ii. 295; he is killed with his brother, 301.
- Patroclus commands the fleet sent to the aid of the Athenians, vi. 133; causes Sotades the satiric poet to be put to death, 135.
- Pausanias, king of Lacedemon, commands the Greeks jointly with Aristides at the battle of Platea, iii. 84; his pride loses the Lacedemonians the command, 115; his secret conspiracy with the Persians, 117; he is discovered, 119; and punished, 120.
- Pausanias, king of Sparta, commands at the siege of Athens, iii. 494; obtains peace for the Athenians, 517; neglects to join Lysander, and is summoned to appear, 620; but refuses, and is condemned to die, *ibid.* retires to Tegea, and dies there, 621.
- Pausanias, Macedonian prince, possesses himself of the throne of Macedonia, iv. 491; he is dethroned, 492.
- Pella, capital of Macedonia, famous for the birth of Philip and Alexander, iv. 487.
- Pelopidas, Theban; his character, iv. 325; his friendship with Epaminondas, 326; he abandons Thebes, and retires to Athens, 321; forms the design of reinstating the liberty of his country, 328; elected beotarch, 336; drives the garrison out of the citadel, 337; he causes the Athenians to declare for the Thebans, 341; gains an advantage over the Lacedemonians, near Tegyra, 344; commands the sacred battalion at Leuctra, 350; with Epaminondas ravages Lacedonia, and advances to the gates of Sparta, 357, 358; at his return he is accused and acquitted, 364; sent ambassador to the court of Persia, 367; his credit with Artaxerxes, 368; Pelopidas marches against Alexander tyrant of Phere, and reduces him, 371; he goes to Macedonia to appease the troubles of that court, and brings away Philip as an hostage, 373; he returns into Thessa-

- ly, *ibid.* is seized and made prisoner by treachery, 375 ; he animates Thebe, wife of Alexander, against her husband, 377 ; is delivered by Epaminondas, 380 ; Pelopidas marches against the tyrant, gains a victory over him, and is killed in the battle, 383 ; singular honours paid to his memory, 384.
- Pelopidas, sent ambassador by Mithridates to demand satisfaction of the Romans, and to declare war against them in case of a refusal, *viii.* 88.
- Peloponnesus, south part of Greece, now called the Morea, *ii.* 401 ; Peloponnesian war, *iii.* 260.
- Pelops, gives his name to Peloponnesus, *ii.* 412.
- Pelusium, city of Lower Egypt, *i.* 27.
- Perdiccas, son of Amyntas II. made king of Macedonia by Pelopidas, *iv.* 373 ; killed in a battle against the Illyrians, 374.
- Perdiccas, one of Alexander's generals, receives that prince's ring a moment before his death, *v.* 352 ; provinces which fell to him, 399 ; appointed guardian of Arideus, and regent of the empire, 397 ; puts Statira, Alexander's widow to death, 401 ; quells the revolt of the Greeks in Asia, 403 ; puts Eumenes into possession of Cappadocia, 429 ; marries Cleopatra, Alexander's sister, 430 ; his unfortunate expedition into Egypt, 436 ; where he is killed, *ibid.*
- Pergamus, city of Great Mysia in Asia Minor, *i.* 39 ; its kings, 196 ; it becomes a Roman province, *vii.* 439.
- Periander, king of Corinth, one of the seven sages, *ii.* 416, 500.
- Pericles, Athenian, his extraction, *iii.* 172 ; his education, *ibid.* care that he takes to cultivate his mind by the study of the sciences, and of exercising himself in eloquence, 173 ; means that he employs for gaining the favour of the people, 178 ; reduces the power of the areopagus, 180 ; Thucydides is opposed to him, 190 ; he adorns Athens with magnificent buildings, 191 ; envied by the Athenians, 192 ; justifies himself and causes Thucydides to be banished, 195 ; he changes his conduct in respect to the people, 197 ; his great authority, *ibid.* his disinterestedness, 200 ; expeditions of Pericles into the Thracian Chersonesus, 205 ; about Peloponnesus, *ibid.* and against Eubea, 207 ; he reduces the Samians, and demolishes their walls, 208 ; causes aid to be granted to the people of Corcyra against the Corinthians, 211 ; troubles given him by his enemies, 218 ; determines the Athenians to enter into a war with the Lacedemonians, 223 ; and to shut themselves up within their walls, 264 ; he prevents them from taking the field whilst their lands are ravaged, 266 ; he makes the funeral oration of the Athenians killed during the campaign, 271 ; he is divested of the command, and fined, 278 ; his grief for the death of his son, 280 ; the Athenians reinstate him, 281 ; and permit him to enrol his

- illegitimate son amongst the citizens, 284 ; death of Pericles, *ibid.* his praise, *ibid.*
- Pericles, son of the former, one of the Athenian generals who defeated the Lacedemonians near the islands Arginuse, is condemned with his colleagues to die, *iii.* 483.
- Perjury ; punishment of perjury in Egypt, *i.* 39.
- Perpenna, Roman ambassador to Gentius, is imprisoned, *vii.* 255 ; delivered by Anicius, and sent to Rome with the news of his victory, 256 ; when consul, defeats Aristonicus and takes him prisoner, 438 ; he dies on his return to Rome, 439.
- Perseus, first king of Mycene, *ii.* 411.
- Perseus, son of Philip, last king of Macedonia, conspires against his brother Demetrius, and accuses him to Philip, *vii.* 72, &c. his speech against his brother, 81 ; removes from court to avoid his father's indignation, 104 ; takes possession of the throne of Macedonia after his father's death, 106 ; puts Antigonus, whom his father had chosen his successor, to death, 181 ; he prepares for war with the Romans, *ibid.* he endeavours to gain allies, 182 ; he tries in vain to bring over the Achæans, *ibid.* the Romans are informed of his secret measures, 186 ; Eumenes confirms them concerning his proceedings, *ibid.* Perseus endeavours to rid himself of that prince, first by assassination, 189 ; and afterwards by poison, 190 ; rupture between him and the Romans, 192 ; interview with Marcius, 198 ; war declared in form, 197 ;
- Perseus advances with his troops near the river Peneus, 208 ; battle of the cavalry, in which he is victor, but makes an ill use of it, 216 ; makes proposals of peace, which are rejected, 221 ; he takes fright upon the arrival of the consul Marcius in Macedonia, and leaves him the passage open, 232 ; he resumes courage soon after, 235 ; solicits aid on all sides, 249 ; his avarice loses him considerable succours, 251 ; he is entirely defeated by Paulus Emilius at Pydna, 272, &c. taken prisoner, with his children, 279 ; and serves as an ornament in the triumph of Paulus Emilius, 295 ; death of Perseus, 297.
- Persepolis, capital of Persia, taken by Alexander, who burns the palace in a drunken frolic, *v.* 185.
- Persia, province of Asia, *i.* 37 ; foundation of the Persian empire by Cyrus, *ii.* 149 ; kings who reigned in Persia ; Cyrus, *ibid.* Cambyses, 282 ; Smerdis the Magus, 298 ; Darius son of Hystaspes, 510 ; Xerxes, *iii.* 13 ; Artaxerxes Longimanus, 138 ; Xerxes II. 319 ; Sogdianus, *ibid.* Darius Nothus, 321 ; Artaxerxes Mnemon, 501 ; Ochus, *iv.* 429 ; Arses, 465 ; Darius Codomanus, *ibid.* destruction by Alexander, *v.* 194 ; with the vices which occasioned its decline and ruin, *ibid.* *ii.* 380, &c. manners and customs of the Persians, *ii.* 307 ; education of the Persians in the time of Cyrus, 152 ; government of the Persians, 305 ; form of it monarchical *ibid.* coronation of their kings, *iii.* 502 ; re-

