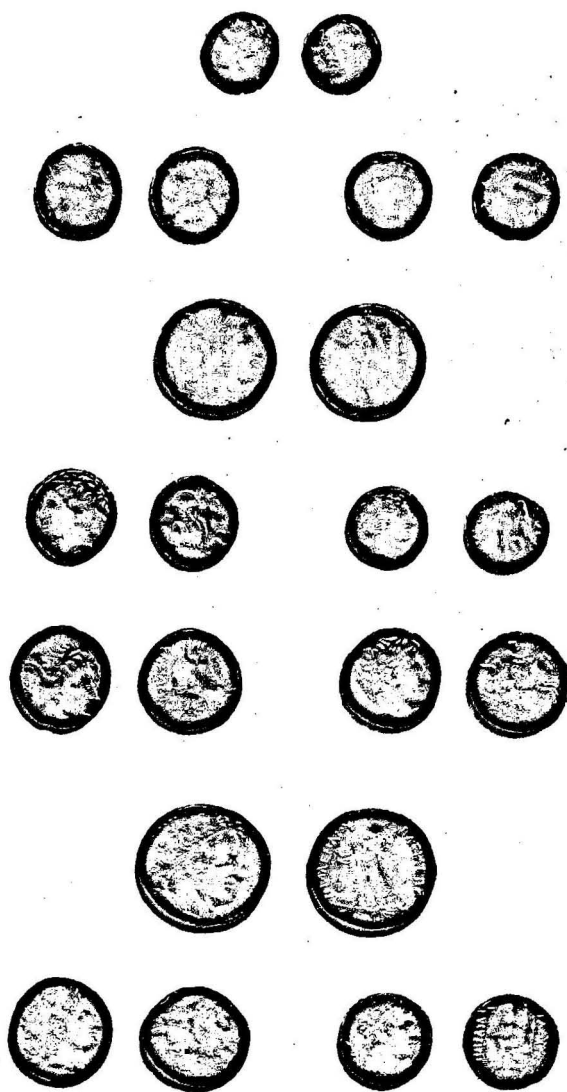




HISTORY OF GREECE

VOLUME IV.—SECTION I.



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GOLD COINS OF GREECE

HISTORY OF GREECE

By VICTOR DURUY

OWNED BY THE FRENCH ACADEMY

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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WITH 2000 ENGRAVINGS, MAPS, PLANS, AND COLOURED PLATES

VOLUME IV.—SECTION I.

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HISTORY OF GREECE.

SEVENTH PERIOD.

SUPREMACY OF MACEDON (359-272 B. C.).

FIRST SUBJUGATION OF GREECE.

CHAPTER XXXI.

PHILIP (359-336 B. C.).

I. — MACEDON BEFORE THE TIME OF PHILIP.

WE have seen that Thebes rapidly became a great power; but she now lay buried, with Epameinondas, under the laurels of Mantinea: never did downfall so quickly follow triumph. By those astonishing successes Thebes had deprived Sparta of her conquests, and destroyed the prestige of her name, so that Lacedæmon experienced the same fate that she herself had earlier brought upon Athens. The two ancient powers, the two heads of Greece, were then discrowned; the confederations each had gathered about herself were broken up. Who profited by this? Not Arkadia, which "the tearless battle" had very early proved incapable of making attack; not Argos, nor yet Corinth, — cities old and enfeebled; not even Thebes, which had glittered like a meteor and vanished. Greece lacked a firm centre, whence a common life could spread itself abroad. This centre had once been at Sparta; later, at Athens; and then a second time at Sparta. But it was again displaced; the axis of Greece inclined towards the northern countries. Thebes had had her day; farther north a dominant power had very nearly formed itself, and might reappear, in Thessaly: when Iason

had obtained the title of *tagos*, a shadow fell over the independence of Hellas. It was not, however, from Thessaly, but from a country more remote, that danger was to come.

The chain from which Mount Pindos extends southwards is prolonged on the east as far as the Black Sea under the names of Orbelos, Skomios, and Haimos, following a line nearly parallel to the northern shore of the Ægæan Sea. The wide region enclosed by these mountains and these shores, from Olympus and the Kambounian mountains on the south, was inhabited by Thracian populations and by those which unitedly are known as the Macedonians. The latter occupied the western portion, and were separated from the former by Mount Rhodope, extending from Haimos to the Ægæan Sea. Rhodope on the east and Olympus on the south were the two extreme limits of Macedon, or at least were the limits her kings proposed to give her.

THESSALIAN COIN.¹

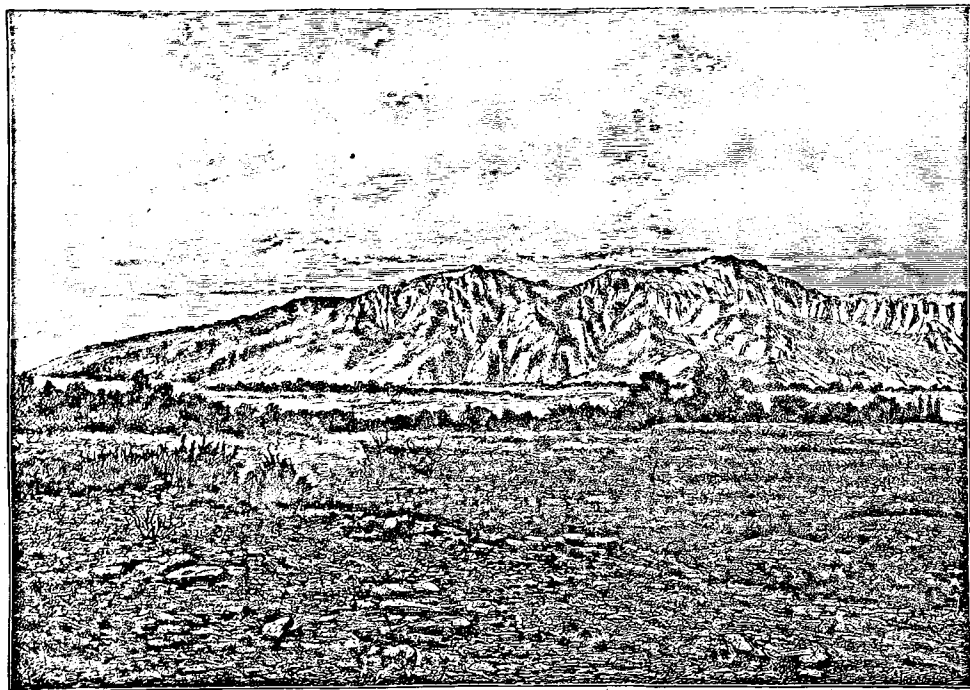
The country is divided into many basins by spurs which branch off from the higher mountain chain and extend to the sea. In three of these basins are the channels of the Haliakmon, the Axios, and the Strymon. The first two reach the sea on a low coast, where they form extensive marshes;² the third, on the contrary, has at its mouth the important city of Amphipolis and the fortress of Eion. Between the Thermaic Gulf, into which the Axios falls, and the Strymonic Gulf, which receives the Strymon, the mainland stretches out into the Ægæan Sea in a peninsula almost circular in outline, terminated by three

MOUNT RHODOPE.³

¹ Thessalian horseman armed with two javelins, his horse stepping to the left; in the foreground a cippus. Reverse: ΠΕΡΑ[ισῶν]; Thetis seated in a chair, to the left, and looking at the helmet of Achilles, which she holds on her knees; the whole in an incused square. (Trihemiobolion of the Perrhaiboi in Thessaly.)

² The inhabitants at the present day call the Haliakmon the "mad river," *Delipatamo*, on account of its dangerous freshets. In the year 1800 it broke its dikes, and for ten years laid the flat country under water (Cousinéry. *Voy. en Macédoine*, i. 2).

³ ΗΓΕΜ Μ ΠΟΝΤΟ ΚΑΒΕΙΝΟΥ ΦΛΑΙΗΘΗΘΗ. In the field, ΡΟΔΟΠΗ. The (feminine) Genius of Mount Rhodope, seated on rocks, to the right, holding in her hand a large flower, probably a rose; behind the rock, a shrub. (Reverse of a bronze coin with the effigy of Antoninus Pius, minted at Philippopolis, under the authority of the *præses*, M. Pontius Labinus.)



MOUNT OLYMPOS.

From a view furnished by MM. Heuzey and Daumet.

had obtained the title of *tagos*, a shadow fell over the independence of Hellas. It was not, however, from Thessaly, but from a country more remote, that danger was to come.

The chain from which Mount Pindos extends southwards is prolonged on the east as far as the Black Sea under the names of Orbelos, Skomios, and Haimos, following a line nearly parallel to the northern shore of the Ægæan Sea. The wide region enclosed by these mountains and these shores, from Olympus and the Kambounian mountains on the south, was inhabited by Thracian populations and by those which unitedly are known as the Macedonians. The latter occupied the western portion, and were separated from the former by Mount Rhodope, extending from Haimos to the Ægæan Sea. Rhodope on the east and Olympus on the south were the two extreme limits of Macedon, or at least were the limits her kings proposed to give her.

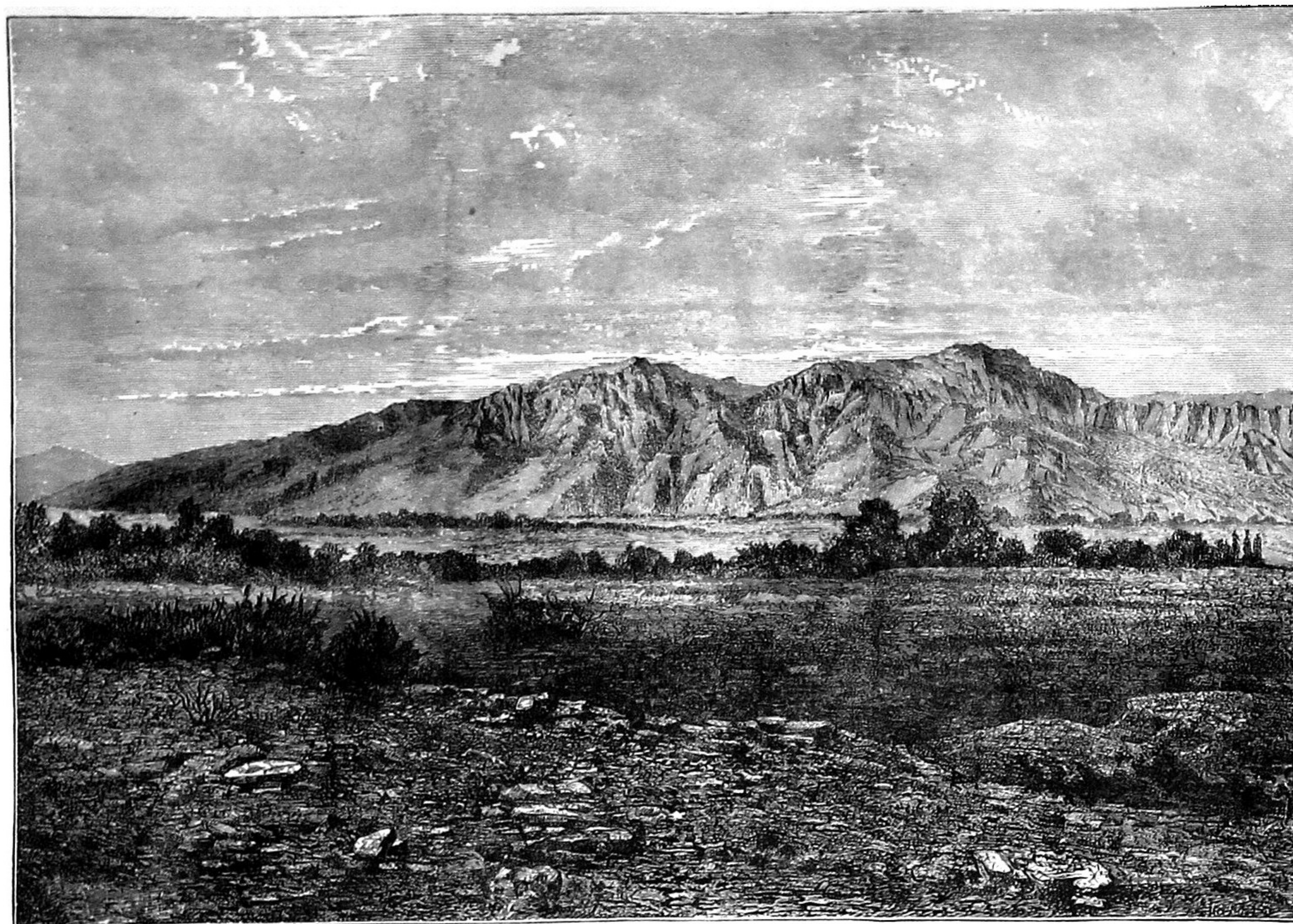
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THESSALIAN COIN.¹MOUNT RHODOPE.³

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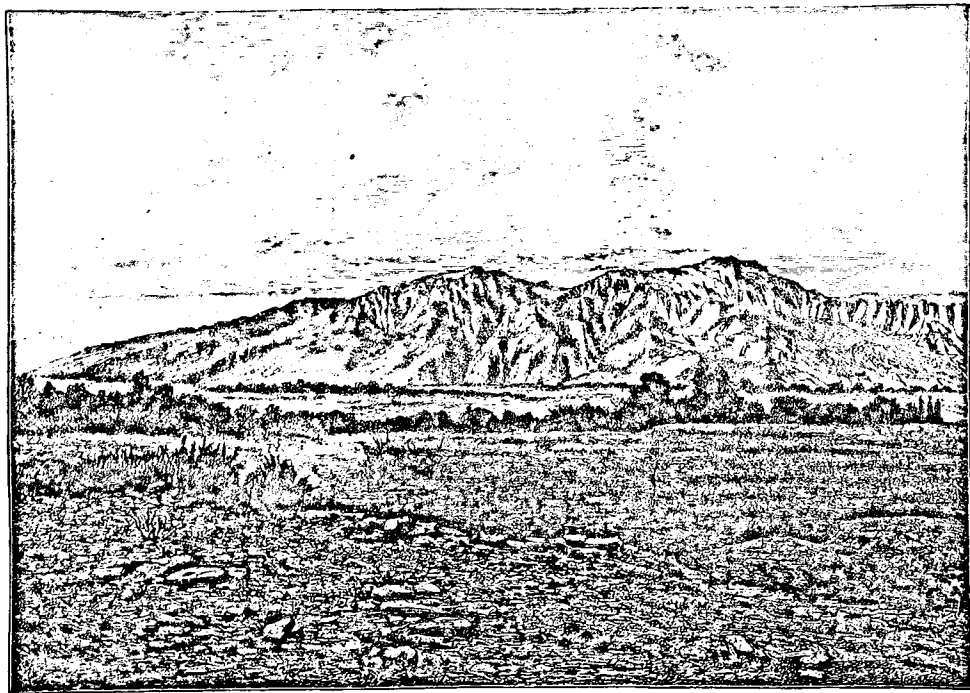
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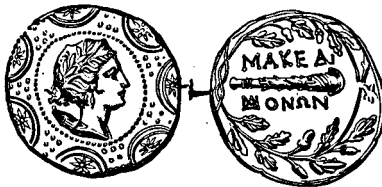
tongues of land which suggest the fingers of a hand,—this is Chalkidike. The wide and fertile valleys of Macedon contrast with the narrow basins and the unfruitful soil which constitute Epeiros and Illyria, on the other side of the Pindos. There was space there for a great people, and such a people dwelt there; but after long delays, for, enclosed between mountains and a marshy coast, the Macedonians long remained outside of Hellenic life, and required a great man to lead them into it.



THE STRYMON.¹

We have no precise knowledge as to the population of Macedon.² It seems to have been a blending of the Greek race with those

Barbarians who formed the population of Illyria and Epeiros, although in the time of Polybios an Illyrian and a Macedonian could not understand each other's language. When the Hellenes invaded Greece, a branch



COIN OF MACEDON.³

of this race doubtless stopped in the southwestern part of Macedon, on the higher Haliakmon and Erigon;⁴ while the north, from the

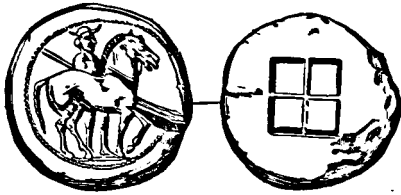
¹ ΟΥΑΝΙΑΚ ΠΑΥΤΑΛΙΑΚ. The Genius of the Strymon seated, to the left, leaning on an urn overturned beside her, whence water is flowing, and placing the right hand on a rudder; behind him climbs a vine with bunches of grapes. A Genius, ΒΟΤΡΥΟ, is gathering one; another, ΑΠΥΡΟΟ, is at the river's feet; behind is seated a third, ΧΡΥΟΟ; in the exergue, a fourth, ΤΑΧΥΟ, is reaping wheat. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Pautalia, with the effigy of Antoninus Pius.)

² Μακεδονία, "the highland." Cf. Fréret, *Mém. de l'Acad.*, xvii. 10.

³ Head of Artemis, right profile, the bow and quiver on her shoulder. This head is the *umbo* of a round Macedonian shield, the edge of which is ornamented with stars and crescents. Reverse: ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ; club and two monograms of magistrates' names; an oak-wreath. (Tetradrachm in *genere* of the early part of the Roman rule.)

⁴ The higher valleys of the Haliakmon and the Erigon are very near the two easiest passes from Illyria into Macedon.—one near the Klissoura of the Devol, where the chain of Pindos is completely cleft, since the Devol, rising in its eastern slope, falls into the Beratino (Apsos); the second, near the pass through which later ran the Roman Via Egnatia. These facts explain what Strabo says (vii. 524), that there was a great general resemblance among the populations of Mount Bermios, as far as the coast opposite Korkyra, — the same weapons, fashion of cutting the hair, and really the same language. We may also note that it was easy to cross from Epeiros into Thessaly by the defile of Gomphi, and from Thessaly into the basin of the Haliakmon by numerous passes of the Kambounian mountains.