- spect paid to them, ii. 307 ; manner of educating their children, *ibid.* public council, 309 ; administration of justice, 313 ; attention to provinces, 319 ; invention of posts and couriers, 326 ; care of their finances, 331 ; of war, 334 ; entrance into the troops, 335 ; arms of the Persians, 336 ; their chariots armed with scythes, 337 ; military discipline of the Persians, 340 ; their order of battle, 342 ; quality of the Persian troops in the time of Cyrus, and after that prince, 349 ; arts and sciences of the Persians, 351 ; their religion, 368 ; their marriages and burials, 377.
- Petalism, kind of sentence established at Syracuse, iii. 244.
- Peucestes, one of Alexander's captains, distinguishes himself at the siege of Oxydrace, v. 305 ; provinces which fell to him after the death of Alexander, 399 ; he opposes the progress of Pithon, and drives him out of Media, 470.
- Phalanx, Macedonian, description of it, iv. 504.
- Phalecus, is appointed general of the Phœceans during the sacred war in the room of Phayllus, iv. 518 ; he pillages the temple of Delphos, as the other had done, and is deposed, 519.
- Pharaoh, common name of the kings of Egypt, i. 82 ; one of them gives his daughter to Solomon in marriage, 98.
- Pharisees, powerful sect in Judea, vii. 465, 466 ; persecution of Alexander Janneus and his party by the Pharisees, 489, &c.
- Pharnabasus, governor of Asia, and general of the troops of Darius and Artaxerxes, kings of Persia, aids the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians, iii. 454 ; he makes peace with the latter, 458 ; he sends complaints against Lysander to Sparta, 522 ; his whole province is ravaged by Agesilaus, 614 ; interview of Agesilaus and Pharnabasus, 615 ; the latter charged by Artaxerxes with the war against Egypt, iv. 407 ; the enterprise miscarries through his fault, 410.
- Pharnaces revolts against his father Mithridates, and is elected king in his stead, viii. 187 ; declared the friend and ally of the Romans, 190 ; driven out of Pontus by Cesar, 223.
- Phebidas, Lacedæmonian, sets out from Sparta at the head of a body of troops against Olynthus, iv. 320 ; he seizes the citadel of Thebes by fraud, 321 ; he is deprived of the command, and fined, 323.
- Phœnicia, or Phœnicia, province of Syria, i. 40 ; revolts against Ochus, iv. 451.
- Phila, Antipater's daughter, wife to Craterus, v. 423 ; and after to Demetrius Poliorcetes, 529 ; kills herself with poison, vi. 24.
- Phila, daughter of Seleucus, marries Antigonus Gonatus, vi. 74.
- Philitera, founder of the kingdom of Pergamus, i. 196.
- Philidas, one of the conspirators against the tyrant of Thebes, iv. 331.
- Philip, son of Amyntas II. king of Macedonia ; his birth, iv. 487 ; Pelopidas carries him to Thebes as an hostage, iv.

373, 492; he flies from Thebes into Macedonia, and is placed upon the throne, 494; beginnings of his reign, *ibid.* he makes a cautious peace with the Athenians, 496; his first conquests, 500; birth of Alexander, 503; Philip's care of his education, *ibid.* he endeavours to subject Thrace, and takes Methone, at the siege of which place he loses an eye, 516; conciliates the amity of the Thessalians, and expels their tyrants, 518; he endeavours to seize the pass of Thermopyle in vain, 521; he takes the city of Olynthus, notwithstanding the efforts of the Athenians to prevent it, 531; he declares for the Thebans against the Phocceans, and begins in that manner to share in the sacred war, 533; he lulls the Athenians with a false peace and false promises, 535; he seizes Thermopyle, reduces the Phocceans, and terminates the sacred war, 540; he causes himself to be admitted into the councils of the amphictyons, 542; Philip, on his return into Macedonia, pushes his conquests into Illyrium and Thrace, 545; he enters into a league with the Thebans, Argives, and Messenians, for attacking Peloponnesus with their joint forces, 550; Athens declaring for the Lacedemonians, breaks that league, 552; Philip makes an attempt upon Eubœa, 553; Phocion drives him out of that island, 556; Philip forms the sieges of Perinthus and Byzantium, 561; Phocion obliges him to raise both these sieges, 568;

Philip subjects Atheas, king of the Scythians, and the Triballi, people of Mesia, 569; by his intrigues he causes himself to be declared generalissimo of the Greeks, in the council of the amphictyons, *ibid.* he seizes Elatea, 573; the Athenians and Thebans enter into a league against him, 580; he makes proposals of peace, which are rejected by the advice of Demosthenes, *ibid.* battle of Cheronea, in which Philip gains a great victory, 581, 582; Philip, in the council of the amphictyons, causes himself to be declared general of the Greeks against the Persians, and prepares for that great expedition, 592; domestic troubles in his family, 593; he repudiates Olympias, and marries another wife, *ibid.* he celebrates the nuptials of Cleopatra his daughter with Alexander king of Epirus, and is killed in the midst of them, 596; memorable actions and sayings of Philip, 598; good and bad characters of that prince, 599, &c.

Philip, son of Demetrius, ascends the throne of Macedonia, vi. 266; his affection for Aratus, 306; he takes upon him the defence of the Achæans against the Etolians, 307; different expeditions of Philip against the enemies of the Achæans, 317; strange abuse that Apelles his minister makes of his confidence, 319; irruption of Philip into Etolia, 329; he takes Therme by surprise, 330; excesses committed there by his soldiers, *ibid.* prudence which he shows in his retreat, 333;

troubles in his camp, 335 ; punishment of the authors of them, *ibid.* irruption of Philip into Laconia, 336 ; new intrigue of the conspirators, 337 ; their punishment, 341 ; Philip takes Thebes of Pithiotis from the Etolians, 345 ; he concludes a peace with them, 347 ; he concludes a treaty with Hannibal, 351 ; he makes preparations for carrying the war into Italy, *ibid.* he is surprised and defeated by the Romans at Apollonia, 354 ; his change of conduct, *ibid.* his bad faith and irregularities, 355 ; he causes Aratus to be poisoned, 356 ; he makes himself master of the city and castle of Lissus, 358 ; he gains several advantages over the Etolians, 365 ; he is repulsed near the city of Elis, 367 ; different actions of Philip against Sulpitius, 381, &c. he makes peace with the Romans, 411 ; he enters into a league with Antiochus for invading the dominions of Ptolemy Epiphanes, 422 ; bad success of Philip against Attalus and the Rhodians, 424 ; his cruel treatment of the Carians, 425 ; he besieges and takes Abydos, 426, &c. he ravages Attica, 433 ; the Romans declare war against him, 434 ; he makes ineffectual attempts against Athens, *ibid.* he endeavours to bring over the Etolians into his party, 437 ; he is defeated in a battle by Sulpitius, 444 ; he is reduced to abandon the defiles along the Apsus, 455 ; ineffectual interview of Philip with Flaminius concerning peace, 466 ; he is defeated by Flam-

inius near Scotussa, and Cynoscephale in Thessaly, 479 ; the Romans grant him a peace, 486 ; Philip aids Quintius against Nabis, 502 ; his conduct to Scipio, 562 ; Philip's causes of discontent from the Romans, *vi.* 31 ; the Romans order him to evacuate the cities of Thrace, 38 ; he discharges his revenge upon the inhabitants of Maronea, 39 ; he sends his son Demetrius on an embassy to Rome, 41 ; the Romans send back his son with ambassadors, 67 ; Philip prepares to renew the war with the Romans, 69 ; plots of Perseus against Demetrius, 73 ; he accuses him to Philip, 78 ; upon a new occasion Philip causes Demetrius to be put to death, 101 ; he discovers his innocence some time after, and Perseus's guilt, 104 ; whilst he meditates the punishment of the latter, he dies, 106.

Philip pretends himself son of Perseus, and seizes the kingdom of Macedonia, *vii.* 342 ; he is defeated and killed by Tremellius, *ibid.*

Philip, one of Alexander's captains ; provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, *v.* 399.

Philip, in concert with his brother Antiochus, destroys the city of Mopsuestia, to revenge the death of their brother Seleucus, *vii.* 477 ; he reigns in Syria with his brother Demetrius, after having driven out Eusebes, *ibid.* his death, 480.

Philip, favourite of Antiochus Epiphanes, made guardian to his son Antiochus Eupator, and regent of Syria, *vii.* 162 ;

- Lysias usurps that employment, and Philip returns into Egypt, 384.
- Philistus, the historian of Syracuse, pays a fine for Dionysius, iv. 177; who banishes him, 226; recalled by Dionysius the younger, 244; his death, 269; he may be considered as a great historian, 244.
- Philomelus, general of the Phocians, sets them against the decree of the amphictyons, and determines them to take arms, iv. 513; he makes himself master of the temple of Delphi, and takes the riches of it to pay his troops, 514; being defeated in a battle, he throws himself headlong from the top of a rock, 515.
- Philopemen, Megalopolitan, determines his citizens to reject the offers of Cleomenes, vi. 250; he signalizes himself at the battle of Selasia, 262; he distinguishes himself in the battle near the city of Elis, 367; his education, 368; his great qualities, 369; he is elected general of the horse by the Achæans, 373; he reforms the Achæan troops, 374; he is elected captain general of the Achæans, 398; he gains a famous victory over Machanidas tyrant of Sparta, and kills him in the battle, 400, 404; the Achæans erect him a statue, *ibid.* honours which he receives in the assembly at the Nemean games, 406; Philopemen is defeated at sea, by the tyrant Nabis, 526; he gains a famous victory over that tyrant near Sparta, 528; after the death of Nabis he seizes Sparta, and obliges that city to enter into the Achæan league, 535; he refuses the presents offered him by the Spartans, 537; he secretly favours the Spartan exiles, and causes war to be declared against that city, vii. 5. he makes himself master of Sparta, and reinstates the exiles, 7, 8; he attacks Messena, and is taken prisoner, 48; the Messenians put him to death, 50; honours paid to his memory, 51; trial of Philopemen after his death, 52.
- Philotas, son of Parmenio, commands a body of horse in Alexander's expedition against Persia, v. 30; the pretended conspiracy for which he is put to death, 218, &c.
- Phocis, part of Greece, ii. 402; it is ravaged by Xerxes, iii. 59; the Lacedæmonians deprive the people of Phocis of the custody of the temple of Delphi, 207; Pericles restores it to them, *ibid.* the Phocians till the ground consecrated to Apollo, iv. 512; and are charged with sacrilege and fined, 513; they take up arms against the decree of the amphictyons, *ibid.* the latter makes war against the Phocians, 514; Philip reduces them, 544.
- Phocion, general of the Athenians, drives Philip out of Eubœa, iv. 556; he makes that prince raise the siege of Perinthus and Bizantium, 566; he rejects the offers of Harpalus, v. 330; he endeavours in vain to prevent the Athenians from engaging in the Lamian war, 404; condemned to die by the Athenians, 451; his body is carried out of the territory of Attica, 452; the Athenians erect a

- statue to him, and inter his bones honourably, 458; character and praise, 454.
- Phraates I. son of Priapatius, king of Parthia, vii. 533.
- Phraates II. succeeds his father Mithridates in the kingdom of Parthia, vii. 533; thrice defeated by Antiochus Sidetes, 444; defeats Antiochus, who is killed in the battle, 446; he releases Demetrius, *ibid.* he marries one of that prince's daughters, *ibid.* defeated by the Scythians, and is killed in flying, 448.
- Phraates III. surnamed Theos, king of the Parthians, vii. 533; he makes alliance with the Romans during the war with Mithridates, 534; he espouses the part of Tigranes the younger against his father, *ibid.* death of Phraates, *ibid.*
- Phraates IV. is nominated king by his father Orodes, vii. 579; whom he puts, with his brothers and his son, to death, *ibid.*
- Phraortes, king of the Medes, succeeds his father Dejoces, ii. 125; subdues Upper Asia, 126; makes war against the Assyrians, *ibid.* he is defeated and put to death, 127.
- Phrygia, province of Asia Minor, i. 40.
- Pindar, Greek lyric poet, character of his works, iii. 239.
- Pisander, Athenian, persuades the Athenians to recal Alcibiades, iii. 446; the Athenians send him to treat with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes, 447; at his return he changes the form of government, 448.
- Pisander, Lacedemonian, is appointed by Agesilaus his brother in law, to command the fleet, iii. 613; is defeated by Conon, near Cnidos, and killed in the battle, 627.
- Pisistratus, Athenian, makes himself tyrant of Athens, ii. 474; lenity of his government, 475; death, 476; his character, *ibid.* library founded by him at Athens, *ibid.*
- Pisuthnes, governor of Lydia for Darius, revolts, iii. 323. is taken and put to death, 324.
- Pithon, one of Alexander's captains, is made governor of Media by Antipater, v. 438; he causes Philotas to be put to death, and takes possession of his government, 470; he is driven out of Media by Peucestes, and obliged to retire to Seleucus, *ibid.* Antigonus puts him to death, 494.
- Platea, city of Beotia, ii. 402; the Plateans acquire glory at the battle of Marathon, 583; they refuse to submit to Xerxes, iii. 42; the Greeks decree the prize of valor to them after the defeat of Mardonius, 92; institute an anniversary festival in honour of those who died in battle, 96; siege of Platea by the Thebans, 260; Platea besieged and taken by the Lacedemonians, 286; the Plateans retire to Athens, iv. 345; Alexander permits them to build their city, v. 167.
- Plato retires to Megara to avoid the rage of the Athenians, iv. 64; travels into Sicily, 199; his friendship with Dion, *ibid.* second voyage into Sicily, 243; wonderful change occasioned by his presence at the court of Dionysius the younger, 245; a conspiracy of the courtiers to prevent its effects, 247; he quits the court and returns into Greece, 250; adventure that happens to him at Olympia, 251; goes a third time to Sicily;