Axios to the Strymon, belonged to the great Illyrian tribe of the Paionians, who claimed descent from the Trojan race, and the south to Thracians, Illyrians, Kretonaians, Edones, Bisaltai, and Sitho-



COIN OF THE BISALTAL.¹

nians. The Pierian Thracians lived between the Haliakmon and the sea, the Bottiaians, who called themselves Kretans, but seem to be Thracians as well as their neighbors, between the mouths of the Haliakmon and the

Axios. By contact with these Barbarians the Greek race lost many of its characteristics, and a mixed population was formed, to whom Herodotos refused the name Hellenes, although they showed great facility in adopting the Hellenic language. While it is true that among the Macedonian names which history and inscriptions have preserved to us some are barbaric, the larger number are Greek. Yet a Macedonian could always be known by his way of pronouncing certain letters of that language.

This people formed many tribes,—the Elimioti, the Orestai, the Eordaiani, the Pelagones, the Lynkestai,—of which each had its own chief, and the capital city of the Lynkestai was named, from Herakles, Herakleia. The most powerful dwelt around Aigai, under the name, afterwards so celebrated, of Macedonians. Among some of these bold tribes the man



COIN OF AIGAI (EDESSA).²

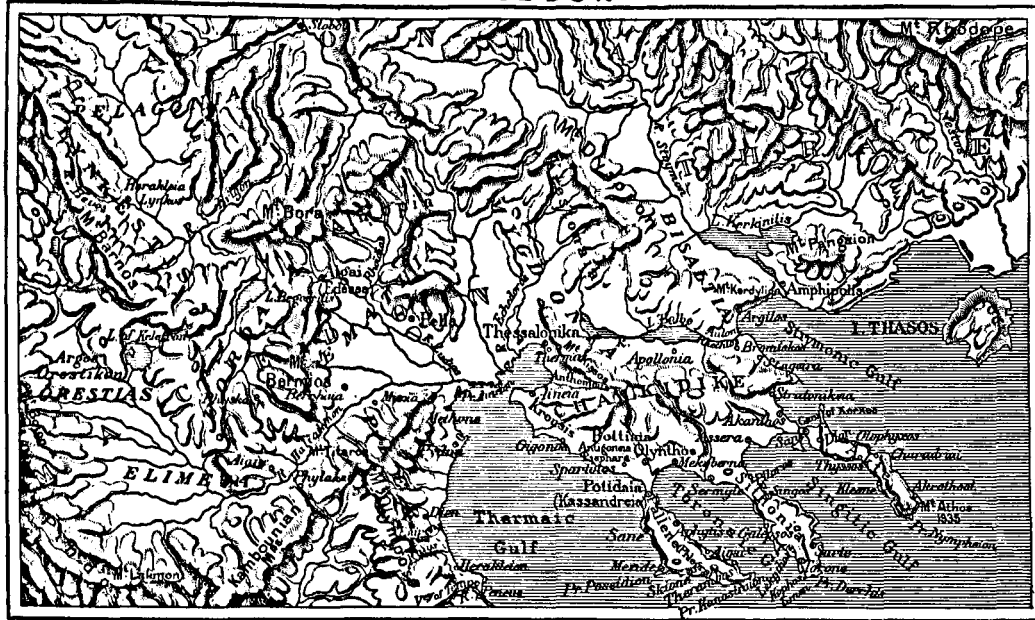
who had not slain a wild boar in the chase was not allowed to recline, but must remain sitting, at banquets, and he who had not killed an enemy was marked with a sign of disgrace.³ Women apparently had more freedom and more influence there than in Greece.

¹ Warrior standing beside his horse, both to the right; he wears the *brassis* and holds two lances. Reverse: incused square divided into four lesser squares. (Silver.)

² Goat crouching, to the right, with the head reverted; beneath, a monogram. Reverse: an incused square. (Silver.)

³ Aristotk. *Pol.*, ii. 2, 6.

MACE DON



Scale: 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

In the primitive history of this country we have neither the epics, nor the national songs, nor the legends of which there were so many in Greece. Thucydides relates only that, about the ninth century before Christ, that is to say, at the time when democratic forms of government were quite generally substituted for kingships, a Herakleid of Argos, Karanos, made an expedition with a band of Greeks into the country of the Orestai, being ordered to do so by an oracle. The king of the country took him into his service in a war against the Eor-daians, and in recompense for the assistance of the Greek gave him Aimathia, a province on the north of the Thermaic Gulf. It is said that Karanos, following a flock of goats, came to Edessa, the capital of that country, to which, in memory of this marvellous guidance, he gave the name Aigai.¹ This city remained the capital until the period of Amyntas and Philip, who transferred that title to Pella, which was nearer the sea.²

HERAKLES.³

¹ Aigai, or Edessa, now the Bulgarian city of Vodhena, was built on a semicircular plateau, between three and four hundred feet in height, having a perpendicular descent on three sides, and on the fourth resting against two high mountains which sent down to it their clear streams of water. (Delacoulonche, *Mémoire sur le berceau de la puissance macédonienne*, p. 72.) It commanded the pass leading from the maritime provinces into upper Macedon, Lynkestia, and Pelagonia, and later was the route of the Via Egnatia.

² Pella, built on hills, was surrounded by marshes of great depth, connecting with the river Loudias, and vessels were thus able to come up to the city. The coast of Bottiaia has no seaport; hence the importance of Pella.

³ Bronze, now in the Museum of Constantinople (S. Reinach, *Catalogue*, No. 596); from

Herodotos, the great story-teller, gives us much more on the subject. Three brothers, he says, of the race of Temenos, — the fourth in descent from Herakles, — Gauanes, Eropos, and Perdikkas, exiles from Argos, went into Illyria, and thence into upper Macedon, where they placed themselves at the service of Lebea as herdsmen. Now, when the queen baked the bread for their food she always noticed that the loaf destined for Perdikkas doubled its weight; she made this marvel known to her husband, who saw danger in it, and ordered the three brothers to depart from the country. They replied that they would go as soon as they had received their wages. On this the king, who was sitting by the hearth, on which fell sunlight through the opening of the roof, as if by divine inspiration said to the brothers,



CAMEO.¹

ers, pointing to the light on the floor: "I will give you that; that is your wages." Upon this the two elder brothers stood speechless; but the youngest, who held a knife in his hand, said: "Very well; we accept it." And having traced with his knife a circle on the floor surrounding the rays, he stooped down thrice, feigning each time to take up the sunshine and bestow it in the folds of his garment and

to distribute it to his brothers; after which they all went away. One of those who sat by called the attention of the king to this conduct on the part of the young man, and the manner in which he had accepted what was offered him; and the king became anxious and angry, and sent horsemen out to follow the brothers and slay them. In that country is a river, to which the descendants of these Argives offer sacrifice as to a god. This river, after the fugitives had crossed it, was so swollen suddenly that the horsemen dared not follow. The brothers arrived in another part of Macedon and established themselves near the lake called the Gardens of Midas, where grow the sixty-leaved roses, sweeter than any

the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. viii. (1884) pl. 12. The hero is represented as walking; with the right hand he holds his club over his shoulder; in the left is his bow. The club is a modern restoration. (Statue discovered at Herakleia.)

¹ Silenos on a goat. Cameo of the *Cabinet de France*. Sardonyx of two layers. Height, 2 cent.; breadth, 17 millim. (*Catalogue*, No. 71.)

others in the world; here, also, according to the Macedonians, Silenos was taken. Having subjugated these countries, they went thence to conquer the rest of Macedon.

Herodotos tells us that the Herakleid Perdikkas I. was the head of the dynasty known to us in Macedon, and that this king reigned at a time when the heroic monarchy was extant in all its early simplicity. Thucydides makes the same statement, and Greece recognized this origin in authorizing the son of Amyntas I. — Alexander, "the Philhellene," as Pindar calls him — to take part in the Olympic Games.



SILVER COIN.¹

Herodotos gives Perdikkas as successors Argaios, Philip, Eropos, Alketas, and Amyntas I., of whom little is known. Only at the epoch of the Median wars does any light begin to fall upon this history. The kingdom, without extending its activity to any great distance, had already grown a good deal. Mount Bermios had been crossed, the Pierians driven from the coast and thrown back eastward upon the Strymon; and the Bottiaians southward toward Chalkidike, while still holding Pella. The Macedonian sway even extended beyond the Axios; the Edones had been driven out of a part of Mygdonia, Anthemous occupied, at the entrance of the peninsula of Chalkidike, and in the interior the Eordaians and a petty tribe of Almopes dispossessed. Thus the kings of Macedon held, even beyond the Axios, strong positions, and they appear to have been suzerains of the petty princes reigning over the adjacent Barbarians. Toward the sea they held the coast of Pieria



TETROBOLON.²

as far as the mouths of the Haliakmon, where they were stopped by the Greeks who, from the Tenth Olympiad, had covered Chalkidike with their colonies and founded Methone on the very coast of Pieria.

Such was the situation of Macedon when the invading Persians seized upon Thrace. Amyntas I., a friend of the Peisistra-

¹ Head of Demeter with a tall *stephane*, right profile. Reverse: BOTTIAION; fore-part of a bull, to the right; incused square. (Coin of the Bottiaians.)

² Soldier standing, holding two spears, at the side of his horse, facing right. Reverse: AAEXANAPO, round a square, itself divided into four smaller squares, in each of which is a globule. (Tetrobolon of Alexander I.)

tidai reigned over the country. He followed the example of the neighboring populations, who had submitted to the Persians, and consented to send to the envoys of Megabazos, satrap of Thrace, the homage of earth and water. But at a banquet these envoys having forgotten the respect due to women at the court of

TETROBOLON.¹

Macedon, Alexander, the king's son, took his revenge, causing the Persians to be assassinated by a party of young men whom he had disguised in women's attire. When the satrap sent to require the punishment of the guilty, Alexander won over the envoy who had been intrusted with this duty by giving him his sister in marriage, and the assassins went unpunished.

This Alexander became king in 500 B. C. When the Persians of Xerxes arrived, the Macedonians were swept away by the torrent; but though in the camp of the enemies of Greece, Alexander neglected no occasion of proving that he acted against his will, and had no other wish than to serve his brother-Greeks. He it was who warned the Greeks to escape from Thessaly; and he, whom Mardonios sent to Athens as a negotiator; he also who, on the eve of the battle of Plataia, came by night on horseback to the camp of the Greeks and revealed to them the enemy's designs. Notwithstanding this he still held the favor of Mardonios, who gave him Thrace as far as Mount Haimos. After the great Median disaster, this acquisition was lost to Alexander by the revolt of the native tribes. But it may have been due to the protection of the Persians that he was able to subjugate the Bryges, the Thracians of Bisaltia, the Pelasgians of Krestonia, and the cities of Therma and Pydna. Of the last-named, which, built on the coast of Pieria, was adjacent to the sea, he made his habitual residence, the more closely to observe the affairs of Greece. It is evident that the king of Macedon required great skill to escape difficulties in so perilous a situation and to find means in the general tumult of increasing his own kingdom. His successors, surrounded like himself with enemies, were obliged to pursue a like course; and political skill, a necessity to the

¹ Horseman to the right, holding two spears; underneath, a flower. Reverse: fore-part of a lion to the left, in an incused square. This Macedonian coin is of doubtful origin.

Macedonian kings, became the characteristic of this government. It was a school whose last result was Philip, the most accomplished statesman of Greek antiquity.

Macedon had grown by the friendship of the Persians; she also gained by their defeats. As a result of Athenian victories Alexander I., "the guest of the Republic," and Perdikkas II. increased their territory, the whole region between the Axios and the Strymon becoming Macedonian. But Perdikkas had a brother Philip, who possessed certain districts of this region, "and the two brothers were enemies." Athens allied herself with the weaker; and to have her eye and her hand constantly upon Macedon and Thrace, she founded Amphipolis, at the mouth of the Strymon.¹ From that day Perdikkas was one of her most active adversaries; he united with Corinth, supported rebellious Potidaia, solicited Sparta to invade Attika, and instigated another revolt against Athens in Chalkidike. In Olynthos, lastly, which by its position was sheltered from the Athenian fleets, Perdikkas gathered the population of many little cities of the coast, thus affording a bulwark to Macedon.

SILVER COIN.²

The Athenians were prompt in retaliating. Eastward of Macedon were the Odryasai, under the government of their king, Sitalkes, who had brought into subjection the boldest of the Thracian tribes. He asked only an occasion to invade his neighbor's territory. The Athenians urged him to do this, and he entered Macedon with a numerous force, imposing hard conditions. These terms Perdikkas violated, and Sitalkes returned in a great rage, advancing, notwithstanding the courageous resistance of Perdikkas and the petty kings of the north, as far as the Axios, ravaging all along his road, and at last became so formidable that Athens, terrified, ceased to furnish him with provisions (429 B. C.). Perdikkas seized the opportunity to advance against the king of the Odryasai, who fell back, possibly giving up Philip to his brother.

Perdikkas had established friendly relations with Athens for a

¹ See Vol. II. p. 588 and Vol. III. p. 274.

² Coin of Perdikkas II. Bearded head of Herakles, right profile, wearing the lion's skin.
REVERSE: club and bow.

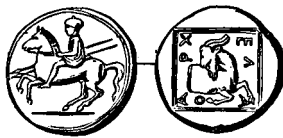
moment, that he might be in a position to repulse his formidable enemy. When the danger disappeared he became again her enemy, stirred up against her the cities of Chalkidike, allied himself with Sparta, and induced the Spartans to send Brasidas northward (424 B. C.). The Macedonian king had another project: he wished to have the Spartans' assistance in conquering the petty kings of upper Macedonia who were endeavoring to escape from his control. Dardas, king of the Orestai, had, for that reason, recently taken up arms; at the moment Arrhibaïos, king of the Lynkestai, was in revolt. Brasidas at first refused; then when he had seized all the cities of Chalkidike and also Amphipolis, he consented to unite his troops to those of Perdikkas. But in presence of the enemy the Illyrian mercenaries of the king deserted to the enemy, the Macedonians, affrighted, fled, and Brasidas, with his Greeks, effected a retreat under extreme difficulties (423 B. C.).

This event impaired the good understanding between Perdikkas and the Spartans; moreover, the latter had in their turn become too formidable. The Macedonian king negotiated with Athens, and persuaded the people of Thessaly to close their roads against the Spartan armies. Things remained on this footing until his death (418 B. C.). His rule of conduct had been to make no permanent alliances, and to gain assistance in turn from Athens and Sparta, Corinth and the Odrysai, — an ungenerous policy, and one which does not merit the approbation of history; skilful, however, bold, and either ruinous or else greatly profitable to a State.

Alexander I. begins the series of those Macedonian kings who felt the need of Hellenizing their people, in order to add to the strength of barbarism the splendor and the resources of civilization. Perdikkas II. followed his example: he opened his States to the Greeks whom war drove out of their own land, and received in his royal abode the poet Melanippides, and even Hippokrates. His successors continued this wise policy, and it was destined to be Macedonians who gave Greece her last defenders, and wrote, at Pydna, the last page of her history.

After Perdikkas II., the expedition into Sicily, the disasters of Athens, the change in the seat of war to the Asiatic coast

gave Macedon a breathing space. In Chalkidike the Spartan rule followed the Athenian,—less to be feared because Sparta had less strength by sea. Moreover the new king, Archelaos I., occupied himself in another way, seeking less to aggrandize than fortify his power, which had but emerged from the traditions of the heroic age. To obtain the throne, he had murdered a brother, an uncle, and a cousin whose rights were superior to his own. A man like this, master of a kingdom he had bought so dear, was not likely to allow any encroachments of the nobles, who on their side had all the pride of a semi-barbarous Dorian



SILVER COIN.¹

aristocracy. Archelaos waged an obstinate war with them, and was able to reduce them to a degree of docility, and to seize the authority which comes naturally to kings when a population feels



SILVER COIN.²

by instinct that the power of one man is necessary for them. Thucydides tells us that he did more for the country in respect to its organization and utilizing of its resources than all the rest of the kings, eight in number, who

had preceded him.³ Instead of mercenaries without fidelity, and tumultuous levies without experience or discipline, he had a regular army. He fortified cities to arrest invasions, and opened roads to favor trade and agriculture,—a thing rarely done by governments at that time. Finding Pydna too much exposed to attacks by sea, he built another



BRONZE COIN.⁴

capital, Pella, situated in the interior, and protected by marshes, while at the same time a river near by, the Lydias, gave it communication with the Thermaic Gulf.⁵ At the foot of Olympos, on

¹ Soldier on horseback, galloping to the left; he wears the *kausia* and holds two spears with the right hand. Reverse: APXEAAO; fore-part of a buck, kneeling, with reverted head; incused square. (Macedonian horseman on a coin of Archelaos I.)

² Coin of Archelaos I. A free horse, galloping to the left. Reverse: APXEA; eagle, with wings displayed, standing to the left; the whole in an incused square.

³ ii. 100.

⁴ Beardless head of Herakles, right profile, wearing the lion's skin. Reverse: ΔΙΑΤΩΝ; club and bunch of grapes. Coin of Dion.