- returns to the court of Dionysius the younger, 254 ; Dionysius differs with him, 255 ; he permits him to return into Greece, 256 ; his death, 462.
- Polybius, Greek historian ; his function at the funeral of Philopemen, vii. 51 ; chosen ambassador to Ptolemy Epiphanes by the Acheans, 64 ; elected general of the horse, 226 ; deputed to the consul Marcius, 229 ; saves the Acheans a considerable expense, 236 ; he is included in the number of exiles, and carried to Rome, 314 ; his friendship with the second Scipio Africanus, 315 ; returns to Achaia, 356 ; zeal in defending Philopemen's memory, 357 ; proof which he gives of his disinterestedness, *ibid.* he establishes good order and tranquillity in the country, 358 ; returns to Rome, and accompanies Scipio to the siege of Numantia, *ibid.* after Scipio's death he returns to his own country, where he ends his days, 359.
- Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, ii. 293 ; singular history of that tyrant, *ibid.* his miserable end, 295.
- Polygamy allowed in Egypt, i. 41.
- Polysperchon, one of Alexander's generals, reduces a country called Bubacene, v. 257 ; ridicules a Persian for prostrating himself before Alexander, 262 ; for which he is put in prison, and soon after pardoned, *ibid.* takes the city of Ora, 275, is appointed regent of the kingdom, and governor of Macedonia, by Antipater, 445 ; he recalls Olympias, 448 ; he endeavours to secure Greece to himself, *ibid.* driven out of Macedonia, by Cassander, 476 ; causes Hercules the son of Alexander and his mother Barsina to be put to death, 513.
- Pompey succeeds Lucullus in the war against Mithridates, viii. 168 ; his conduct upon arriving in his government, *ibid.* he offers Mithridates peace, 170 ; he gains several victories over that prince, 173 ; he marches into Armenia against Tigranes, who comes and surrenders himself to him, 174 ; he pursues Mithridates, and in his way subjects the Albanians and Iberians, 177 ; tired of following Mithridates, he comes to Syria, of which he takes possession, and puts an end to the empire of Seleucides, viii. 179 ; he marches to Pontus, 181 ; he returns into Syria, 182 ; after having reduced Pontus, he returns to Rome, 191 ; he receives the honour of a triumph, *ibid.* after his defeat at Pharsalia, he retires into Egypt, 208 ; he is killed, 211.
- Pontus, kingdom of Asia Minor, i. 38, 198 ; chronological abridgment of the history of the kings of Pontus, *ibid.*
- Porus, Indian king, defeated and taken prisoner by Alexander, who restores him his dominions, v. 289.
- Pothinus, Ptolemy's minister, dethrones Cleopatra, viii. 209 ; advises the death of Pompey, 210 ; endeavours to render Cesar odious, 213 ; he prevents the effect of Cesar's decree, and makes the Egyptians take arms against him, *ibid.* Cesar puts him to death, 218.

- Potidea, city of Macedonia, revolts against the Athenians, iii. 213; who besiege and take it, *ibid.* Philip takes it from the Athenians, iv. 500.
- Prexaspes, confidant of Cambyses, kills Smerdis by his order, ii. 290; his base and monstrous flattery of Cambyses, 291; promises to declare Smerdis the Magus the true son of Cyrus, 300; speaks to the people from the top of a tower, and declares the contrary; then throws himself down, and is killed, *ibid.*
- Protagoras, brother of Nicocles, expels Evagoras II. from Salamin, and reigns in his stead, iv. 452; confirmed by Ochus, 457.
- Prusias I. king of Bithynia, i. 196.
- Prusias II. king of Bithynia, surnamed the Hunter, declares for the Romans against Antiochus, vi. 565; makes war against Eumenes, vii. 54; services done him by Hannibal, *ibid.* i. 356; who, notwithstanding, agrees to deliver him up to the Romans, vii. 55; desires the Romans to grant Perseus a peace, 236; his abject flattery in the senate, 319; war with Attalus, 324; the senate obliges him to desist, and makes satisfaction, 325; intending to put his son Nicomedes to death, is killed by him, 327.
- Prytanis, name of the chief magistrate of Corinth, ii. 416.
- Psammenitus, king of Egypt, is conquered by Cambyses, who uses him with clemency, i. 125; but striving to regain the throne, is put to death, *ibid.* ii. 234.
- Psammis, king of Egypt, i. 115.
- Psammetichus, one of the twelve kings in Egypt, is banished, i. 106; defeats the other eleven, and remains sole monarch, 107; makes war against the king of Assyria, *ibid.* he besieges Azotas, and takes it, after a siege of twenty nine years, *ibid.* he prevents the Scythians from invading Egypt, 108; his method of knowing whether the Egyptians were the most ancient people of the earth, *ibid.*
- Ptolemaida, daughter of Ptolemy Soter, is married to Demetrius Poliorcetes, vi. 8.
- Ptolemy, son of Amyntas II. disputes the crown with Perdicas, iv. 373; Pelopidas excludes him from the throne, 374.
- Ptolemy, son of Seleucus, is killed at the battle of Ipsus, v. 74.
- Ptolemy I. son of Lagus, one of Alexander's generals, takes several cities of India, v. 273; he is dangerously wounded at the siege of a city of India, 312; he is cured soon after, 313; provinces which fall to him, 398; causes the body of Alexander to be carried to Alexandria, 428; enters into a league against Perdicas and Eumenes, 431; becomes master of Syria, Phenicia, and Judea, 442; he takes Jerusalem, 443; he forms a league against Antigonus, 495; seizes the island of Cyprus, 501; defeats Demetrius, 502; and takes Tyre, 503; defeat of one of his generals by Demetrius, 504;

- different expeditions of Ptolemy against Antigonus, 514 ; Ptolemy is defeated by Demetrius, who takes from him the isle of Cyprus, 532 ; Ptolemy assumes the title of king, 534 ; sends aid to the Rhodians, 552 ; Ptolemy allies himself with Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, against Antigonus and Demetrius, 569 ; these four princes divide the empire of Alexander amongst them, vi. 1 ; Ptolemy retakes the island of Cyprus, 14 ; he renews the league with Lysimachus and Seleucus, against Demetrius, 18 ; he abdicates the throne to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus, 29 ; death of Ptolemy Soter, 37 ; praise of that prince, *ibid.* famous library which he caused to be erected at Alexandria, 32.
- Ptolemy II. surnamed Philadelphus, is placed by his father Ptolemy Soter upon the throne of Egypt, vi. 29 ; feast which he gives the people on his accession to the crown, 30 ; the commencement of his reign, 54 ; his resentment against Demetrius Phalerius, *ibid.* causes the holy scriptures to be translated into Greek, 75 ; cultivates the amity of the Romans, 131 ; his liberality to the Roman ambassadors, *ibid.* sends aid to the Athenians, 133 ; revolt of Magas, 135 ; Ptolemy quells a conspiracy formed against him, 136 ; works of Ptolemy of advantage to commerce, 141 ; comes to an accommodation with Magas, 142 ; war between Ptolemy and Antiochus, 143 ; peace between those princes, 146 ; death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 153 ; character and qualities of that prince, 154.
- Ptolemy III. surnamed Evergetes, succeeds his father Ptolemy Philadelphus, vi. 158 ; for the death of his sister Berenice, puts Laodice to death, and seizes part of Asia, 161 ; in returning from that expedition, he goes to Jerusalem, and offers sacrifices there to the God of Israel, 164 ; league of Antiochus Hierax and Seleucus Callinicus against Ptolemy, 167 ; the latter comes to an accommodation with Seleucus, *ibid.* he causes Antiochus to be seized, and imprisons him, 171 ; he augments the library of Alexandria, *ibid.* he gives Joseph, the nephew of Onias, the farm of the revenues of the provinces of Celosyria, Phenicia, Judea, and Samaria, 176 ; arrival of Cleomenes at the court of Egypt, 266 ; death of Ptolemy Evergetes, *ibid.* Ptolemy's liberality to the Rhodians, 268.
- Ptolemy IV. surnamed Philopater, ascends the throne of Egypt after the death of Ptolemy Evergetes, vi. 268, 271 ; injustice and cruelty of that prince to Cleomenes, 310, 311 ; Antiochus the Great undertakes to recover Celosyria from Ptolemy, 277 ; short truce between those two princes, 290 ; Ptolemy gains a victory over Antiochus at Raphia, 294 ; he comes to Jerusalem, 295 ; rage and revenge of Ptolemy against the Jews, because they refuse to let him enter into the sanctuary, 296 ; he grants Antiochus peace, 297 ; the

Egyptians revolt against Philopater, 300; that prince gives himself up to all manner of excesses, 301; he puts Arsinoe his wife and sister to death, 302; he dies, worn out with debauches, 417.

Ptolemy V. called Epiphanes, at the age of five years he ascends the throne of Egypt, after the death of Philopater, vi. 421; Antiochus the Great, and Philip, enter into a league to invade his dominions, 422; Ptolemy is put under the guardianship of the Romans, 430; Aristomenes, the young king's guardian for the Romans, takes Palestine and Celosyria from Antiochus, 450; Antiochus takes those provinces, 452; Scopas's conspiracy against Ptolemy frustrated by Aristomenes, 497; Ptolemy is declared of age, 498; he marries Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus, 521; he makes an alliance with the Acheans, vii. 24; he treats Hyrcanus, the son of Joseph with great marks of favour and friendship, 25; he takes a disgust to Aristomenes, and puts him to death, vi. 498; vii. 27; he abandons himself to all sorts of excesses, *ibid.* the Egyptians form several conspiracies against him, *ibid.* Ptolemy chooses Polycrates for his prime minister, *ibid.* with that minister's assistance, he gets the better of the rebels, 28; he renews the alliance with the Acheans, *ibid.* he forms the design of attacking Seleucus, 65; the principal persons of his court poison him, *ibid.*

Ptolemy VI. called Philometer, at six years old succeeds his

father Ptolemy Epiphanes, vii. 65; causes of war arise between Ptolemy and Antiochus Epiphanes, 116; coronation of Ptolemy, 117; he is defeated by Antiochus, 120; he loses a second battle against Antiochus, and is taken prisoner, 122; the Alexandrians elect his brother Ptolemy Evergetes II. surnamed also Physcon in his place, 125; Antiochus replaces Philometer in appearance upon the throne, 129; the two brothers unite, and reign jointly, 130; the Romans prevent Antiochus from disturbing them, 134; Philometer is dethroned by his brother Physcon, 391; he goes to Rome to implore the senate's clemency, *ibid.* the Romans divide the kingdom between the two brothers 392; new differences arise between Philometer and Physcon, 393; Philometer refuses to evacuate the island of Cyprus, 395; he gains a victory over Physcon, and takes him prisoner, 396; he pardons him, and restores him his dominions, *ibid.* he marries his daughter Cleopatra to Alexander Bala, 408; he permits Onias to build a temple for the Jews in Egypt, 409; he marches to the aid of Alexander his son in law, attacked by Demetrius, 411; Ammonius's plot against Ptolemy, 412; upon the refusal of Alexander to deliver up that traitor, Philometer takes his daughter from him, gives her to Demetrius, and aids him in reascending his father's throne, *ibid.* Philometer's death, 413.

Ptolemy VII. called Evergetes II. and Physcon, son of Ptol-

emy Epiphanes, is placed by the Alexandrians upon the throne of Egypt in his eldest brother's stead, vii. 125 ; the two brothers unite and reign jointly, 130 ; they prepare to defend themselves against the attacks of Antiochus, 131 ; the Romans oblige that prince to leave those two princes in tranquillity, 134 ; Physcon dethrones Philometer, 391 ; the Romans divide the kingdom between the two brothers, 392 ; Physcon dissatisfied with the part given him, goes to Rome, and demands to be put in possession of the island of Cyprus, 393 ; the Romans adjudge it to him, *ibid.* the people of Cyrenaica oppose Physcon's entrance into their country, 395 ; that prince re-establishes himself in that country, and draws attempts against his life upon himself by his bad conduct, *ibid.* he makes a second voyage to Rome, and carries his complaints against his brother, *ibid.* he undertakes to make himself master of the island of Cyprus, 396 ; Philometer beats and takes him prisoner, and afterwards generously restores him his dominions, *ibid.* Physcon marries Cleopatra, the widow of Philometer, ascends the throne of Egypt, and puts his brother's son to death, 413 ; Physcon's excess of folly and debauchery, 429 ; Scipio Africanus the younger goes to that prince's court, 432 ; Physcon puts away Cleopatra, and marries her daughter by Philometer, named also Cleopatra, 449 ; horrible cruelties which he commits in Egypt, *ibid.* a general revolt obliges

him to quit that kingdom, *ibid.* new cruelties of Physcon, 450 ; he returns into Egypt, and reascends the throne, 452 ; he supports the impostor Alexander Zebina, and lends him an army to place him upon the throne of Syria, *ibid.* he gives his daughter Tryphena in marriage to Grypus, 457 ; Physcon's death, 458.