⁵ See above, p. 9, n. 2.

the road leading to the valley of Tempe, he founded Dion, and invited thither Greek civilization. At Aigai he instituted games



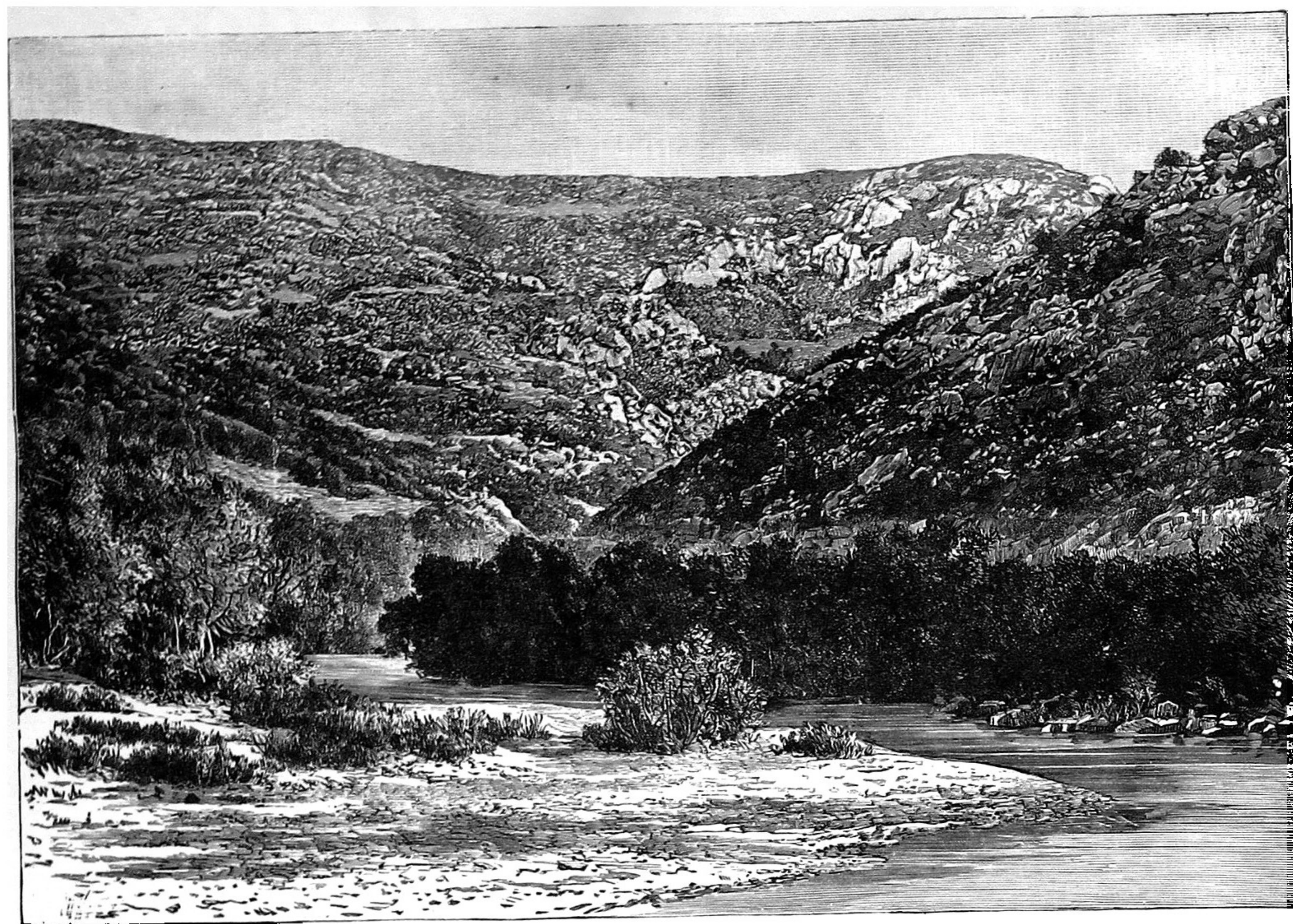
BAS-RELIEF.¹

in honor of Zeus, like those which the Greeks celebrated at Olympia. His court was magnificent; he sent for the Greek artists, and in his palace were paintings by Zeuxis, for which the king paid seven talents. He vainly strove to attract thither Sophocles, whose proud genius was only content in Athens, and Sokrates, who would have ceased to be himself if he had quitted the Agora; but his invitations were accepted by Euripides, who spent the last years of his life in Macedon, together with two other poets, Choirilos and Agathon, at that time famous, and the musician Timotheus; and according to Athenæus he had established friendly relations with Plato. In this country, half Greek and half barbaric, which had neither regulated civil life, nor commerce, nor manufactures, nor art, nor literature, Archelaos supplied the elements of all these things, striving to make his people in a few years overtake the Greeks. The Peter the Great of this Greek Russia perished

in 399 B. C., perhaps a victim to the resentment of his nobles.

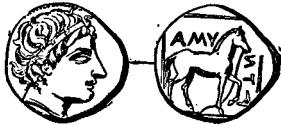
The comparison with Russia might be carried farther, by adding that this forced civilization did not penetrate the mass of the nation, and only had the effect to polish—perhaps to corrupt—the nobility and the court. “When my father became your king,”

¹ Macedonian soldier, with helmet, spear, sword, and shield. Marble now in the Museum of Constantinople (S. Reinach, *Catalogue du musée impérial d'antiquités*, No. 120, p. 18); from the *Mittheilungen d. d. archäolog. Instit. in Athen*, vol. viii. (1883) pl. 4. This is a funeral bas-relief of Pella, doubtless of the fifth century B. C. It was set off with color here and there,—on the handle of the sword, for example.



VALLEY OF TEMPE (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH).

Alexander, at a later day, said to the mutinous Macedonians, "you were poor, wandering shepherds, wearing the skins of beasts, and keeping flocks upon the mountains, or fighting wretchedly to defend yourselves against the Illyrians and Thracians and the



SILVER COIN.¹



SILVER COIN.²

Triballoi. He gave you the soldier's coat; he brought you down into the plains, and taught you to fight the Barbarians with the same weapons that they used." The civilizing king left much yet to be done. His reign, moreover, was followed by crimes, usurpations, murders, and civil wars, which filled forty years (399-359 B. C.). Orestes, son of Archelaos, is for four years the ward of Airopos, who then slays him and reigns



SILVER COIN.³

in his place two years. Airopos leaves the throne to his son Pausanias, who at the end of a year is overthrown by a descendant of Alexander I., of another line than that which had reigned till then. This Amyntas II. is soon driven out by Bardylis, a brigand chief who had made himself king of the Illyrians, and now gives the Macedonian throne to Argaios, brother of Pausanias; but Pausanias returns, supported by bands from Thessaly and Olynthos. These bands were then causes of dread for Macedonia. Sparta destroys their power and authority,



SILVER COIN.⁴

¹ Coin of Amyntas II. Diademed head, right profile (the head of Apollo more probably than that of the king). Reverse: AMYNTA; free horse, stepping to the right and dragging his bridle; the whole in an incused square.

² Youthful head of Herakles, right profile, wearing the lion's skin, tied under the chin. Reverse: ΓΕΡΑΚΚΑ; free horse, to the right, pawing the ground; underneath, a club. (Coin of Perdikkas III.)

³ Coin of Airopos. Beardless head, wearing the *kawia*, right profile. Reverse: ΑΕΡΟ. Fore-part of a lion devouring his prey, to the right.

⁴ Coin of Pausanias. Diademed head, right profile (Apollo?). Reverse: ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ; horse, standing, to the right; he is branded on hind quarter with a caduceus; the whole in an incused square.

and compels them to give back to Amyntas all the places he has yielded to them in a moment of distress. And Amyntas, thereafter, lived tranquilly at Pella, the ally of both Sparta and Athens.

BRONZE COIN.¹

Thus the kingship of the heroic age, which in the Greek States was retained only at Sparta and in Epeiros, and there in a very enfeebled form, was still vital in Macedon. "The king is superior to all," says Aristotle, "in wealth and honor." He lived, however, habitually in the midst of disturbances and revolutions, and gave no more tranquillity to his subjects than the demagogues gave to the democratic States.

Amyntas II. left three sons, — Alexander II., Perdikkas, and Philip (369 B. C.). The first was after two years' reign assassinated

COINS OF AMPHIPOLIS.²

by Ptolemaios of Aloros, who belonged to the royal house, but was of illegitimate birth. It is asserted that Alexander's mother, Eurydike, had a share in this murder to favor Ptolemaios, whom she loved, and who was the guardian of the young Perdikkas III. A prince of the blood, Pausanias, supported by a part of the Macedonians and by the Thracians, attempted to overthrow both. Iphikrates, an old friend of Amyntas, chanced to be at that time with an army in the neighborhood of Amphipolis, with the intention of recovering that city for Athens. Eurydike sought an interview with him, bringing her two young sons, Perdikkas and Philip, whom she presented to him as suppliants. Iphikrates made himself their champion; he drove Pausanias out of Macedon, and the boy Perdikkas remained under the guardianship of Ptolemaios and in

¹ Youthful head of Herakles, right profile, wearing the lion's skin. Reverse: AMYNTA; eagle, devouring a serpent. (Bronze coin of Amyntas II., king of Macedon from 389 to 369 B. C.)

² 1. Laurelled head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: AMΦΙ[πολιτων]; lighted torch; the whole in an incused square. (Bronze.) 2. Laurelled head of Apollo, three quarters to the left. Reverse: AMΦΙ[πολιτων]; lighted torch; the whole in a laurel-wreath. (Drachma.) 3. Diademed head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: AMΦΙ[πολιτων]; dolphin; the whole in an incused square. (Obolos.)

PHILIP (359-336 B. C.).

the alliance of Athens. Thebes saw this influence with displeasure and overthrew it. To hold the regent in check, Pelopidas carried away to Thebes Philip, the youngest of the sons of Amyntas (368 B. C.).

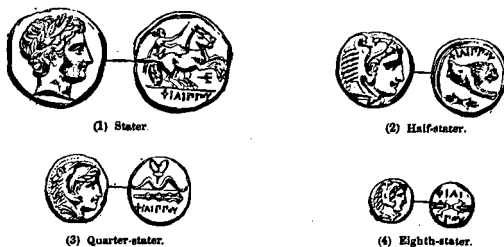
As soon as Perdikkas became a man, he avenged by the murder of Ptolemaios the death of his own eldest brother, his mother's disgrace, and the perils he himself had incurred (365 B. C.). He reigned five years longer, and seemed to follow in the footsteps of Archelaos: he maintained friendly relations with Plato, and when the Amphipolitans were hard pressed by Athens, he took advantage of the opportunity to garrison the town; but being attacked in 359 B. C. by the Illyrians, he perished in battle with them, or, as is asserted, fell by the hand of an assassin hired by his mother, Eurydike.

II. — ACCESSION OF PHILIP (359 B. C.); HIS REFORMS; CAPTURE OF AMPHIPOLIS.

THE brother of Perdikkas III., Philip, third and youngest son of Amyntas II., was at this time twenty-three years of age. He had returned from Thebes several years before to take command of a province which Perdikkas had granted him, perhaps at Plato's entreaty. His residence in the city which had just raised itself to the first rank in the Hellenic world completed what nature had done for him. He beheld Greece at the very height of civilization, Thebes at the height of power; and he had the singular good fortune to live near a man who seemed to unite in himself all the virtues of his race, great as a general, an orator, and a philosopher, — Epameinondas. And for a sagacious mind, how many useful observations there were to make, in the midst of this strife of ambitions, conducted with the most subtle policy, — on fields of battle a new system of tactics, superior to that of Sparta; in the cities the sudden angers and sudden feebleness of the popular assemblies, excitement ruling in the council rather than wisdom, plans indiscreetly made public, slowness in execution, venality in the leaders. There was a knowledge of men and things which

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was to be a terrible weapon in the hands of a man versatile and bold, enterprising, crafty, eager for glory, and going everywhere to seek it, even in the dangers where it cost dearest;¹ of an indomitable activity, served by an iron health; having nothing of the tyrant in him, affable, clement, generous, where these virtues aided his plans; above all, of a devouring ambition, which in

GOLD COINS OF PHILIP II.²

case of need would step on the body of Justice itself to reach and grasp fortune,—the ideal, in fine, of a statesman, if the last word of statesmanship is success.

The new king was a child, Amyntas III.; the guardianship naturally belonged to Philip, his uncle, and he seized it. Great difficulties were rising on every side, and threatened to plunge the kingdom again into the anarchy where so often during the past forty years it had been submerged. A circle of enemies surrounded Macedon: behind it and on its flanks, the barbaric tribes; before it, the Greeks who occupied the shores of the Ægæan Sea; and the Illyrians, who had recently slain a king of Macedon and four thousand men, were threatening the provinces of the

¹ Demosthenes, in his oration *On Philip's Letter*, says: "He is so scornful of danger, so ardent for glory, that his body is but one great wound, so willingly he receives the enemy's blows;" and in the oration *On the Chersonesos*, "The reason why he has such advantages over us is that he never quits the army, that it is always ready, and that seeing afar off what he ought to do, he falls easily where he wishes."

² 1. Laurelled head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ; woman in a biga, the horses galloping to the right; underneath, the trident, the mint-mark of Amphipolis. 2. Youthful head of Herakles, right profile, wearing the lion's skin. Reverse: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ; fore-part of a lion, springing to the right; underneath, a thunderbolt. 3. Youthful head of Herakles, right profile, wearing the lion's skin. Reverse: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ; club and bow; underneath, a Dionysiac kantharos. 4. Youthful head of Herakles, right profile, wearing the lion's skin. Reverse: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ; thunderbolt.

west. Emboldened by this disaster, the Paionians were ravaging those of the north; on the east, the Thracians were making ready for a general invasion; on the south, the Athenians were watching their opportunity to recover Amphipolis, to whose loss they had never been able to reconcile themselves; lastly, interior discords opened the door to foreign invasions. Two claimants still endeavored to take the crown from Amyntas: one, Pausanias, that prince of the royal house whom Iphikrates had already expelled, sought aid from the king of Thrace; the other, Argaios, the former adversary of Amyntas II., or, possibly, a son of this Argaios, had just obtained from the Athenians a fleet and three thousand hoplites, under the command of Mantias.



SILVER COIN.¹

To encounter all these perils, there were a people discouraged from the disaster they had recently suffered, an aristocracy and troops insolent, as is always the case in civil wars, and of a doubtful fidelity in the presence of claims which made it uncertain where the right lay and who would obtain success. It was needful, then, to re-animate the confidence of the Macedonians in themselves, to attach them to their leader, and to unite them under a strong discipline, so that they could fight with advantage those who were regarding them as an easy prey: this was the task at home. Abroad it was needful to free the frontiers from enemies, to repel the Illyrians on the right, the Thracians on the left, and to drive into the sea the Greeks who were barring to Macedon the access to the deep gulf which Nature had made part of her domain.



TETRADRACHM OF BYZANTION.²

This was the first plan,—a plan of deliverance; the second was to be a plan of conquest. From Macedon, thus pacified and

¹ Coin of Damastion (Illyria). Woman's head, right profile, with a high *stephane*. Reverse: ΔΑΜ[monogram]; a sort of ingot of metal with a strap by which to lift it (Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 185).

² Head of Demeter, veiled and with a wreath of wheat-ears, right profile. Reverse: ΕΠΙ-ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΔΑΡ[monogram]; Poseidon, half-nude, seated to the right on a rock; his peplos is on his knees, he holds in his left hand the trident, and in his right an ornament of the prow of a vessel; in the field the monogram ΠΥ, initials of the city's name, and another monogram, a mint-mark.

extended to its natural limits,—a fortress commanding Greece,—Philip went westward to invade Illyria, and eastward to subdue Thrace. It was within the scope of his wishes to lay one hand



BUST OF ARES.¹

on Byzantion, the key to the Euxine, and the other on Thermopylai, the key of Greece. This being done, the conquest of the Persian empire would be very easily made. It must not be supposed that Philip conceived this gigantic scheme at the very first. A new hope sprang out of each new success in his case. The plan grew with its prosperity, and it had been so well conceived in the outset, in its more restricted limits, that it was perfectly well suited to have a wider scope. This is glory enough for Philip, without supposing him, as some writers have done, to foresee the future twenty years before that future was possible. We may add that Philip made the successive steps we have just indicated with the valor of the god of war himself, and with all the astute prudence of Odysseus; that it was only at the last step that Alexander took his place; and

that even then he would have anticipated his son, had not a dagger-thrust put an end to his life in the full strength of his age, his prosperity, and his genius.

First, to separate Athens from the party of Argaios, he

¹ Parian marble, now in the Glyptothek of Munich (Brunn, *Beschreibung*, No. 91). The head, like that of the Borghese Mars (Vol. II. p. 444) is the replica of a famous work.

announced that he would leave Amphipolis independent. Gifts skilfully distributed induced the Thracians to remain inactive. Before the Athenians had entirely deserted the cause of Argaios, this prince invaded Macedon; he was defeated, and it is probable that he was killed, and all the band that he commanded were surrounded on a hill and forced to surrender. Several Athenians were among the prisoners; these Philip sent home loaded with gifts, and followed them by an envoy bearing a friendly letter to their city. With the Athenians such diplomacy had its reward: peace was made. Set free on this side, Philip now turned against those who lately had imposed upon him humiliating conditions. Notwithstanding the courage and skill of their chief, Bardylis, a soldier of fortune of the lowest extraction, he defeated the Paionians, who now acknowledged his sovereignty.

TETRADRACHM.¹

The Illyrians met a similar fate and yielded to him all the territory eastward of Lake Lychnitis, with the mountain passes which henceforward he was able to close against them.

These successes merited a recompense. The Herakleid who in so short a time had raised Macedon to such a height received the crown. Was it indeed, as has been said, a usurpation? The royal succession was not determined by regular laws; in a country like that the throne was a war-horse in whose saddle any descendant of Herakles might sit; and by his

DRACHMA.²

birth and his courage Philip fulfilled this condition. Moreover he retained his nephew at his court, and later married the youth to one of his own daughters. Another man would have put the heir to death; but strong in his usefulness to the nation and in his popularity, Philip could act boldly. No absolute ruler, furthermore, would have used, as he did, the methods which are current

¹ Coin of Lykeios, king of the Paionians (359-340 B. C.). Laurelled head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: ΑΥΚΚΕΙΟΥ; Herakles, nude, strangling the Nemean lion; he holds his club in the right hand; in the field are his bow and quiver.