Ptolemy VIII. called Lathyrus, succeeds his father Physcon, vii. 459 ; Cleopatra his mother obliges him to repudiate his eldest sister, and marry Selena the youngest, *ibid.* Lathyrus aids Antiochus the Cyziceniian against John Hircanus, 463 ; Cleopatra takes her daughter Selena from Lathyrus, and obliges him to quit Egypt, and content himself with the island of Cyprus, 469 ; Lathyrus sends an army to besiege Ptolemais, and marches in person against Alexander king of the Jews, over whom he gains a great victory, 470 ; barbarous action of Lathyrus after the battle, 471 ; he raises the siege of Ptolemais, 472 ; he is recalled by the Alexandrians, and replaced upon the throne of Egypt, 479 ; a rebellion rises up against him in Egypt, 481 ; Lathyrus destroys Thebes, whither the rebels had retired, *ibid.* he dies soon after, *ibid.*

Ptolemy IX. king of Egypt. See Alexander, son of Physcon.

Ptolemy X. son of Alexander I. king of Egypt. See Alexander II.

Ptolemy XI. surnamed Auletes, is placed by the Alexandrians upon the throne of Egypt,

- in the room of Alexander II. vii. 489 ; he causes himself to be declared the friend and ally of the Roman people by the credit of Cesar and Pompey, viii. 195 ; he oppresses his subjects in consequence with taxations, and is dethroned, *ibid.* the Alexandrians substitute Berenice in his place, *ibid.* ; he goes to Rome, and with money gains the suffrages of the principal persons of the commonwealth for his reestablishment, 197 ; he causes most of the ambassadors sent by the Egyptians to Rome, to justify their revolt to be murdered, *ibid.* an oracle of the sybil is trumped up against him, 206 ; Gabinius reinstates him upon the throne, 203 ; Auletes puts his daughter Berenice to death, *ibid.* his ingratitude and perfidy to Rabirius, *ibid.* death of Auletes, 207.
- Ptolemy XII. son of Ptolemy Auletes. reigns after his father with his sister Cleopatra, viii. 208 ; he expels Cleopatra, *ibid.* he causes Pompey to be assassinated by the advice of Theodotus, 211 ; Cesar makes himself judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, 213 ; he secures the person of Ptolemy, 215 ; he releases him, 221 ; Ptolemy renews the war with Cesar, *ibid.* he is defeated, and drowned in the Nile, endeavouring to escape, 223.
- Ptolemy I. king of Cyprus, brother of Auletes, is deposed by the Romans, vii. 497 ; he poisons himself, 498.
- Ptolemy II. son of Auletes, is made king of Cyprus by Cesar, viii. 215 ; also of Egypt jointly with Cleopatra, 223 ; she poisons Ptolemy, 226.
- Ptolemy, son of Anthony and Cleopatra, is proclaimed king of Syria by Anthony, viii. 240.
- Ptolemy Apion, natural son of Physcon, is made king of Cyrenaica, vii. 459 ; he leaves his kingdom by will to the Romans. 475.
- Ptolemy Ceraunus, or Thunderer, son of Ptolemy Soter, quits the court, and retires to Lysimachus, and then to Seleucus, vi. 30 ; he engages the latter in a war with Lysimachus, 57 ; he assassinates Seleucus, and seizes his dominions, 61 ; marries his sister Arsinoe, widow of Lysimachus, and causes his two children by her to be murdered, 64 ; banishes her, *ibid.* and is soon after killed by the Gauls, 67.
- Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cyprus under Ptolemy Philometer, revolts, and gives the possession of it to Antiochus Epiphanes, vii. 121 ; Antiochus gives him a share in his confidence, and the government of Celosyria and Palestine, *ibid.* marches against the Jews, and is defeated by Judas Maccabeus, 156 ; becomes a friend to the Jews, 385 ; Antiochus Epiphanes deprives him of his government, *ibid.* and in despair he poisons himself, *ibid.*
- Pydna, city of Macedonia, is subjected by Philip, iv. 500.
- Pyrrhus, son of Eacides, king of Epirus, flies from the fury of the revolters, vi. 9 ; he is reestablished upon the throne of Epirus by Glaucius, king of Illyrium, 10 ; the Molossians revolt against him, and

plunder all his riches, *ibid.* he retires to Demetrius the son of Antigonus, *ibid.* he distinguishes himself at the battle of Ipsus, v. 572 ; he goes to Egypt as an hostage for Demetrius, vi. 11 ; he marries Antigone, daughter of Berenice, *ibid.* Ptolemy gives him a fleet and money, of which he makes use for repossessing himself of his dominions, *ibid.* Pyrrhus takes Macedonia from Demetrius, and is declared king of it, 19 ; he divides that kingdom with Lysimachus, 22 ; he is soon obliged to quit it, 23 ; the Tarentines call in Pyrrhus to their aid against the Romans, 80 ; that prince goes to Italy, 84 ; he defeats the consul Livinus, 90 ; he causes proposals of peace to be made to the Romans, *ibid.* conversation of Pyrrhus with Fabricius, 95 ; Pyrrhus gains

a second advantage over the Romans, 104 ; expeditions of Pyrrhus in Sicily, 106 ; he returns into Italy, 110 ; he plunders the temple of Proserpine in the country of the Locrians, 111 ; he is defeated by the Romans, 113 ; he returns into Epirus, 114 ; he throws himself into Macedonia, and takes possession of it for a time, after having defeated Antigonus, 115 ; expedition of Pyrrhus into Peloponnesus, 117 ; he besieges Sparta ineffectually, 122 ; he is killed at the siege of Argos, 127 ; good and bad qualities of Pyrrhus, 129.

Pythagoras, philosopher, iii. 246 ; goes to Italy, and settles at Crotona, where he opens a school for philosophy, 247 ; novitiate of silence which he made his disciples observe, 248.

R.

RAMASSES Miamum, king of Egypt, makes great slaves of the Israelites, i. 83.