² Coin of Patraios, king of Paionia. Diademed head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: ΠΑΤΡΑΙΟΥ; fore-part of a wild boar to the right; behind, a monetary mark. Patraios reigned from 340 to about 315 B. C.

in free States. In the army he manifested the physical qualities which the soldier esteems; an untiring horseman, an intrepid swimmer, he would have gained the prize in all military games and exercises, and he had besides eloquence, which adds so much to the authority of rank. In the palace and in the city affable and win-



MACEDONIAN BAS-RELIEF.¹

ning in his manners, he loved, according to the country's custom, long banquets, deep draughts of wine, and was the more popular for that with the Macedonians. But in case of need he was sober and strict with himself, living with his troops, and, like them, at the chance of marches through luxuriant or sterile regions; and this con-

¹ Bas-relief from Macedon, brought to France by Heuzey (*Mission archéologique en Macédoine*, pl. 22), and now in the Museum of the Louvre. Funeral scene. The survivors are represented bidding adieu to the deceased, who is seated and wears the *kausia*, the national head-gear of the Macedonians.

tempt on the chief's part for the comforts of life always goes to the soldier's heart. His personal popularity had made it easy for him to gain the crown, and it also gave great facility for the reforms of which the kingdom had need, in respect to which also he made sure of the favor of Heaven, oracles judiciously circulated representing him as the man predestined to bring greatness to Macedon.

The long-continued insignificance of the kingdom had been due to the bad organization of the army and to the anarchical claims of petty chiefs who, more or less nearly akin to the royal house, possessed a quasi-sovereignty over vast domains where they had their own private guards. A contemporary,

TÉTROBOLON.¹

Theopompos, mentions Philip's eight hundred *hetairoi* (companions-in-arms) as rich in lands as ten thousand Hellenes. There was, therefore, in this kingdom, as in the Europe of the feudal period, a nobility very well able to make trouble

DIDRACHM.²

for feeble kings. Philip took advantage of the dangers to which the country was exposed to make an attempt to subjugate all, in the name of the common safety and the prosperity of the nation, to a rigorous discipline. He habituated the troops to make, with their arms and baggage, and wearing the *kousia*, — the national hat, — marches of three hundred stadia a day [thirty-four miles]. He forbade the use of carriages for the officers, and allowed the cavalrymen but one servant apiece, and the infantry one for every ten. It is said that he sent away a foreigner of rank who had used a warm bath, and that he dismissed two generals who had brought a singing-woman into the camp. A young noble who, on the march, had fallen out of the ranks to quench his thirst, was beaten with rods, and another who, counting on his favor with the king, had done the same, contrary to express orders, was put to death. The multitude were

¹ Macedonian shield, in the centre of which is a club and the inscription: ΜΑΚΕ[ΔΟΝΩΝ]. Reverse: Macedonian helmet with cheek-pieces; in the field, a star and three monograms. (Coined 158-146 B. C., at the beginning of the Roman rule.)

² Macedonian horseman, wearing the *kousia* and fighting with the javelin. Reverse: ΑΜΥΝΤΑ; lion to the left, breaking up a javelin with his teeth.

not displeased to see the king punish with this semi-barbarous severity the nobles, whose effeminacy and insolence had so many times angered them.

Philip took another precaution against his nobles,—he induced them to send their sons to him and to take pride in having these lads perform duties in the royal household as well as the military service of the king's guards; as a matter of fact they were hostages. These youths had the privilege of exemption from being beaten with rods unless on the king's express order, that of sitting at the royal table, and especially the advantage of being in the line of promotion. The βασιλικοί παῖδες were candidates designated in advance for the great offices; but in this military monarchy they also served on the field of battle.¹ Philip endeavored even to make of them educated men who might be useful to him in diplomatic missions and rival the Greeks in learning and eloquence. Royalty has often employed means like these to bind the aristocracy to the throne and transform nobles into courtiers whom the brilliancy of court life would lead to forget the rude manners, and also the independence, of the seigniorial manor.

The nucleus of the army was the phalanx, whose germ is found in the military system of Epameinondas. The phalanx consisted of a mass of men crowded close, sixteen files deep, covered with strong defensive armor, carrying a short sword, a very large round shield with trimmings of brass, and the *sarissa*, a huge lance, twenty-one feet in length,² held in both hands, and projecting fifteen feet before the holder. The ranks were three feet apart; hence men in the front rank were protected by five pikes, — their own, whose point projected fifteen feet before them, those of the second rank twelve feet, of the third nine feet, of the fourth six, and of the fifth three feet. The rest supported the first ranks, but carried their lances sloping on their comrades' shoulders, in a way that formed a roof of pikes above the phalanx, sheltering it in a degree from the arrows of the enemy. This, then, was the monstrous beast, bristling with iron, of which Plutarch speaks, and on level ground nothing could resist it.

¹ Arrian, iii. 17, 2; iv. 1, 3. Livy (xlv. 5) shows us these youths accompanying Perseus, after the battle of Pydna, in his flight to Samothrace. See Quintus Curtius, viii. 6, 1.

² [Polybius, xviii. 12; *Ælian, Fact.*, 14. — Ed.]

But the phalanx alone was not enough; taken on the flank or rear, this enormous mass had no strength, for, destitute of supple-



FIGHTING HORSEMAN.¹

ness and mobility, it could not make rapid evolutions or change front in case of need. Philip therefore gave it the support of

¹ A bronze statuette called the Fighting Alexander, in the Museum of Naples; from a photograph. It is known that Alexander was represented bare-headed in a statue by Lysippos, in memory of the fact that the king's helmet was broken at the battle of the Granikos; and it has been thought that this bronze may be a replica of that work (see *Die Portraitdarstellung Alexanders des Grossen auf griechischen Mäuzen des Königs Lysmachus von Thracien*, in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, by A. von Sallet, vol. viii., 1881, pp. 28 *et seq.* The Greek mounted his horse either with the assistance of the ἀναβαλέας, a servant who lifted the foot or the knee, or else leaped to the saddle while the horse was in motion.

light troops (*hypaspistai*), who began the attack, scaled heights, and carried intrenchments. In front and around these troops were bowmen,—an irregular body, usually foreigners.

The cavalry, called the *hetairoi*, “the king’s Companions,” armed with the sabre and a short javelin, was also of great importance in the Macedonian army, and always played a conspicuous part in the Asiatic battles. At the Granikos, at Issos, at Arbela, it had the honor of the day; these troops were like the modern cavalry of the line, and were composed of the highest nobility of the country.¹

Lastly, Philip organized what we should call a park of artillery and siege-trains; that is to say, his army was always provided with engines for discharging arrows at the enemy, or large rocks against the walls of cities,—machines which before his time had been used not at all or very rarely.²

We may also remark that at the moment when Philip was making the Macedonian army so strong, Greece, for reasons already explained, had no national army whatever. This fact alone explains many things.

In Macedon, personal military service was obligatory, as it had been in all the Greek cities before the custom of buying mercenaries had been established. Philip, therefore, had as many soldiers as he could maintain. His army at first numbered ten thousand men; but he increased it constantly, raising it at last to thirty thousand. This military force, which was large for the extent of his kingdom, and moreover was constantly in the field during his belligerent reign, acquired an importance which transformed the government of Macedon into something like a military

¹ The fact that the Macedonians had been obliged to fight on the plains of Thrace had made their cavalry superior to that of the Greeks. Epameinondas, acting only in a hilly country, had but one horseman to ten foot-soldiers; Alexander had one to six. See, as to the Roman armies, *History of Rome*, i. 669, note 1. It is worthy of remark that among the Greeks horses were not shod, and horsemen did not use stirrups.

² Aristotle (*Politics*, vii. 2) speaks of “the recent invention of the *ballista* and of many machines whose effect is so terrible.” This was a revolution in the art of war,—a revolution increasing the wealth and power of States and monarchs, as the introduction of cannon in the fifteenth century aided kings in grasping absolute power. We have seen (Vol. II. p. 583 and Vol. III. p. 237) that Perikles probably had machines at the siege of Samos, and that the Spartans employed them against Plataia; but the great development of this new art dates from the Macedonian period. In respect to the phalanx, see in Polybios (xviii. 12–15) his excellent comparison between it and the Roman legion.

despotism. The rights possessed by the people, or a certain part of the people, passed to the army, which, when far away in Asia, represented the nation, and exercised its right of judging State criminals. We shall see that Alexander frequently consulted his soldiers in cases of high treason, and that under his successors the Macedonians often, in the camp, filled the same rôle with the people of Athens in the Agora.

Two years had not passed since his brother's death, and already Philip had pacified and reconstructed Macedon. A strong centralized power had been established, a large army was in process of organization, the nation had been pacified, and unfounded claims severely repressed. The successes already obtained promised others; for while

COIN OF PHILIP II.¹

Philip was strong, it was no ungrateful soil upon which he bestowed labor. There was in this Macedonian nation an element of vigor, constantly stimulated by the neighborhood of the Barbarians, and only needing direction. The civil wars, far from weakening this force, had only given it more energy, as always happens when it is not totally destroyed in internecine struggles.

Regarded, up to this time, as one of the barbaric countries, Macedon could not make itself a place in the Greek world except by becoming a maritime power, as Russia became a European power only on the day when, with St. Petersburg, she took possession of the Baltic coasts. But numerous fortresses belonging to Athens and to her allies stood between Macedon and the sea, "like prizes of victory exposed in the arena." Philip was eager to seize them. He first turned his attention towards Amphipolis, which by its position at the mouths of a large river opened or closed the sea to Macedon, and the valley of the Strymon to the Athenians. Shortly before this time, the king, still feeble and endangered, had renounced all claim to this city; he now felt himself strong enough to take it. Disputes arising between the colony and its mother-city

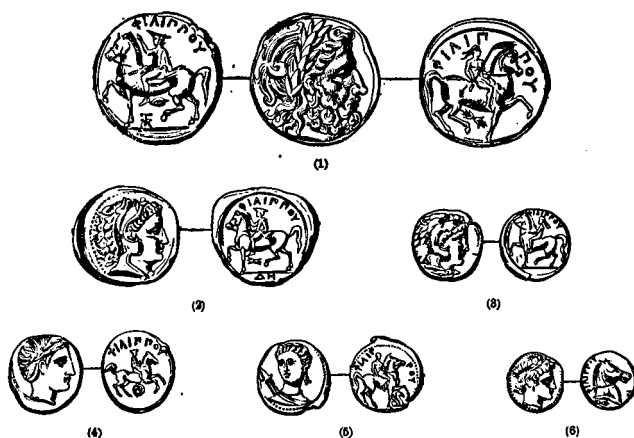
¹ Diademed head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ; horseman, nude, on a horse galloping to the right; underneath, a monogram and a period. (Bronze.)

² Beardless head of Herakles, right profile, with the lion's skin. Reverse: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ; club; in the field an indistinct monogram. (Bronze.)

served him as a pretext, and he attacked Amphipolis. But he had both Athens and Olynthos to dread. The latter city, humiliated by Sparta, had rallied after the abasement of the Spartan power, but without re-forming the great confederation at whose head she was placed in 382 B. C. If these two cities should unite, Philip would be defeated. With marvellous address, and with a duplicity of which later he gave more than one instance, he secured the defection of Olynthos by giving up to her the city of Anthemous; and he persuaded the Athenians that he was about to make the conquest of Amphipolis for them, on condition that they would allow him to occupy Pydna, which in the reign of Amyntas had separated itself from Macedon to enter the Athenian alliance. When Amphipolis, besieged by his army, sent an embassy to Athens, offering submission and begging for help, Philip wrote also, renewing the promises he had made; and the Athenians, much occupied elsewhere, relied upon the good faith of the Macedonian king, and dismissed the envoys from Amphipolis with a refusal. The city was taken 338 B. C., and does not seem to have been treated with the extreme rigor of which Demosthenes speaks. Philip limited himself, according to Diodoros, to banishing the principal citizens of the opposite party. By the terms of his agreement with the Athenians he was not obliged to relinquish to them Amphipolis until he had occupied Pydna. This place he at once besieged; it fell into his hands by treason, and he still retained Amphipolis. The Athenians saw that they had been deceived.

Their exasperation brought back the possibility of a league with Olynthos. This time it was the Olynthians whom Philip won over, by the promise of giving them Potidaia, held by an Athenian garrison, and commanding the entrance to the peninsula of Pallene. Potidaia was taken, perhaps by treason, as Pydna had been, and the king, for whose interest it now was to keep his word, gave it up to the Olynthians (357 B. C.); but he treated the Athenian garrison courteously, and sent them home in safety, protesting that it was his wish to remain at peace with Athens. What had he done? Nothing, it seemed, but that which he had a right to do: he did not attack, he took what had been his; as a czar of Russia said when endeavoring to lay hands upon Constantinople,—he took the keys of his own house.

The capture of Amphipolis gave him access to Thrace, and supplied him with building-woods from the valley of the Strymon;

SILVER COINS OF PHILIP II.¹

but farther eastward lay Krenides, at the foot of Mount Pangæon,² long famous for its mines of gold and silver, poorly worked

¹ (1) Tetradrachms. Laurelled head of Zeus, right profile. Reverse: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ; horseman wearing the *kausia* and the *chlamys*; his right hand is lifted; the horse steps to the left. In the field is an olive-leaf and a monogram. On the second piece is the same head of Zeus, and on the reverse a horseman, nude, a diadem on his head, holding a long palm in his right hand; his horse is stepping to the right; in the field is a thunderbolt.

(2) Didrachm. Youthful head of Herakles, right profile, wearing the lion's skin. Reverse: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ; horseman wearing the *kausia* and the *chlamys*, with lifted right hand; the horse steps to the left; underneath is a thunderbolt; in the exergue, ΔΗ, mark of the mint-master.

(3) Drachma. Beardless head of Herakles, right profile, with the lion's skin. Reverse: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ; Macedonian horseman stepping to the left.

(4) Tetrobolon. Laurelled head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ; Macedonian horseman galloping to the right; underneath a monogram, — mint-mark.

(5) Tetrobolon. Bust of Artemis, three-quarters front; on the shoulder, the bow and quiver. Reverse: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ; Macedonian horseman stepping to the right, holding a torch; underneath a griffin, — mint-mark of Abdera.

(6) Diobolon. Diademed head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ; horse's head, bridled, to the right; underneath, a thunderbolt.

² This mountain, Pifaf-Tepe, is over six thousand feet in height. Cf. Heuzey, *Mission archéologique en Macédoine*.

because too many owners quarrelled for their possession. Philip seized upon "the city of springs," increased its population by a colony, its strength by solid walls, and gave to it his own name, Philippi (356 B. C.). It was in the plains adjacent to this city that the Roman republic fell, with Brutus and Cassius, the leaders of the tyrannicides. The mines of Mount Pangaion had yielded but little before Philip's time; now, under his management, they brought in an annual revenue of more than a thousand talents. This mass of precious metals gave him the opportunity to make a monetary reform which was of great commercial importance to Macedon: he coined silver tetradrachms after the Rhodian system, which were current everywhere, and gold staters having the same value with the Persian daric, which Greece knew only too well. Macedon therefore had a bi-metallic currency, as we now say.¹ Tetradrachms and staters went everywhere throughout Hellas, to buy soldiers, sailors, and traitors.

III.—SITUATION OF ATHENS; THE SOCIAL WAR (357–356 B. C.); ISOKRATES AND DEMOSTHENES.

How did it happen that the Athenians allowed Philip thus to extend his power all along the coasts of the Ægæan Sea? The answer to this question is found in the internal condition of the republic and in the difficulties with which it was at this time assailed. On these two points we must seek information by reverting to a period some years earlier.



OROLOS OF SAMOS.²

In her foreign relations Athens had never completely recovered from the blow received by her at the close of the preceding century, although her alliances with Thebes against Sparta, and with Sparta against Thebes, had permitted her to reconstruct in part

¹ Alexander modified his father's coinage by adding to it pieces having the weight of the Athenian tetradrachm,—266 grains. The quarter of this piece, or the drachma, became the unit for the whole Greek world. The relation of gold to silver was at this time 1 to 12.50. Cf. on these questions, Brandis, *Das Münz, Mass und Gewichtswesen*, etc.

² The prow of the Samian galley. Reverse: ZA; an amphora and an olive-branch.

her former confederation.¹ Learning wisdom from experience, she had dealt more justly with her allies, and had divided more equitably among her own citizens the public offices of the State. But ideas of conquest quickly returned. Timotheos, again in favor with the Athenian people, expelled the Persian garrison from Samos in 365 B. C.; he seized Methone, Pydna, Potidaia, and twenty other cities of Chalkidike, and subjugated a part of the Chersonesos (364 B. C.). Athens again extended her sway over the Hellespont and along the Thracian coasts; again also the poor received land in these domains of the republic, and the policy of the mother-country was interfered with by relations, amicable or



COIN OF PYDNA.²

hostile, which established themselves so far from home. After Leuktra, Thebes became uneasy at sight of this prosperity again springing up. She put a garrison in Oropos, on the frontier of Attika and opposite Euboa, which



COIN OF CHIOS.³

was a twofold menace to Athens; then she armed a fleet under the command of Epameinondas, who forced the Athenian Laches to fall back before it. Chios, Rhodes, Byzantion, and the Chersonesos were even obliged to abandon the Athenian alliance (364 B. C.).

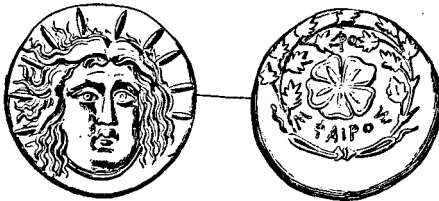
The death of Epameinondas put an end to the prosperity of Thebes, and Athens was able to recover her maritime supremacy. In 362 B. C. she made an alliance with the revolted satraps of Asia Minor; two years later, for the sake of the gold washings of the district, she sent colonists to Krenides, which we have seen that Philip took possession of in 356 B. C. She hoped, soon after, to recover all the Thracian Chersonesos, as a result of the victories of Timotheos over Kotys, and after the murder of this king (359 B. C.), by a treaty with the Odrysian chiefs, who disputed among themselves for his kingdom. At last a vigorous effort of

¹ See Vol. III. p. 551. Some of the dates which follow are uncertain.

² Woman's head, left profile. Reverse: ΠΥΔΑΙΩΝ. An owl, to the left. (Bronze.)

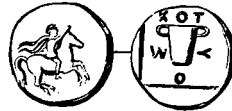
³ ΧΙΩΝ. Dionysos, crowned with ivy, standing, his peplos on his arm, and holding a thyrsos; at his feet a grape-leaf and a bunch of grapes. Reverse: ΟΒΟΑΟC; winged sphinx, to the right, laying the paw on a ship's prow. (Bronze coin of the Roman period.)

Chares gave her, in 357, that province, which was doubly important to her, for it commanded the highway of commerce in cereals, and levied a toll on vessels from the Euxine. The Kimmerian Bosphoros, on the other shore of this sea, was the granary of Peiræus.

COIN OF RHODES.¹

Leukon, who reigned there with the title of archon, was a great friend of the Athenians; he had given their ships the first rights in respect to lading, besides exempting them from

port-dues in sailing out, so that their cargoes, arriving first in the market, could be sold at better prices than those of their rivals. In return, Athens brought to this kingdom her various manufactures, and spread the influence of Greek art in these barbaric countries, where ancient tombs give back to us at the present day beautiful remains of Hellenic jewelry.²

BRONZE COIN.³

EuBoia, even, was again brought into alliance with Athens by a resolve worthy of the noblest days of the republic. A body of Boiotian troops had landed in the island; at news of this, Timotheos became indignant. "The Thebans are in the island," he said, "and you still deliberate, you do not hasten to the Peiræus and cover the sea with your vessels!"⁴ A decree was immediately passed; but all the trierarchs who were to serve that year had already fulfilled their obligations, and there was no one who could be legally required to arm a galley. As at Rome, the patriotism of private individuals furnished to the State that which the public treasury could not give. The citizens taxed themselves

¹ Radiate head of the Sun, front face. Reverse: ΡΟ[diadē] and ΣΦΑΙΡΟΣ, a magistrate's name; a rose, full blown, surrounded by a wreath of oak-leaves. (Bronze.)

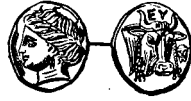
² See the *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*. In these volumes and in the *History of Rome* may be found interesting and beautiful specimens of these treasures.

³ Coin of Kotys I. Horseman galloping to the right; his right hand is lifted and his chlamys floats over his shoulders. Reverse: ΚΟΤΥΟΝ; two-handled cup, incused square (Bronze of Kotys I, who was king of Thrace from 382 to 358 B. C.)

⁴ Demosthenes, *Concerning the Chersonesos*.

voluntarily, and five days later an Athenian fleet crossed to Eubœia and expelled the enemy from the island. Among the number of these patriots was Demosthenes. "For the first time," he says, "Athens had voluntary trierarchs, of whom I was one."¹

Unfortunately these acts of patriotism, which had once been the daily life of the Athenian people, were now but a transient flash of devotion. The trierarchs, whose duty it was to equip vessels, sold the work to needy adventurers, and the latter paid themselves in plunder and extortion, in which even the officers were involved. Chares stole a part of the money which he should have paid into the treasury, and obtained immunity by bribing the principal orators.



SILVER COIN.²

With better intentions than formerly, the Athenians now wearied the patience of the allies more than before, and did not even hold themselves ready to give efficient protection. In the first half of the Peloponnesian war the Athenian navy was so powerful that sailors and admirals were animated with a confidence that made their strength twofold; no enemy, even though their superior in numbers, dared encounter them. Now that the employment of mercenaries had taken the place of the service of citizens in the army, an adversary demoralized soldiers, sailors, and pilots, even ship-builders. Thebes in a few months could supply herself with a fleet and range the Ægæan with impunity; for his first victory Alexander, the tyrant of Pherai, defeated an Athenian squadron; he pillaged Tenos, selling all the inhabitants, ravaged the Cyclades, besieged Peparethos, and entered the Peiræus (366 B. C.). As a result



BRONZE COIN.³

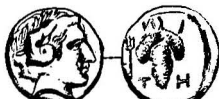
of this confusion, the pirates reappeared, and when they had made themselves rich they conquered some city, and from bandits became tyrants. Thus Charidemus, long a pirate, ended by the capture of Skepsis, Kebren, and Ilion, on the Asiatic coast, and reigned there.

¹ Oration, *Concerning the Crown*.

² Coin of Eubœia, in *generis*. Diademed head of the nymph Eubœia, left profile. Reverse: $\text{EY}[\text{Bocivw}]$; head of the cow Io, to the right; the horns adorned with fillets; in the field a head of Pan, front view.

³ Coin of Chalkis in Eubœia. Head of Hera, front face, with a high *stephane*. Reverse: $\text{XAA}[\text{κεδivw}]$. Eagle, to the right, devouring a serpent.

Since there was no longer security to be obtained by it, why should a costly and useless confederation be kept up? The money which remained from the contributions of the allies, says Isokrates, was distributed at each performance during the festivals of

BRONZE COIN.¹BRONZE COIN.²

Dionysos, under the eyes of the allies, witnesses of these gifts made to the people of what was most clearly their own property,³ by

ACTORS WITH MASKS AND TAMBOURINES.⁴

mercenary orators. In 357 B. C. they broke with Athens openly, and the Social War began, Rhodes, Chios, Kos, and Byzantion taking the principal part in it.

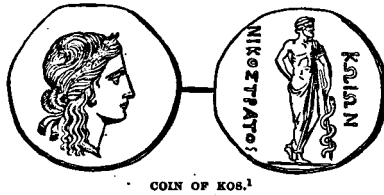
¹ Coin of Peparethos. Laurelled head of Zeus, right profile. Reverse: ΠΕ[περηθίων]; Dionysiac kantharos, with handles from which depend bunches of grapes.

² Coin of Tenos. Youthful head of Zeus Ammon, right profile. Reverse: ΤΗΝΙ[ων]; bunch of grapes and trident

³ This was the *theorikon*. See in Vol. II. p. 639 and Vol. III. p. 68, leaden tokens, indicating a right to the two obols (and sometimes more than that) of those who presented them, whether the poor only, or any citizen (*Philippics*, iv. 141). Böckh estimates this expense to amount to twenty-five or thirty talents.

⁴ Bas-relief discovered at Peiræus (from the *Mith. d. d. archæol. Instit. in Athen*, vol. vii., 1882. pl. 14). At the left are three actors standing in theatrical costume, masque and tambourine in hand. At the right, extended on a couch, is a personage holding in the right hand a

There is nothing to say of Kos or of Byzantium, unless it be that the former was the birthplace of Hippokrates and, just now, of Apelles; and that the latter had already acquired great importance, owing to its harbor, so well called in modern times the Golden Horn, and its position at the eastern extremity of Europe, facing Asia, on the highway by which Athenian vessels went to



COIN OF KOS.¹

seek the cereals of the Tauris and the fish of the Euxine. Rhodes was more famous. About 480 B. C. she had substituted for monarchy a government skilfully composed of aristocracy and democracy, which had kept this island free from revolutions; and an old custom, religiously observed, obliged the rich citizens to maintain the poor. The latter received also from the



BRONZE COIN.²

State wheat or wages for public works in the harbors and arsenals, so that they never remained in destitution or in idleness, — two very dangerous conditions. The establishment of colonies in remote countries, as far off as Spain and Gaul, further served at once honorably to reduce the number of the poor and to extend commerce. This solicitude of the rich had its motive, doubtless, in self-interest; it did more for their tranquillity than all the severity manifested by other States. The island had three



BRONZE COIN.³

drinking-horn, in the left a *phiale*; at his feet is seated a young girl. The inscription engraved on the plinth (*Διδυκοσ* and *Παιδία* for *Παιδεία*) seems of much later date than the bas-relief, which is clearly of the fourth century; accordingly, Robert suggests, as the name of the reclining figure, the hero Akrotos or Akrotopotes. At his feet would be a Bacchant or the goddess of Tragedy (*Τραγῳδία*). See C. Robert, *Mith.*, vii. 394.

¹ Head of Aphrodite, with wreath of myrtle, right profile. Reverse: *ΚΩΣΙΩΝ*; a magistrate's name, *ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ*: Asklepios, standing to the right, leaning on his staff, around which is coiled a serpent. (Silver.) The head of Aphrodite on this coin is probably a reproduction of the head of the statue carved by Praxiteles (Dutens, *Explication de quelques médailles*, pl. iv.).

² Coin of Byzantium. Head of Artemis, right profile, with bow and quiver. Reverse: *ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ*; crescent surmounted by a star.

³ Coin of Byzantium. Head of Dionysos, crowned with ivy, right profile. Reverse: *ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ*; bunch of grapes.

principal cities: during the Peloponnesian war, in 408 B. C., it was resolved to give it a capital, and Rhodes was founded on the northern coast. It was made a sumptuous city, full of temples, of stately edifices, and of wealth; abounding also in courage and intellectual tastes. These tastes must have brought the Rhodians



VIEW OF ONE OF THE HARBORS OF RHODES.¹

into friendly relations with Athens. They accepted her alliance, and remained faithful to it during her prosperity. After the disaster in Sicily they went over to the side of Sparta; but the victories of Konon in 391 B. C. brought them again into alliance with Athens.²

Chios, a mountainous island, as Homer calls it, where the ancients sometimes placed the abode of the blessed, on account of the salubriousness of its climate, had but a sterile soil, through which the granite pierced at every step. But upon this rock had grown,

¹ From Alb. Berg, *Die Insel Rhodus* (Brunswick, 1861), pl. 32. In the distance is seen the coast of Asia Minor.

² The commerce of Rhodes was very active. Upon many vases, fragments of which have been found at Mytilene, in the island of Lesbos, and at other points in the Greek world, is the stamp of Rhodes, whose traders carried them into these places.

from the very struggle against unfriendly Nature, a population hardy and industrious. They had made for themselves the soil which they needed, and had become the most skilful agriculturists of the Ægæan Sea. A proverb is still current in the island: "Under their hands the earth grows better." They had cut terraces on the hillsides, had carried earth thither, and like the Swiss or the populations of the Pyrenees, had compelled the rock to become productive, giving them a wine that Strabo and Athenæus esteemed the best in Greece.

The supply of water was insufficient, and they sought it in the heart of the mountains, while in the plains they had planted forests which, in the month of May, perfumed the whole island, the sea, and the opposite coast of Asia.¹ Chios had founded no colonies, and never did found any in her subsequent history; but her merchants went everywhere, they were the most skilful speculators, and, so to speak, the bankers of the whole Hellenic world. Thucydides regards them as the richest of the Greeks. They had an unusual institution, which was, no doubt, one of the results and also one of the causes of their prosperity, — all contracts between individuals must be made before a magistrate and engraved on stone, the State taking them, as we do now, under its protection.

All these forms of wealth, however, had never given the inhabitants of Chios the disposition to play a political rôle. They had fought bravely for Ionian liberty at Lada, with a hundred triremes; but they had ended by peaceably accepting the Persian sway, and, later, that of Athens, being well treated for the sake of their important fleet. In the public sacrifices of Athens vows were offered for the city and for Chios together. After the Sicilian expedition

BRONZE COIN.²

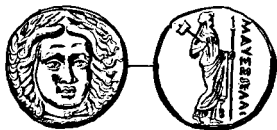
¹ At the present day the plain which surrounds the capital produces millions of oranges. A vegetable curiosity, which is also a source of wealth to the island, is the mastic-tree, the *Lentiscus*, which secretes a gum highly valued in the Levant. A liquor is made from it, and the gum itself is chewed by the women in harems to sweeten the breath, and is also burned in censers. Civilized nations use it to make a very clear and transparent varnish. It has never been possible to render this tree productive elsewhere. See the *Mémoire sur l'île de Chio*, by Fustel de Coulanges, in the *Archives des missions*, v. 431-642. Unfortunately, this island is subject to severe earthquakes.

² Coin of Chios. Sphinx, seated to the left. Reverse: on two bars which cross each other, ΧΙΟΣ and ΙΚΕΣΙ[ος], a magistrate's name; wreath formed of a vine-branch.

this island also revolted from Athens, and, again like the Rhodians, returned later to its allegiance.

Why should these two wise and prudent States fling themselves anew into the hazards of war? A reluctance to go on paying tribute to an enfeebled city which had no longer the prestige nor the strength which victory gives, had certainly much to do with it, but probably their action was due in large measure to a revolution, concerning which we know but little, at that moment in progress on the southwestern coast of Asia Minor. Mausolos¹ reigned at Halikarnassos and over the whole of Karia. He was probably very rich and powerful; his sumptuous tomb is a matter of history. We know that in 362 B. C. he furnished to Sparta a subsidy, and he armed a hundred triremes; three years later he aided in the

success of an oligarchical revolution at Rhodes and at Chios, which brought these islands into a condition of dependence on himself. Kos was already thus dependent, and in 345 B. C. his successor still reigned there.² Mausolos had doubtless hoped to



TETRADRACHM.³

establish a maritime sway; and the best means to effect this, after having gathered about⁴ him the States holding a secondary rank at sea, was to overthrow the one which, notwithstanding her misfortune, still held the first.⁴ The league sent to sea a hundred vessels.

Peiraieus was destitute of inhabitants, and there were but few wealthy citizens left in Athens. Formerly there had been so many

¹ The coins of this king give the orthography *Μαύσολος*.

² Demosthenes, *In behalf of the Rhodians*, 1; *Concerning Peace*, 24; Diodoros, xvi. 7. Mr. Newton, while British consul at Mytilene, discovered, near the close of the year 1856, the famous tomb of that king, and even his statue; also a frieze eighty feet long, and other fragments,—all works which at once took rank with the finest antique sculptures we have, and are now in London, with the works of Pheidias.

³ Coin of Mausolos. Laurelled head of Apollo, front face. Reverse: ΜΑΥΣΟΛΑΟ; Zeus Stratios, armed with the bipenna, and holding a long spear, standing, to the right; in the field, the letter B, a mint-mark.

⁴ Demosthenes, in his oration *In behalf of the Rhodians*, accuses Mausolos of being the instigator of that war.

NOTE.—The colossal statue of Mausolos represented on the opposite page was discovered by Mr. Newton in the ruins of the Mausoleum, and is now in the British Museum. (From a photograph.)



MAUSOLOS.

WANTS
 SOCIETY
 POONA

that the galleys were armed each at the expense of one man of two. But this time had passed; it was needful now to divide the burdens of the trierarchy among several. In 357 B. C. Peisandros applied to the fleet the system of symmories, established in 378 for purposes of taxation.¹ The twelve hundred citizens whose names stood on the registers as those paying the highest tax were united, according to the size of the vessel to be fitted out, in groups of five or six, and even of fifteen or sixteen, to furnish in turn that which, since the time of Solon and even earlier than that period, the State had been accustomed to require of the trierarchs. Such a measure seemed necessary, for the time of patriotic sacrifices was about to return.



SILVER COIN.²

This system of association was successful, and Athens soon had two fleets: one, of sixty galleys, sent, under the orders of Chares and Chabrias, to besiege Chios; the other, of equal strength, commanded by Iphikrates and Timotheos, sent towards the north. In a rash attack upon the harbor of Chios, Chabrias found himself alone in the midst of the enemy, and



HEMIDRACHMA.³

fell, fighting, rather than surrender his galley (357 B. C.). He was a man of great courage, — perhaps the last Athenian general of note. This disaster decided Chares to unite with Iphikrates and Timotheos. It was decided to sail towards Byzantion, to drive away from that coast the hostile fleet which was at the time ravaging the islands which had remained faithful to Athens, — Lemnos, Imbros, and Samos. Samos was saved; but the two fleets encountered each other in the channel of Chios, and Chares was determined to fight, although the approach of a storm caused his two colleagues to refuse to join him. He attacked, hoping they would feel compelled to follow him; but being left alone, was defeated: he took his revenge by accusing them at Athens of treason. The people, delighted to save the favorite of the moment at the expense of old servants, deprived the latter of their command. On finding

¹ See Vol. II. p. 604.

² Coin of Samos. The skin of the lion's head, which is worn by Herakles, a front view, the jaws spread apart. On the reverse is an incused square.

³ Coin of Chios. Sphinx seated, to the left; before her, an amphora surmounted by a bunch of grapes. Reverse: ΠΥΘΙΑΣ, a magistrate's name, on a bar across a granulated field.

himself alone at the head of the fleet; Chares sold his services to a revolting satrap, Artabazos, in order to procure the money his men demanded. The Athenians at first approved of this method of paying off their mercenaries; but the Great King's threat of sending



ISOKRATES.²

three hundred vessels to the allies induced Athens to conclude a peace (355 B. C.), after three years of a war whose details are for the most part unknown, in the end, however, causing the defection of Korkyra. Athens recognized the independence of the confederates. She lost her most important allies, with the tributes they paid her, the sum of what remained being now only forty-five talents.¹ Her finances and her commerce were ruined, her faith in herself was again destroyed, and the decline in public spirit among her citizens became more marked. The people, instead of accusing themselves, laid the blame on

their chiefs. Timotheos, who diminished by his character the popularity which his services gave him, was condemned in 356 B. C. to pay a fine of a hundred talents; to escape this he quitted Athens and went to live in Chalkis, where he died. Iphikrates saved himself by his resolute language, contrasting the acts of his

¹ Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, § 214. These allies were Thasos, Tenedos, Prokonnesos, and Skiathos; but Athens retained Lemnos, Imbros, Skyros, and the Thracian Chersonesos, which assured her a remnant of power, in the north of the Egean Sea and at the entrance of the Hellespont.

² Marble bust in the Villa Albani (from Visconti, *Icomografia greca*, pl. 28, 3). The name of the orator (ΕΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ) is engraved on the plinth.

entire life with the vain words of the rhetorician who accused him. He had appeared in court surrounded by a number of his companions in arms, who were a threatening guard, and the intimidated judges acquitted him; from that day, however, he refused to hold office. Thus the jealous spirit of the Athenian democracy deprived the country at one blow of its two best generals (354 B. C.).

About this time appeared a famous document, composed by Isokrates, an artist in the use of words, in the form of an oration *On the Peace*, probably before it was concluded, unless indeed the writer, too much occupied in polishing his phrases and measuring his syllables, made one of those *ex post facto* arguments which appear when it is too late.¹ Himself a disciple of Plato's master, Isokrates proposed to apply to political action the great principles of equity which Sokrates taught. In the oration *On the Peace*, an elevated moral feeling is manifested. The dominant idea is that justice alone can found durable authority, and that all the misfortunes of Athens have arisen from the fact that she did not respect it. He asserted that the oppression from which the allies had suffered had been the cause of their revolt; he attributed this oppression to the corruption of the people, the armies, and the generals, and the corruption itself to that dominion over the sea, which had already been fatal to Sparta. Hence the conclusion that Athens must renounce maritime power, even if offered her.