Regulus, M. Attilius, consul, defeats at sea the Carthaginians, i. 223 ; goes to Africa, 224 ; the Romans continue him in the command as proconsul, *ibid.* defeats the Carthaginians, and seizes Tunis, 226 ; puffed up with success, he is defeated and taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, 231 ; who send him to Rome to propose the exchange of prisoners, 235 ; at his return they put him to a cruel death, 236.

Religion ; origin and source of

the religion of the ancients, i. 41, &c.

Reomithras, one of the chiefs of the revolt against Artaxerxes Mnemon, delivers up the principal rebels to make his own peace, and keeps the money which he had brought from Egypt for the coalition, iv. 419.

Resurrection of the body ; the ancients had a confused notion of it, iii. 479.

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The Thebans make a second attempt against Sparta, iv. 387 ; and gain the battle of Mantinea, 392 ; they aid Artabasus against the king of Persia, 431 ; call in Philip against the Phocæans, iv. 536 ; the Thebans, Messenians, and Argives, enter into an alliance with Philip to attack Peloponnesus, 551 ; the Thebans join the Athenians against Philip, 580 ; defeated near Cheronea, 581, 582 ; Philip puts a garrison into their city, 585 ; and the Thebans, after his death, put part of the garrison to the sword, v. 18 ; for which Alexander destroys their city, 19 ; restored by Cassander, vi. 476 ; make an alliance with the Romans against Perseus, vii.

200 ; and surrender themselves to the Romans, 220 ; Sylla deprives them of half their territory, viii. 113.

Themistocles, Athenian, distinguishes himself at the battle of Marathon, ii. 587 ; he removes Epicyles from the command, and causes himself to be elected general in his stead, iii. 43 ; supports the decree to recal Aristides, 44 ; resigns the command of the fleet, to the Lacedemonians, 47, determines the Athenians to abandon their city, 60 ; and the Greeks to fight in the strait of Salamin, 65 ; the prize of wisdom decreed to him after the victory at Salamin, 74 ; he reinstates the works of Athens, and fortifies the Pireus, 106, 107 ; black design which he conceives for supplanting the Lacedemonians, 110 ; he is banished Athens, 120 ; the Athenians and Lacedemonians uniting against him as an accomplice in the conspiracy of Pausanias, he takes refuge with Admetus, 121 ; he retires to Artaxerxes, 143 ; his great credit with that prince, 146, &c. he kills himself, 158 ; character of Themistocles, iii. 159, &c. his great moderation on many occasions, *ibid.*

Theodotus, governor of Bactriana, revolts against Antiochus, and gets himself declared king, vi. 145 ; he dies, 170.

Theodotus, son of the former, succeeds his father, and makes a league with Arsaces, vi. 170.

Theodotus, Etolian, governor of Celosyria for Ptolemy, defends it against Antiochus, whom he obliges to retire,

vi. 277; he is accused, and obliged to go to the court of Egypt to give an account of his conduct, 289; in resentment for that affront he declares for Antiochus, and puts the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais into his hands, 290; enters the camp of Ptolemy in the night with design to kill him, 293; but fails and escapes to his camp, 294.

Theopompus, king of Sparta, establishes the ephori, ii. 426; commands against the Argives, i. 171; and against the Messenians, 173; he is defeated, and put to death by Aristomenes, 180.

Theramenes, Athenian general, charged with the care of burying the dead after the battle of the Arginuse, iii. 478; not being able to execute that order, he makes the other generals responsible for it, and accuses them at Athens, 480; he is deputed to Lysander during the siege of Athens, 495; opposes the violence of his colleagues, and draws their hatred upon himself, 511; accused by Critias, and put to death, 513.

Thermo, capital of Etolia, taken by surprise and ravaged by Philip, vi. 329.

Thermopyle, pass of mount Eta, in Thessaly, iii. 48.

Theseus, king of Athens, ii. 40; dies in the of island Scyros, whither he had been obliged to fly, iii. 150; Cimon brings his bones to Athens, *ibid.*

Thespis, Greek poet, considered as the inventor of tragedy, ii. 472.

Thessaly, province of the ancient Greece, ii. 400; the Thessalians submit to Xerxes, iii. 49; they implore the aid of the Thebans against Alexander of Phere, iv. 370;

Pelopidas delivers them from his power, *ibid.* they have recourse to Philip against their tyrants, iv. 519; that prince delivers them, *ibid.*

Thethmosis, or Amosis, having driven the shepherd kings out of Egypt, reigns there, i. 82.

Thirty; council of thirty established at Lacedemon, ii. 427; thirty tyrants established at Athens by Lysander, iii. 495; cruelties which they commit in that city, 511; Thrasybulus drives them out of Athens, 517; they endeavour to reinstate themselves, and are all put to the sword, *ibid.*

Thrace, province of Europe, ii. 551.

Thrasybulus, brother of Gelon, reigns at Syracuse after Hiero's death, iii. 242; but is dethroned for his cruelty, *ibid.*

Thrasybulus, general of the Athenians, iii. 450; causes Alcibiades to be deposed, 453; he quits Athens, to avoid the cruelty of the thirty tyrants, 515; whom he expels from that city, and reinstates its liberty, 517.

Thucydides, Greek historian, sent to the aid of Amphipolis, iii. 529; he is banished for suffering that city to be taken, 530.

Thurium, city of Sicily; its foundation, iii. 251.

Tiglath Pileser, king of Nineveh, aids Ahaz against the kings of Syria and Israel, ii. 96.

Tigranes, son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, released by the Parthians, and placed upon the throne, vii. 476; accepts the crown of Syria, 479; marries Cleopatra, daughter of Mithridates, viii. 86; invades the kingdom of Cappadocia, *ibid.* gives Mithridates