It seemed to Isokrates that a prudent moderation and a timid wisdom could alone make States or individuals prosperous. The period of Aristeides and Themistokles he called the golden age, forgetting that Themistokles laid the foundations of the naval power of Athens, and that Aristeides regulated it, and that without this power Athens would have fallen, first under the blows of Xerxes, and later under those of Sparta. There must be no more war, Isokrates said; let the troops be disbanded, and the rich citizens, crushed by taxation, would breathe again; the Athenians would no longer degrade themselves by entrusting their defence to merce-

¹ "Men counted the years that Isokrates employed in preparing an oration, as they count the hours a woman spends at her toilet; it is said the famous panegyric, which is a writing fifty pages long, cost him ten years' work." — E. HAVRT: *Isocrate*, p. lxxv. It may be noted that Isokrates is very severe upon Sparta.

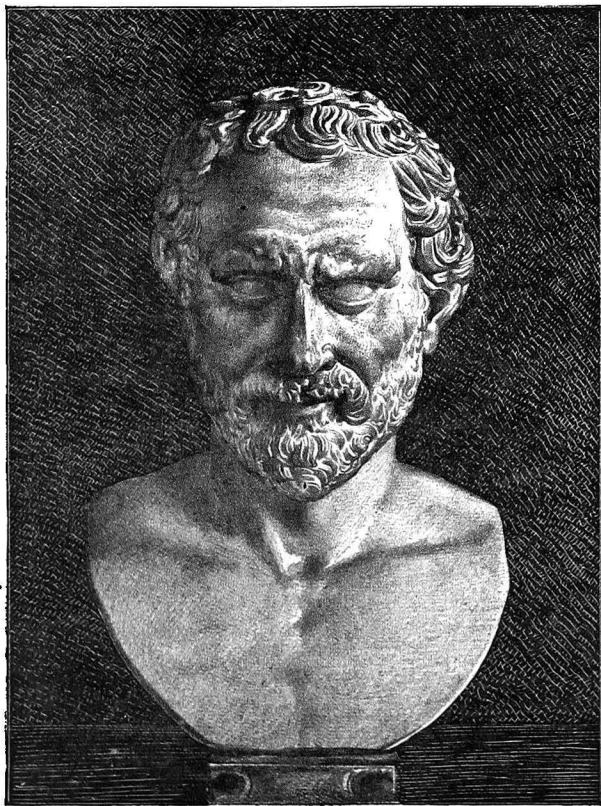
naries; commerce would revive; Athens, now abandoned by strangers, would see them coming to her again in crowds; the allies, rejoicing in her unselfishness, would turn their gaze and their wishes towards her; they would gladly accept that sway which heretofore she had laid upon them by force, and the reign of justice would arrive. Thus, after at first accusing the maritime sway of all the evil, Isokrates came back to it again. Too much occupied with making his sentences melodious, and more careful of words than of ideas, he forgot his premises in his conclusion. He desired a thing less possible in Greece than anywhere else, — namely, a strong empire, with cities perfectly independent; and he gave yet another proof that the desire of a Utopia is not always separated from timid moderation.

Special attention is due this work and its author. They both were the expression of a party from day to day becoming more numerous, whom “the noisy speakers of the bema”¹ terrified, and who were called “the party of the honest men.” This feeble school were soon after to cherish another chimera, — the good understanding between Philip and Greece; and hiding its weakness under the patriotic idea of resuming the hereditary war against Persia, to call Philip the new Agamemnon, entrusted with the duty of leading the Hellenes against their national foe. Inasmuch as this party cannot comprehend the rude necessities of things, and as it recoils in alarm from the idea of taking a vigorous resolution, it will always recommend the extreme of prudence. Let there be justice, everywhere and always; let there be also moderation, — but on condition that there be no hesitation in the presence of dangers, no peaceable acceptance of insults, no reluctance to take up a challenge; the ethics of the State not being the same with those of the philosopher in his closet.

Contrasted with this school and with the timid old man who had not even the courage to speak in public, and who was eighty years of age all his life, there was another party, another man, and another style of eloquence. The reproaches of Isokrates, so mingled with oratorical precautions, slipped over the public mind without obtaining entrance into it; such remonstrances, to take effect and to awaken something of antique virtue, should have fallen

¹ *οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος παυόμενοι.* — ISOKRATES: *Address to Philip*, § 129.

from the lips of Demosthenes when he made the Agora ring with that voice animated by passion, those words launched like thunder-



DEMOSTHENES.¹

bolts, without precaution, it would seem, and without art, so hot and hasty were they. Compare—to mark the difference between

¹ Marble bust now in the Museum of the Louvre.

the rhetorician and the statesman—the oration of Isokrates *On the Peace* with that of Demosthenes *On the War with Persia*; they were written about the same time and with the same end in view.¹

The man who was to be for thirty years the soul of his people began his work with much difficulty; and he is a memorable example of our power over ourselves, for he was the creation of his own will quite as much as of nature. In his childhood his comrades called him Argas,² to indicate the harshness of his disposition; and this harshness remained with him through life. His busts, which resemble those of some rugged wrestler, give no hint of an amiable nature, and grace was lacking in his orations as in his personal appearance. He was the son of an armorer who owned many slaves,³ but he early became an orphan. His guardians plundered him, reducing his fortune from fourteen talents to less than two, and would not even pay the expenses of his education. He became a pupil of Isaios, called “the impetuous,”⁴ and he learned by heart the eight books of Thucydides, whose manly eloquence suited his own genius. It is thought that he also was a student of Plato, for many of his orations are based upon the principle that only moral beauty deserves our preference. Reaching his majority, eighteen years of age, in 366 B. C., he at once prosecuted his dishonest guardians, pleading his own cause, and with success; but he does not seem to have received restitution. On his first appearance as a public speaker his involved style, his long sentences, his feeble voice and short breath, made him an object of ridicule. At that time actors had assumed the importance which poets held no longer, and the actor Satyros was a person of importance;⁵ he revived the courage of the downcast youth by showing him that the fault was chiefly in his delivery. Upon this Demosthenes applied himself to conquer

¹ The oration of Demosthenes is the *Περὶ συμφορῶν*, or, as the author himself called it, the *Περὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν*, of the year 354 B. C. Demosthenes was born in the first year of the OL. XCIX., 384 or 383, two years before Philip of Macedon.

² Argas was a poet or song-writer of the time, noted for his bad temper.

³ The father of Demosthenes had two workshops,—one of weapons, where thirty-two slaves were employed; the other of beds and chairs, employing twenty.

⁴ There are extant eleven arguments by Isaios, composed for clients who read or recited them before the tribunal; and as they all refer to questions of civil law, especially of adoption and inheritance, these documents throw light upon important points in Athenian legislation.

⁵ If Athenæus (xii. 591) is not misinformed, Satyros was also a writer of plays.

his natural difficulties, and Plutarch relates — delighting, as usual, in trifling details, more or less authentic — that Demosthenes had a subterranean chamber prepared for him, where he passed many hours daily, training his voice and gestures, and often shut himself up there for two or three months consecutively, having his head half shaved, that shame might enable him to resist the most urgent temptations to go forth. At other times he would climb a hill rapidly, reciting as he went; or else on the shore of the sea, his mouth full of pebbles, to cure a fault of stammering, he made his voice audible above the roar of the waves. It is easy to see that after efforts like these, and in the case of such a man, the storms of the Agora would be no longer formidable.

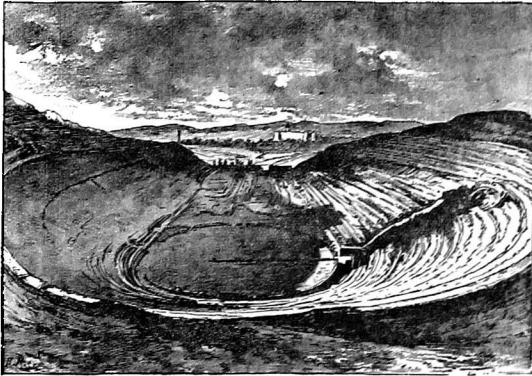
That Demosthenes did these various things we cannot positively assert; but Demetrius Phalereus, who knew him personally, attests that he triumphed by resolute labor over a rebellious nature. He employed himself at first as an advocate, and prepared pleas for others to use; he is even accused of having composed them on both sides of the same case. "The armorer's son," says Plutarch, "sold to opposing parties, that they might use them against each other, poniards forged in the same workshop."¹ If this be true, it is scarcely to his credit. But have we not had, in modern times, great lawyers who, placing art above truth, have pleaded the worst causes, and attested on their honor the innocence of avowed criminals? It is the danger of the profession. And it should, moreover, be remembered that orations bought of the *logographoi* were anonymous, so that the authority of him who prepared them was not added to the force of his arguments.²

As soon as Demosthenes was able to take part in the affairs of the State the ambition of the king of Macedon was incessantly a cause of anxiety to him. On becoming one of the ten

¹ Schaefer, *Demosthenes und seiner Zeit*, disputes this statement of Plutarch; at least he believes that the arguments *For Apollodoros*, the son of the banker Pasion, which are usually regarded as the work of Demosthenes, are not really his. This is not, however, the opinion of my learned colleague, Weil, who in the Introduction to his fine edition of Demosthenes expresses a different view from Schaefer's.

² Dionysius of Halikarnassos mentions the plea *Against Androtion*, of 355 B. C., as the first in date of the public arguments of Demosthenes, who wrote it for Diodoros. He continued this trade of logograph for a long time, in order to repair his wasted fortune; he also lent money at high interest, as was often done in Athens, where the rates were commonly, especially for maritime loans, eighteen per cent, and even more. See *History of Rome*, vol. viii. p. 13, n. 3.

official orators, he gave to Lykourgos, to Hegesippos, and to Hype-rides the aid of his powerful words, and he was the soul of that generous party who desired the independence of Athens and of Greece. Lykourgos, who was born at Athens about 396 B. C., belonged to the great family of the Eteoboutadai. A pupil of Plato, and later of Isokrates, he entered late on public functions, but performed them with an integrity which became proverbial. He was a man of the old school, as just as Aristeides, as wise as Sokrates,



VIEW OF THE PANATHENAIC STADION.¹

noble, rich, and living a sober life, — an austere figure, to which we do honor as we pass him. His severe eloquence was sometimes prolix, but for twelve years he had the guardianship of the public treasure, and nineteen thousand talents [more than twenty million dollars] passed through his hands without the least suspicion attaching itself to his faultless probity. He increased the revenues of the city from six hundred to twelve hundred talents, and Boeckh considers him as perhaps the one financier of antiquity. He put an end, by measures worthy of Drako, to the brigandage which, in the general looseness of public morals, desolated Attika,

¹ From a photograph. The Stadion, built by Lykourgos, was situated on the right bank of the Ilissos, outside the walls, near the quarter called the Gardens. See Vol. I, facing p. 550, the plan of Athens.

and he was called the Ibis, "the destroyer of reptiles," for his merciless war upon speculators of the public funds. He constructed or repaired nearly four hundred galleys, two arsenals which he filled with weapons, a theatre, a gymnasium, a stadion, a palaistra, and, like Perikles, he accumulated in the temples, to enhance the splendor of festivals, statues of gold and ornaments of precious metals,—a resource in times of extreme danger. He instituted competitions in singing, and it is probable that we owe to him what we have of the works of Aischylos, Sophokles, and Euripides, as he caused copies of them to be deposited in the public archives. A man like this honors the party to which he belongs.¹

Hegesippos is less known to us; we only hear of him as the adversary of Aischines and the friend of Demosthenes, whom he supported in his efforts against Philip. Two orations preserved among the works of Demosthenes are attributed to him by the old grammarians, which show us the power of his eloquence. However, he was eclipsed in his public efforts by Hyperides, who, some years older than Demosthenes, and, like him, one of the official orators of the republic, threw himself with energy into the strife for liberty. Again, like Demosthenes, he served Athens with his words in the assembly, with his courage as trierarch, and with his devotion in the *choregia*. In 350 B. C. he armed two galleys for the expedition of Phokion into Euboea, which ended in the victory of Tamynai; he no doubt commanded many others, for in the few details we have concerning him we find him, nine years later, trierarch before Byzantion. He had not the austerity of Lykourgos, but he incurred proscription from the Macedonians,—again a title of honor.

This party, and with it Demosthenes, have been condemned as having devoted themselves to an impossible and unwise work. The work was great, and it came near being accomplished. The successes of Philip led Alexander to the conquest of the East. The civilization of the world gained by the contact of Greek and Asiatic life. But there was a great change made; from Athens, life passed to Rhodes, to Pergamon, to Smyrna, to Ephesos, to Alexandria, and the result of the Macedonian dominion was the death of European Greece. It is to the immortal fame of Demosthenes

¹ The Pseudo-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators*.

that he understood that this power which was rising in the north was to destroy his country, and that he devoted his genius and his whole life to an attempt to save her. We who have, to compensate us for the death of this worn-out nation, the great philosophic and religious movement which sprang, after the death of Alexander, from the blending of races and of systems,—we, from the point of view of the world's history, are on the side of Philip and his son; but if we place ourselves at the Greek point of view we should be on the side of Demosthenes.

Let us look on at this duel between the man who, with no weapon but his oratory, arrests in his advance, and more than once drives back, a powerful and victorious king.¹

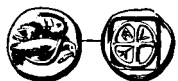
IV.—TEMPORIZING OF PHILIP; SECOND SACRED WAR (355 B. C.);
PHILIP'S ATTEMPT UPON THERMOPYLAI; FIRST PHILIPPIC
(346 B. C.).

DEMOSTHENES seemed to hesitate in beginning the attack. In his oration *On the Symmories* (354 B. C.), of which the apparent aim was to deter the Athenians from a new war with Persia, he made no mention of Philip in enumerating the dangers to be incurred by Athens; but he urged his fellow-citizens to hold themselves ready to pass rapidly from plans to action against whatever enemy it might be. "The first point, and the most important one," he said, "is that you be ready, Athenians, to do your duty. When you have acted promptly in the execution of what has been decided upon, you have been successful; but when you have delayed, each waiting for his neighbor to undertake the task, nothing has prospered." He then urged that the number of twelve hundred

¹ Demosthenes has himself described, in his oration *On the Crown*, the situation of Athens at the beginning and at the end of his administration. "The republic had at that time as allies only the poorest of the islanders, for Chios, Rhodes, and Korkyra were not with us. The tributes did not exceed forty-five talents; there was no other infantry or cavalry than that of the city, and all our neighbors were hostile to us. . . . I have gained for you the alliance of Eubœia, Achaia, Corinth, Thebes, Megara, Leukadia, Korkyra, and by these alliances you have obtained fifteen thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, not to speak of subsidies which have enabled us to arm a fleet of two hundred galleys." It will be seen that there is no exaggeration in speaking of a duel between Philip and Demosthenes.

who were responsible as trierarchs should be increased to two thousand, and proposed methods by which to obtain the money necessary for the equipment of three hundred galleys,—“an easy task,” he added, “for Athens alone has more wealth than all the other Hellenic cities together.” And he ended with these significant words: “Say nothing, but be ready,”—which are good for all time.¹

When, in the same year, Philip sent some troops to the tyrant of Chalkis, in Eubolia, to be used against another tyrant reigning over Eretria, Demosthenes dissuaded the Athenians from furnishing aid to the latter, and it was contrary to his advice that Phokion was sent on an expedi-

COIN OF CHALKIS.³COIN OF CHALKIS.³

tion, which indeed turned out well, but from which the orator had feared a premature war might arise. The moment came all too soon for relinquishing all attempts at keeping the peace and for uttering aloud the cry of alarm.

Meanwhile Philip also temporized. In 359 B. C. he had reconstructed Macedon, in 358 he had taken Amphipolis and Pydna, and in 357 Potidaia. To allay men's fears, he stopped in the midst of his successes. But this time of repose was not wasted; he improved the administration of his States, completed the organization of the army and the finances, silently observing all things abroad and at home,—at once lion and fox, watching, waiting, and always

COIN OF ERETRIA.⁴

¹ In the oration *Upon the Symmories*. It was not until 340 B. C. that he succeeded in obtaining the reform of the symmories, by a law which we know little of, except that its object was to put a stop to the dishonesty of the rich in the distribution of taxes and in the fitting out of the galleys. (See Vol. III. p. 549, n. 2, and the oration *Upon the Crown*, §§ 100-108, ed. Didot.) He also caused the abolition of the law of Euboulos as to the *theorikon*, and obtained a decree that all excess of receipts above expenditures of the public treasury should no longer be devoted to the festivals, but should be reserved for military expenses.

² Eagle flying to the right and carrying a serpent in its beak. Reverse: ΨΑΑ, between the spokes of a wheel; the whole in an incused square. The form (Ψ) of the first letter of the word *Χαλκίδες* is archaic, although the coin does not seem of earlier date than 450 B. C.

³ Head of Here, right profile. Reverse: ΧΑ[Χαλκίδες]; eagle standing to the right; in front a branch of laurel. (Silver.)

⁴ Head of the nymph Eubolia, right profile. Reverse: ΕΥ[Εβωλίω]; cow's head, three quarters to the right, the horns ornamented with fillets. (Silver.)

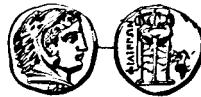
ready to spring. At the close of the year 357 B. C. he spent many months in the festivities which followed his marriage with Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemos, the king of Epeiros; and this ardor in the pursuit of pleasure caused his enemies to imagine that he had deteriorated: but this marriage was an act of policy which gave him an ally in the rear of Illyria and Greece.

COIN OF AMPHIPOLIS.¹

In 356 B. C. he defeated the schemes of the kings of Thrace, Paionia, and Illyria, who were leagued against him, he founded Philippi, to protect the mines of Mount Pangaion, and received in one day news of three events of importance: Parmenion, his ablest general, had conquered the Illyrians; his horses had gained the prize at the Olympic Games; and

BRONZE COIN.²TETRADRACHM.³

Olympias had given birth to a son,—the future Alexander the Great. It is said that the king wrote to Aristotle: "Know that a son is born to me. I thank the gods not so much for the birth of this child as that he is born while you are yet alive. It is my hope that, being brought up and instructed by you, he may be worthy of me and of my empire,"⁴—a letter which, if it be authentic, does as much honor to the king who wrote it as to the philosopher who received it.

STATER.⁵

The victory at the Olympic Games was not a trifle. It marked Philip's fixed design of introducing himself into the

¹ Head of Artemis, right profile, with a quiver on the shoulder. Reverse: ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΣ; two goats *affrontés*, standing on their hind feet. (Bronze.)

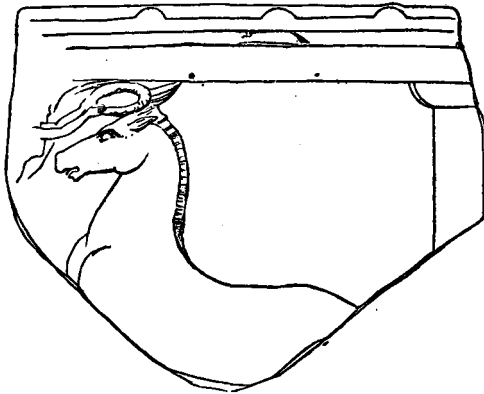
² Coin of Ketriporios, king of a Thracian tribe about the year 356 B. C. Head of Dionysos, bearded and crowned with laurel, right profile. Reverse: ΚΕΤΡΙΠΟΡΙΟΣ; Dionysiac *kantharos*; above, a crescent.

³ Silver coin of Philippi. Head of the beardless Herakles, right profile, wearing the lion's skin. Reverse: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ; tripod adorned with fillets; above, a palm; at the right, an axe.

⁴ The authenticity of this letter has been disputed; but the principal reason urged, namely, that Aristotle had not yet attained his great fame, is not satisfactory. He had been an associate of Philip from the childhood of both.

⁵ Gold coin of Philippi. Head of the beardless Herakles, right profile, wearing the lion's skin. Reverse: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ; tripod; at the right, a bunch of grapes.

Greek world: before taking the liberty of Greece he took her wreaths. Already revolutions and war were at work for him in Thessaly and Phokis. Alexander of Pherai had perished, assassinated by his brothers-in-law, Teisiphonos, Pitholaos, and Lykophron, at the instigation of his wife, Thebe. In the night, while he slept, she removed his sword and the fierce dogs which guarded



VICTORY CROWNING A HORSE.¹

the door of his room; when her brothers hesitated she threatened to awaken the tyrant and betray them. The assassins succeeded to his power (359 B. C.), Teisiphonos at first with Thebe, and later, in 357, Lykophron. The Aleuadai believed the time come to overthrow this degenerate tyranny, and they called upon Philip to aid them. The king was at this time besieging Methone, to the north of Pydna; the city resisted obstinately, and in one attack Philip received a wound which deprived him of one eye. At last taking it by storm, he razed it to the ground; and thus Athens lost another position on the Thermaic Gulf, and the Macedonian sea-coast was finally set free. Responding then to the appeal of the

¹ Fragment of an Athenian votive bas-relief (from Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*, pl. 18, No. 40). A small flying figure of Victory, holding a wreath in both hands, is about to lay it upon the head of a horse which has just won the prize. This graceful design is repeated often upon coins, — upon those of Syracuse, for example. See Vol. III. pp. 333, 334.

Aleuadai, he entered Thessaly with an army, defeated Lykophron, although seven thousand Phokians had hastened to his aid, and seized upon Pagasai, the seaport of the city of Pherai (353 B. C.).

SILVER COIN.¹

Thus, by reason of the discords of the Thesalians, Philip set foot in their country, not as a conqueror, but as a liberator; and becoming master of a country which was the vestibule of Greece, he needed only to step over the threshold. An ancient religious institution, which awakened superannuated prejudices, offered him the pretext for advance.

The tribunal of the Amphiktyons, mentioned neither by Thucydides in his *Peloponnesian War*, nor by Xenophon in the *Hellenics*, appears about this time to have been revived.

On the appeal of the Thebans it had, some time before the battle of Leuktra, condemned the Spartans, for their seizure of the Kadmeia, to pay a fine of five hundred talents: Sparta had not obeyed this order, and hence was excluded from the Pythian Games. This measure the Thebans thought it well to repeat against

BRONZE COIN.²COIN OF PHOKIS.³

another enemy, the Phokians, — a turbulent people who had frequent quarrels with them on the subject of their common frontier. In 377 B. C. Thebes accused the Phokians before the Amphiktyonic Council⁴ of some crime of which we are not exactly informed: it has been said that it was the abduction of a beautiful Theban woman, Thena by name; according to other authorities, who seem more probably to be right, the offence was the cultivation of certain lands consecrated to Apollo. The council passed a decree that if the Phokians refused to pay the fine,

¹ Coin of Pherai and the Athamania. Fore-part of a horse, galloping to the right. Reverse: $\Phi E[\rho a\acute{\iota}w]$ and $A\Theta[\alpha\mu a\acute{\nu}\acute{\iota}w]$; a pod of hellebore; the whole in an incused square. (See, on the subject of this joint coin, Duchalais, in the *Revue numismatique*, 1853, p. 265.)

² Coin of Teisiphonos, tyrant of Pherai (357–352 B. C.). $T E I \Sigma I \Phi \Omega \Omega \Upsilon$. Fore-part of a horse, galloping to the right. Teisiphonos was the brother-in-law of Alexander of Pherai.

³ Helmeted head of Pallas, front face. Reverse: a large Φ ($\Phi \omega\acute{\iota}w$) in a wreath of laurel. (Bronze.)

⁴ Concerning this council, see Vol. II. chap. xv. § 1.

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a view of Delphi, "rocky Pytho;" from a photograph. The village of Kastri, at the foot of the Phaidriadaï rocks, stands on the site of the temple of Apollo. The small monastery in the olive-trees at the right marks the site of the temple of Athene Pronaia.



ROCKY PYTHO.

their territory should be placed under a curse and consecrated to Apollo; that is to say, it would be laid waste and occupied by the priests of Delphi. One of the principal Phokians, Philomelos by name, remonstrated with his fellow-citizens, urging that it would be a cowardly act to submit to an unjust decree which had been obtained by the Thebans, who were their enemies; he recalled to them, quoting in proof a line of Homer, that the superintendence of the oracle of Delphi, "rocky Pytho," belonged to themselves, and that they had long possessed it; he maintained that they ought now to seize upon the sacred territory, and he assured them that they could easily regain it. Upon this the Phokians chose him as their general, with unlimited authority. Philomelos hastened to Sparta, and induced the king, Archidamos, to make common cause with him; but not daring to interpose openly, Sparta gave fifteen talents towards the expenses of the war. This sum Philomelos

SILVER COIN.¹

doubled from his own private fortune, and took into his pay a band of mercenaries, whom he added to a thousand picked troops of the Phokians. With this military force he seized upon the temple of Delphi, put to death the Thrakidai, — the principal family who had charge of the sacred possessions, — and confiscated their property, but reassured the population of the town by the promise that no further harm would be done. The Lokrians of Amphissa, hastening to the rescue, were defeated; and Philomelos improved the occasion to build a wall around the temple and to increase the number of his troops to five thousand, calling in new mercenaries from abroad by the attraction of higher pay (355 B. C.). Meantime he sent envoys to all the principal cities of Greece, representing that the Phokians had done no more than reclaim their right of superintendence of the temple; and he offered to give an account as to all the treasures contained in it. But the Boiotians on their part solicited the Thesalians and the other members of the Amphiktyonic body to declare war upon the Phokians, as guilty of sacrilege; and an extensive confederation was formed against them. Athens and Sparta, with

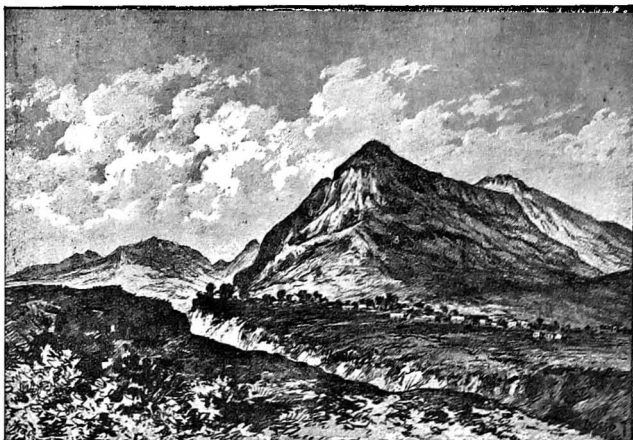
SILVER COIN.²

¹ Coin of Delphi. Head of a negro (Delphos), right profile. Reverse: in an incused square a goat's head, front face.

² Coin of Delphi. Ox's skull, front face. Reverse: in an incused square, a goat's head, front face.

some Peloponnesian peoples, refused to enter this league; but they did not, however, offer any assistance to the Phokians.

To make resistance to this confederation, Philomelos was obliged to do what he asserted that he had not hitherto done; namely, to lay hands upon the sacred treasure. He also dragged the Pythian priestess to the tripod, and in the words which she uttered in



TITHOREIA AND MOUNT PARNASSOS.¹

alarm for her personal safety he claimed to find, for himself and his people, the promise of divine assistance. The Thebans, however, asserted loudly that no honest men or worshippers of the gods would take service with Philomelos, while the baser class would gather about him, eager for plunder, and an army of much strength would soon be gathered, composed of sacrilegious wretches ready to profane all the temples of Greece. There was much truth in these words; the mercenaries of Philomelos were more interested in the high pay that they received than in the cause they professed to serve. They flocked to Delphi in such numbers that the Phokians soon had an army of ten thousand men; then began a war which was marked, like all religious wars, by outrageous

¹ From Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece*, ii. 137.

cruelty. On both sides no prisoners were made, and the slain were left unburied. The Lokrians were again defeated; the Thesalians, who attacked with six thousand men, were no more successful: but the Thebans, with a greatly superior force, finally surprised the Phokians near Tithoreia. Philomelos, being about to fall into the enemy's hands, after fighting with great courage flung himself over a steep precipice and perished (354 B. C.).

Onomarchos, who took his place, made unscrupulous use of the Delphic treasures in recruiting his army and obtaining partisans in the Greek cities; he ravaged Lokris, seized Orchomenos,—where there was always an anti-Theban party,—and was besieging



Chaironeia, when the arrival of a Boiotian army compelled him to fall back into Phokis. He was now also called northward by the Thessalian Lykophron, whom Philip threatened. A force of seven thousand men, sent by him into Thessaly under his young brother Phayllos, proving insufficient, Onomarchos hastened thither himself, defeated the king in two battles, forcing him to retreat into Macedon, and then invaded Boiotia and made himself master of Koroneia. But during this last expedition Philip reappeared in Thessaly with twenty thousand infantry and three thousand horse. Onomarchos returned to meet him, and was completely defeated, with a loss of six thousand men; three thousand were taken prisoners and were thrown into the sea as men guilty of sacrilege, while the soldiers of the king had laurel-wreaths on their heads, as specially devoted to the service of Apollo. The dead body of Onomarchos, found among the slain, was nailed to a cross, and only a few Phokians escaped by swimming off to an Athenian squadron at the time cruising in sight of the coast (352 B. C.).

¹ (1) ΦΟ (Φοικύων νόμισμα). Fore-part of a bull, to the right. Reverse: helmet. (Silver.) (2) Head of a bull, front face, the horns ornamented with fillets. Reverse: ΟΝΥΜΑΡΧΟΥ, for Onomarchos (according to the historians), in three lines in a laurel-wreath. (Bronze.) Onomarchos was strategos from 354 to 352 B. C. (3) ΦΟ (Φοικύων νόμισμα). Fore-part of a wild boar, to the right. (Silver.)

*Philip stood forth, therefore, as the avenger of Apollo and of insulted religion; he took another rôle in Thessaly, that of the friend of liberty, re-establishing a republic at Pherai. At the same time, however, he caused to be granted him, as indemnity for his expenses in the war, a part of the revenues of that province, and he also took possession of its docks and arsenals. He made himself master also of Pagasai and the peninsula surrounding the Pagasetic Gulf, where he found what was left of Alexander's vessels of war, which thus became the nucleus of the Macedonian fleet. An Athenian squadron, sent to protect Pagasai, did not

SILVER COIN.¹

arrive till after the occupation of the great Thessalian seaport, — a vexatious delay, fully justifying the incessant complaints of Demosthenes as to the slowness of action and reluctance to undertake personal service among the citizens of Athens. From Pagasai

Philip could easily reach Euboia and almost Thermopylai; his squadrons ravaged the Ægæan Sea, interfered with the commerce of Athens, pillaged the Athenian islands Lemnos and Imbros, and carried off one of the sacred galleys from the bay of Marathon, opposite the Attic coast.

Philip sought to pursue the prosperous career upon which he had entered, and after regulating the affairs of Thessaly, to decide those of Greece and of the religion of the country, even if he were obliged to invade Phokis. He marched upon Thermopylai. But this time the Athenians had acted with the promptness of early days, and Philip found them so strongly intrenched there that he fell back without fighting. This news was

BRONZE COIN.²

very encouraging to those who had been anxious, and public thanksgivings were offered at Athens as after a victory (352 B. C.).

¹ Coin of the Epiknemidian Lokrians. Head of Persephone, crowned with wheat-ears, right profile (a type copied on the heads of Persephone signed by Evainetos, on Syracusan coins). Reverse: ΟΨΟΝΤΙΩΝ. Aias, son of Oileos, fighting, to the right; he wears a helmet, and has a sword and a shield ornamented with a griffin. His spear is at his feet.

² Coin of Phalaikos, who was strategos of the Phokians from 351 to 346 B. C. Bull's head, front face, adorned with fillets. Reverse: ΑΑΑΙΚΟΥ, in three lines enclosed in a laurel-wreath.

Phayllos, the brother of Onomarchos, had succeeded him in the command. The previous Phokian generals had hesitated to touch the most ancient offerings at Delphi, which appeared to be particularly sacred; but Phayllos seized upon everything. The gifts of Crœsus,¹ which Herodotos had admired, and many more, respected on account of their antiquity, were melted down and coined to pay the mercenaries; and there were given to favorites, who insolently wore them in public, such noted treasures as the necklaces of Helen and of Eriphyle. When the Athenians had need of borrowing the treasures of their temples, they respectfully begged assistance from their gods for the national cause; in the pillage of Delphi there was nothing but the brutal and sacrilegious rapacity of soldiers of fortune plundering the common

sanctuary of Greece, without any thought of making restitution. With the gold thus obtained, Phayllos bought numerous mercenaries and a few allies. We have no reason to suppose that Athens or Sparta received any of it,

SILVER COIN.²

and they had other grounds for supporting the Phokians. The former furnished five thousand hoplites, the second, one thousand, and two thousand were sent by Achaia. Lykophon, expelled from Pherai, brought as many more, and Phayllos found himself strong enough to invade Boiotia, maintain himself there notwithstanding three defeats, capture all the cities of Epiknemidian Lokris, and defeat the Thebans who sought to protect them. But this energetic general was already the victim of a disease from which he died, and his place was filled by Phalaikos, a son of Onomarchos, to whom it was necessary to give an adviser, almost a guardian, Mneseas by name, who, however, was soon after slain. The incessant changes in the command made it impossible to pursue any plan with persistency; hostilities dragged, and both sides were tired of the war. Since the time of Alkibiades and Lysandros, one of every two Greek opponents looked towards Persia. The Thebans now asked from the Great King three hundred talents, and obtained them. It was on the part of Persia not so much a gift as a loan at very high interest, for this financial assistance kept up the war among the Greeks.

¹ [For an enumeration of these gifts, see Vol. II. p. 257. — Ed.]

² Coin of Bergaios, king of a Thracian tribe about the year 350 B. C. Satyr and manad. Reverse: ΒΕΡΓΑΙΟΥ; incused square divided into four compartments.

Central Greece was in a blaze; the occasion seemed favorable to the Spartans to recover in the Peloponnesos the supremacy of which Epameinondas had deprived them. They attacked Megalopolis, which received succor from Argos, Messene, Sikyon, and even from Thebes, whence came, to aid in resisting the Spartans, four thousand foot and five hundred horse. But three thousand Phokidians came to the assistance of the Spartans, and the forces were so evenly balanced that at the end of two fruitless campaigns peace was made (351 B. C.).

While the attention of the Greeks was fixed on these interior struggles, Philip, repulsed from Thermopylai, was endeavoring to

NOTE.—The MS. from which the page here reproduced is taken is a part of the Greek collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale (*Manuscripts Grecs*, No. 2,984). It belonged to Cardinal Nicolo Rodolphi, and at his death, in 1550, passed into the possession of his relative, Pietro Strozzi, Marshal of France. Catherine de' Medici inherited it, and Henry IV. gave it to the library. It is the most ancient and the best of the MSS. of Demosthenes, and is usually designated by the letter Z (S of Bekker). It was written in the tenth century, on vellum. At the end of each oration is mentioned the number of lines (*στίχοι*); there are two columns on a page, and thirty-two lines in a column. (Cf. J. Th. Voünel, *Z Codicis Demosthenici conditio describitur*, Frankfort on the Main, 1853, and H. Weil, *Les Harangues de Démosthène*, pp. xliv *et seq.* of the Introduction.)

Folio 61, which is here reproduced, contains the close of the oration *Against Androtion* and the beginning of that *Against Timokrates*. The reviser's notes or corrections are very infrequent; there is one in the margin of the second column, line 17, and one in the text, *ibid.*, line 25.