- refuge, 136 ; the Romans declare war against him, 141 ; defeated by Lucullus, 151 ; he raises new troops in concert with Mithridates, 155 ; is defeated a second time, 158 ; Pompey marches against him, and finds him at war with his son, 173 ; Tigranes submits his person and crown to the discretion of Pompey, 196 ; who leaves him part of his dominions, 198.
- Tigranes**, the former's son, makes war with his father, viii. 193 ; put himself under the protection of Pompey, 174 ; but not complying with his decree, he endeavours to fly, 175 ; Pompey reserves him for his triumph, *ibid.*
- Timoleon**, Corinthian, sacrifices his brother Timophanes to his country, iv. 295 ; he is sent to the aid of Syracuse, *ibid.* he eludes the vigilance of the Carthaginians by a wise stratagem, iv. 298 ; gains an advantage over the Carthaginians and Ictetas, near the city of Adranon, 299 ; he enters Syracuse, 300 ; Dionysius surrenders himself to him, *ibid.* Timoleon sends him to Corinth, *ibid.* he gains several victories over the Carthaginians, *ibid.* &c. he reestablishes the liberty of Syracuse, and institutes wise laws there, iv, 302 ; he frees the other cities of Sicily from tyranny, 306 ; he gains a great victory over the Carthaginians, 310 ; he is accused and cited to answer, *ibid.* he quits his authority, and passes the rest of his life in retirement, 312 ; he dies in it, 313 ; great honours rendered his memory, *ibid.* his praise, *ibid.*
- Timotheus**, son of Conon, is sent by the Athenians to aid the Thebans, iv. 341 ; he ravages the coasts of Laconia, and makes himself master of Corcyra, *ibid.* he is employed by the Athenians in the war against the allies, 431 ; he is accused by Chares, and dies at Chalcis, 438 ; his praise, *ibid.*
- Timotheus**, general of Antiochus Epiphanes, is defeated by Judas Maccabeus, vii. 157 ; he is defeated a second time by the same captain in the reign of Antiochus Eupator, 389.
- Tiribasis**, general of Artaxerxes Mnemon, determines that prince not to fly before his brother Cyrus, iii. 535 ; he commands the fleet of Artaxerxes against Evagoras, and besieges that prince in Salamin, iii. 652 ; he is falsely accused by Orontes, and carried to the court in chains, 653 ; trial of Tiribasis, 654 ; the king discovers his innocence, and restores him to his favour, 662 ; Tiribasis accompanies Artaxerxes in that prince's expedition against the Caduseans, *ibid.* his stratagem for making that people return to their obedience to the Persians, 665.
- Tissaphernes**, Persian of quality, is appointed by Darius to reduce Pisuthnes, governor of Lydia, iii. 323 ; he effects it, and has the government of Lydia for his reward, *ibid.* he suffers himself to be seduced by the flattery of Alcibiades, and gives himself up entirely to him, 442 ; he concludes a treaty with the Peloponnesians, 448 ; he causes

Alcibiades to be seized, and sent prisoner to Sardis, 455 ; he commands in the army of Artaxerxes Mnemon at the battle of Cunaxa, and distinguishes himself in it, 535, 341 ; he takes upon him to reconduct the Greeks into their own country, 552 ; he seizes Clearchus and the other generals by treachery, and sends them to Artaxerxes, 557 ; he joins Pharnabazus to oppose the enterprises of Dercyllidas, iii. 591 ; he sends to command Agesilaus to quit Asia, and to declare war against him in case of refusal, 607 ; he is defeated near Sardis, 610 ; he is treacherously accused, 611 ; Artaxerxes puts him to death, *ibid.* character of Tissaphernes, *ibid.*

Tunis, in Africa, taken by Regulus, i. 226 ; the revolted mercenaries make it their place of arms, 246.

Tyre, city of Phenicia, its foundation v. 89 ; Tyre besieged and taken by, Nabuchodonosor, ii. 111 ; Darius reinstates it in its ancient privileges, 560 ; Tyre besieged and taken by Alexander, v. 93, &c. then by Antigonus, 503 ; accomplishment of the different prophecies concerning Tyre, v. 112, &c.

Tyrteus, Greek poet, sent by the Athenians to the Lacedemonians to command them, i. 183 ; whose courage he revives, and occasions their gaining a great victory over the Messenians, 184 ; made citizen of Sparta, *ibid.* character of his poetry, *ibid.*

V.

VARRO, C. Terentius, defeated by Hannibal, at the battle of Canne, i. 311.

Uchoreus, king of Egypt, builds Memphis, i. 81.

Ventidius, Roman soldier, rises to the highest dignities by his merit, vii. 576 ; he revenges the disgrace of the Romans at the battle of Carre, and defeats the Parthians upon

several occasions, *ibid.*

Urania, divinity of the Carthaginians, i. 131.

Utica, city of Africa, joins the revolted mercenaries, i. 255 ; reduced to surrender at discretion, 250 ; submits to the Romans, ii. 13.

Uxii, people upon the frontiers of Persia, v. 180.

W.

WRESTLING ; exercise of wrestling among the ancients, i. 87.

X.

XANTHIPPIUS, Spartan, commands the Carthaginians, i. 227 ; he defeats Regulus, 231 ; retires, and disappears soon after, 252.

Xanthippus, Athenian, joined in command with Leotychi-

des king of Sparta, defeats the Persians near Mycale, iii. 99.

Xenophon, historian and philosopher ; he engages in the service of Cyrus the younger, iii. 531 ; he commands the ten thousand after the death

- of Clearchus, and brings them back into their own country, 561; he joins the Lacedæmonians in the war with Tisaphernes and Pharnabasus, 601; he acts under Agesilaus at the battle of Coronea, 630.
- Xerxes I. son of Darius, is elected king of Persia in preference to his brother Artabazanes, ii. 599; he confirms the Jews in their privileges, iii. 13; he reduces Egypt, 14; he prepares to invade Greece, *ibid.* he deliberates with his council concerning that expedition, *ibid.* wise speech of Artabanes to him, 16; rage of Xerxes upon that occasion, 19; he discovers his error, and confesses it in full council, 20; war is resolved, 24; Xerxes enters into an alliance with the Carthaginians, *ibid.* i. 177; he begins his march, and gives orders for cutting a way through mount Athos, iii. 25; his letter to that mountain upon that subject, *ibid.* he advances to Sardis, 26; his cruelty to Pythius, *ibid.* he marches towards the Hellespont, 29; he causes the sea to be chas-
- tised for having broken the bridge of boats which he had laid over it, 31; he orders a second to be built, and passes the Hellespont with his army, 33; numbers of his forces, 34; Demaratus tells him freely his thoughts of this enterprise, 39; three hundred Spartans dispute the pass of Thermopyle with Xerxes, 50; that prince in his rage causes the dead body of Leonidas to be affixed to a gibbet, 52; he takes and burns Athens, 64; he is defeated at Salamin, 69; he leaves Mardonius in Greece, and returns precipitately into Asia, 72; violent passion of Xerxes for the wife of his brother Masistus, and afterwards for Artainta, that princess's daughter, 102; he causes Masistus to be put to death, 104; he gives himself up to luxury and voluptuousness, 133; he is killed by Artabanus captain of his guards, 134; character of Xerxes, 135.
- Xerxes II. son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, king of Persia, iii. 319; assassinated by his brother Sogdianus, *ibid.*

Z.

- ZALEUCUS, legislator of the Locrians, wisdom of his laws, iii. 255.
- Zancle, city of Sicily, iii. 357. See Messene.
- Zerah, king of Ethiopia and Egypt, defeated by Asa king of Judah, i. 99.
- Zopyrus, Persian lord, mutilates himself to regain Babylon for his master, Darius, ii. 528; he makes that prince master of Babylon, 529; his reward for so great a service, *ibid.*
- Zoroaster, founder of the sect of the Magi among the Persians, ii. 373.
- Zoroaster, another reformer of the same sect, ii. 373.