The following is the transcription in later Greek characters:—

First Column.— . . ἀνέθεσαν, οὐδ' οἷοισπερ σὺ χρόμενοι συμβούλοι ἐπολιτεύοντο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κρατοῦντες, καὶ ἅ πᾶς τις ἂν εἰ φρονῶν εὖζατο, τὴν πόλιν εἰς ὀμόνοιαν ἀνάγοντες, ἀθάνατον κλέος αὐτῶν λελοίπασιν, τοὺς ἐπιτηδεύσαντας οἷά σοι βεβία(ν)ται τῆς ἀγῶρας ἐμ- γοῦντες· ἡμεῖς δ' εἰς τοῦτο, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, προήχθητ' εὐθελίας καὶ βραβυμίας ὥστε οὐδὲ τοιαῦτα ἔχοντες παραδείγματα ταῦτα μμείσθε, ἀλλ' Ἀνδρῶτιον ἡμῖν πομπείων ἐπισκευσάσθῃ, Ἀνδρῶτιον, ὧ γῆ καὶ θεοί. καὶ τοῦτο ἀσίσθημα ἔλαττον τίνοσ ἡγίσαθε; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἰομαι δεῖν τὸν εἰς ἱερὰ εἰσιόντα καὶ χερνίβιον καὶ κανῶν ἀψόμενον καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεοὺς ἐπιμελείας προστάτην ἐσόμενον οὐχὶ προειρημένων ἡμερῶν ἀριθμῶν ἀγρεύειν ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον ἡνευκείας τοῦτων ἐπιτηδεύμάτων οἷα τοῦτω βεβιάσται.

Κατὰ Ἀνδρῶτιονος παρανόμων. Greek figures follow which signify 780 lines.

Second Column.— Κατὰ Τιμοκράτους παρανόμων.

Τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τοῦ παρόντος οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸν ὀμμα Τιμοκράτην εἰπεῖν ὡς αἰτίος ἔσται ἄλλοσ τις αἰτῆ πλὴν αὐτὸσ αὐτῶ· χρημάτων γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀποστερηθῆσι βουλόμενοσ τὴν πόλιν, παρὰ πάντας τοὺσ νόμουσ εἰσηνεγκεν αὐτ' ἐπιτήθειονσ ὅστε δικαιοσ, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί· δεσ τὰ μὲν ἔλλα' ὅσα λυμανείται καὶ χεῖρον ἔχειν τὰ κοινὰ ποιήσει, κύριοσ εἰ γεγῆσεται, τάχα δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκούοντες ἐμοῦ μαθήσεσθε, ἐν δ' ὧ μείριστον ἔχω καὶ προχειρότατον πρὸσ ἡμᾶσ εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἀποτρέφομαι (in the margin, by the reviser, οὐκ ἀποτρέφομαι)· τὴν γὰρ ἡμετέραν ψῆφον ἦν ὀμμακότεσ περὶ πάντων φέρετε, λύει καὶ ποιεῖ τοῦ μηδενοσ ἀξίαν ὧ τούτου νόμουσ, οὐχ ἵνα κοινῆ τι τὴν πόλιν ὀφελήσῃ (πᾶσ γὰρ; δεσ γε δ' δοκεῖ σσχεχεῖν τὴν πολιτείαν, τὰ δικαστηρια, ταῦτα ἄεκρα ποιεῖ τῶν προσημμεμένων (τῶν, by the reviser) ἐπὶ τοῖσ ἀδικήμασιν ἐκ τῶν νόμουσ ὀμμασμένων), ἀλλ' ἵνα τῶν πολλῶν χρόνον ἡμᾶσ τινεσ ἐκκαρπω[μένωσ. . .].

The reader will have observed that the accents, and especially the punctuation, of the MS. differ considerably from those of our editions.

ὄσαμ· οὐδ'οἶοι παρ σὺν χρώμασι
σύμμιμμοις ἐπομὶ τβουομ το ἀμμῷ
τοῦσ ἄχθρουσ· λιρατὸυμ τώ· λιαι
ἄνωπαῖσ ἀμ· ἐπὶ φρομὸν ἐπυατο
τῆω· πόμ· ἄσὸ μομοιαμ ἀμ ἀφομ
τῶ· ἀσθαμ ατομ λι βὸσ ἀντῶμ
βροῖ· πασιμ τὸσ ὀπι τῆδύσ αμ
ρασ· οἶ ασοι· κτωῖ ωμ ται· τῆσ ἄγο
ἄσ ἄρηγομ τῶ· ὑμ ἄσ δ' ἄρὸ ὕπο
ἄμ δ' ρῶσ ἄθῆμ αἶοι· προ κχθῆ
ἵσῷ κ· θῆσ λι· ῥαῖ· θουμῖασ· ὡφθ
ἵσδ ἄσ ἀτω ἐχθομ τῶ· πασαδῆ
ρηματω· τῶτωμ μῆσ ὀθ· ἄμμῷ
ῥοτῖωμ ὑμῖμ· πομ πω ἄσ μ· ἐπὶ
ἑκτωσ ἄσ· ἄμ ῥοτῖωμ ὡ γῆ· ἢ· λιαι
σσοῖ· λιαι· τοῦτο ἀσ ἑκτωμ ἔματ
τομ τῖμοσ κ γῆσ ὀθ· ἔγω μὲμ γὰρ
ίωμα δ ἄμ· τομ ἄσ ἴβρ ἄσ ἴσὸμ τω
αἱ· χθρῖ· ἴωμ γ· λιαι ωμ· ἀλτὸ μὲμ ὀ·
αἱ· τῆσ ῥοσ ὀσθ σὸσ· ἐπὶ μῆσ ἄσ
ῥοσ ἀτῆω ὡσ μὲμ ὀμ· οὐ χῖ· ῥο
ῥῆ μὲμ ωμ· ἢ μὲμ ωμ· ἀρ· ἐθ μὲμ ἄμ ῥο
μ· ἀμμῷ τὸμ ὡῖομ ἢ γῖ μ· ἑκτωμ·
οἶ· οὐτωμ· ἐπὶ τῆδύσ μῆσ τωμ· οἶ
· τοῦτωι· κτωῖ ωμ ται·



·: ΚΑΤΑ ΤΙΜΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ
ΠΑΡΑΝΟΜΩΝ :

Τοῦ μὲμ ἀγαποσ· ὡ ἄμ δ' ῥῶσ ἵσ ατῶι
τῶσ παρ ὀμ τωσ· οὐδ' ἀμ ἀντῶμ· οἶ
μα· τιμὸμ ἀτῆω ἄσ ἄμ ὡσ ἄτῖ·
ὄσ ἄμ ἄμ ῥοτῖωμ τῶι· παρ· λιαι ἄμ
τὸσ ἀντῶι· χρ κμ ἄμ τωμ γὰρ οὐ
ἑκ τῖωμ ἄσ παρ ἐρῖσ αἱ μὲμ μὲμ
μοσ· τῆω· πόμ· μ· παρ ατῶμ τωσ
τοῦσ ἰομμοσ· μομομ ἄσ ἡμ ἄμ κτῖ
ὄπ τῶσ τῆδ ἄσ μ· οὐ τῶδ· ἵσ αομ ὡ
ἄμ δ' ῥῶσ ἵσ ατῶι· ὄσ· τὸ μὲμ ἄμ μ·
ὄσαμ μμ αμ ἄτῶι· λιαι· χῆ ρομ ἔχ ημ
τῶμ ὡμ ἀ· ποῖ ἡσ ἄμ ῥοσ ἄμ ἄμ
σῆμ· τῶσ αδ ἢ· ἑκ τῶσ ατῶμ ἀ
ἑκ ὄμ τῶσ ὀμ μὲμ ἑκ τῶσ ὀ· ἔμ
δὲ μὲμ ἄμ τωμ ἔχ ἡω· παρ· χῆ ροτῶι
τομ· ῥοσ ὀ μῆσ ἄσ ἄμ ἄμ· ὄσ ἑκ τω
τῶσ ὀμ αἱ· τῆω γὰρ ὑμ ἄμ ῥομ τῆ
ῥομ ἢω· ὄμ μ μ ὡσ τῶσ· ῥοτῖωμ
τωμ ῥῶσ ἑκ τῶσ ἄμ ἢ· ἢω ἢ τῶμ μ
δῆμ ὄσ αἱ ἱ αμ ὄτῶτῶι· μομμοσ·
ὄσ χῖ μ αἱ ωμ ἢ· τι τῆω πόμ ἢ ω
ῥῶσ ἢ σ ἢ· ῥῶσ γὰρ· ὄσ γῶσ ἢ· ἑκ
ἑκ ἄμ ἄμ ἄμ τῆω· πόμ ἄμ τῶι· τῶ
δῖ ἑκ τῆμ ἱ α· τῶτωι ἄμ ῥοσ ῥοτῶι
τῶμ· ῥοτῶι μῆμ ατῶμ· ἐπὶ τῶι σ
ἄμ ἢ· ἑκ τῶμ ἑκ τῶμ μομμοσ ἢ ῥο
σ μὲμ τωμ· ἄμ ἢ μ ατῶμ· ῥομ μ· χρ ὀ
μομ ὑμ μῆσ· τιμ ὡσ ἑκ τῶσ ἑκ τῶσ

·: ΚΑΤΑ ΛΑΚΡΟΤΙΩΝΟΣ
ΠΑΡΑΝΟΜΩΝ ·:
ΠΗ Η Η ΓΑ Δ Δ Δ

Dombourgex, chromolith.

Imp. Lemercier

gain compensation in Thrace. He advanced cautiously towards the Chersonesos, which the Athenians had recently regained, and towards Byzantium, to cut them off from the Euxine, whence they obtained their supplies, — four hundred thousand medimnoi of grain annually.¹ But Demosthenes followed his movements, and broke forth in passionate eloquence: —

“When, O Athenians,” he exclaims in his *First Philippic*, “shall we be willing to act as becomes us? Peradventure, when there is some necessity. But what may be called the necessity of freemen is not only come, but past long ago; . . . to a free man, shame for what is occurring is the strongest necessity: I know of none stronger that can be mentioned. Or tell me, do you like walking about and asking one another: ‘Is there any news?’ Why, could there be greater news than a man of Macedonia subduing Athenians and directing the affairs of Greece? Is Philip dead? No, but he is sick. And what matters it to you? Should anything befall this man, you will soon create another Philip, if you attend to business thus. For even he has been exalted not so much by his own strength as by our negligence. And again, should anything happen to him, — should Fortune, which still takes better care of us than we take of ourselves, be good enough to accomplish this, — observe that, being on the spot, you would step in while things were in confusion and manage them as you pleased; but as you now are, though occasion offered Amphipolis, you would not be in a position to accept it, with neither forces nor counsels at hand. . . . First, then, Athenians, I say we must provide fifty war-ships, and hold ourselves prepared, in case of emergency, to embark and sail. I require also an equipment of transports for half the cavalry, and sufficient boats. This we must have ready against his sudden marches from his own country to Thermopylai, the Chersonesos, Olynthos, and anywhere he likes. . . . Such an armament, I say, ought instantly to be agreed upon and provided. But besides, men of Athens, you should keep in hand some force that will incessantly make war and annoy him, — none of your ten or twenty thousand mercenaries, not your forces on paper, but one that shall belong to the State,² and whether you appoint one or more generals, or this or that man or any other, shall follow and obey him. . . . Ever since your hirelings have served by themselves, they have been vanquishing your friends and allies, while your

¹ Demosthenes, *Against the Law of Leptines*.

² He does not require it to be very formidable, — two thousand foot, of whom five hundred shall be Athenians, two hundred horse, fifty from Attika. “I consider a force of this amount sufficient, because it is impossible for us now to raise an army capable of meeting Philip in the field. We must plunder, and adopt such kind of warfare at first; our force, therefore, must not be over-large, for there is not pay or subsistence.” It did indeed require much courage for orator and people to enter, with such means, upon war with a powerful king.

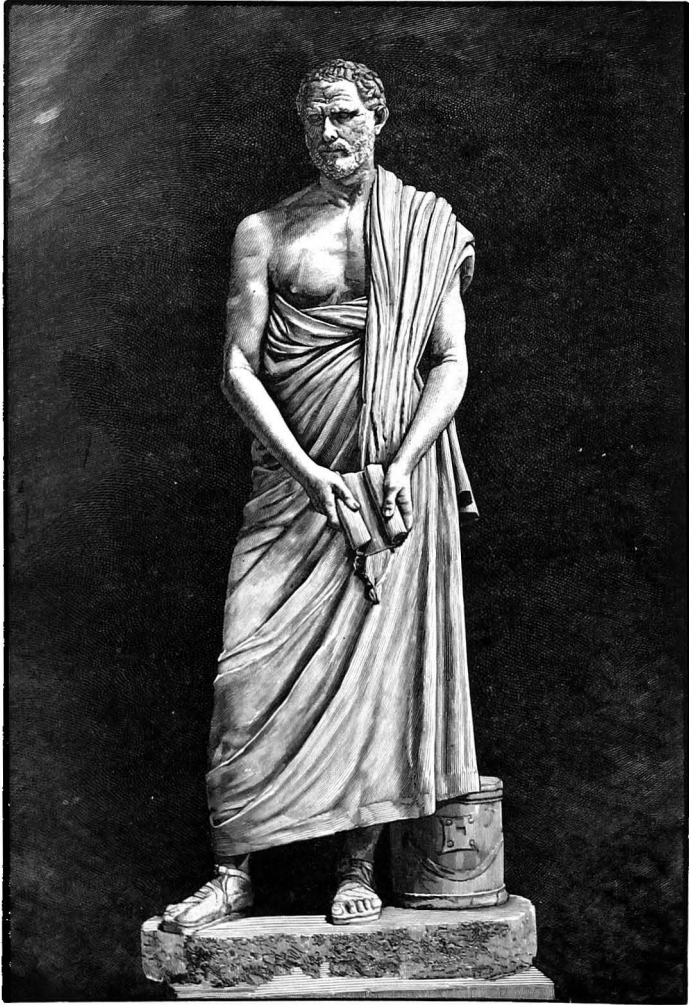
enemies have become unduly great. Just glancing at the war of our State, they go off to Artabazos or anywhere in preference, and the general follows naturally, for he cannot command unless he can pay his soldiers. What, therefore, do I ask? To remove the excuses both of general and soldiers, by supplying pay, and by sending citizens who, as soldiers, shall watch over the general's conduct. The way we manage things now is a mockery. For if you were asked: Athenians, are you at peace? No, indeed, you would say; we are at war with Philip. Did you not choose from your own number ten captains, as many generals and cavalry officers, and two generals of cavalry? How are they employed? Except one man, whom you commission on foreign service, the rest follow your priests in processions. Like makers of puppets, you elect your infantry and cavalry officers to appear in the market-place, and not for war."¹

With a boldness which was not without risk to himself, he reproached the Athenians, in his *Fourth Philippic*, for talking much and acting little, and for a very great reluctance to make the needful sacrifices:—

“Whenever we have had to discuss our claims, on no occasion have we been worsted or judged in the wrong; we have still beaten and got the better of all in argument. But do Philip's affairs on this account go badly and ours well? By no means. For as Philip immediately proceeds with arms in his hands to put all he possesses boldly at stake, whilst we are sitting still, actions, naturally enough, outstrip words, and people attend, not to what we have argued or may argue, but to what we do. And our doings are not likely to protect any of our injured neighbors; I need not say more on this subject. . . . Do not, after yourselves voting for war, dispute with each other whether you ought or ought not to have done so. As Philip conducts the war, so resist him; furnish those who are resisting him now [Diopethes and his troops in the Chersonesos] with money and whatever else they demand; pay your contributions, men of Athens; provide an army, swift-sailing galleys, horses, transports, all the materials of war. Our present mode of operation is ridiculous; and, by the gods, I believe that Philip could not wish our republic to take any other course than what ye now pursue. You lose your time, waste your money, look for a person to manage your affairs, are discontented, accuse one another.

¹ *First Philippic* [English translation by Charles Rann Kennedy.—Ed.].

NOTE.—On the opposite page is represented a marble statue of Demosthenes, now in the Vatican (from a photograph). The arms and the roll are modern restorations, but they are justified by the more complete statue in England (see Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 417, 1). The great orator is not represented in the act of speaking, but reading and meditating; at his feet is a circular chest filled with rolls.



DEMOSTHENES.

PHILIP (359-336 B. C.).



"Nothing, O men of Athens, have you ever set on foot or conducted rightly in the beginning; you always follow the event, stop when you are too late, on any new occurrence prepare and bustle again. But that is not the way of proceeding. It is never possible with sudden levies to perform any essential service. You must establish an army, provide maintenance for it, and paymasters and commissaries, so ordering it that the strictest care is taken of your funds; demand from those officers an account of the expenditure; from your general, an account of the campaign; and leave not the general any excuse for sailing elsewhere or prosecuting another enterprise. If ye so act and resolve in earnest, you will compel Philip to observe a just peace and remain in his own country, or will contend with him on equal terms; and perhaps, Athenians, perhaps, as you now inquire what Philip is doing, and whither marching, so he may be anxious to learn whither the troops of Athens are bound, and where they will make their appearance."

Elsewhere he refers to the poor organization of the army, and the delays resulting therefrom.

"How is it, think you, Athenians, that the Panathenaic and Dionysiac festivals take place always at the appointed time? Are expert or unqualified persons chosen to conduct them, whereon you expend larger sums than upon any armament, and which are more numerous attended and magnificent than almost anything in the world, whilst all your fleets are after the time, as that to Methone, to Pagasai, to Potidaia? In the former case everything is ordered by law, and each of you knows long beforehand who is the choregos of his tribe, who the gymnasiarch,— when, from whom, and what he is to receive, and what to do. Nothing is left unascertained or undefined; whereas in the business of war and its preparations all is irregular, unsettled, indefinite. Therefore, no sooner have we heard anything, than we appoint captains, dispute with them about the performance of their duties, and consider as to ways and means; then it is resolved that resident aliens and freedmen shall embark; then, to put yourselves on board instead. But during these delays the objects of our expedition are lost; for the time of action we waste in preparation, and favorable moments are lost by our evasions and delays. The forces that we imagine we possess in the mean time are found, when the crisis comes, utterly insufficient."

These vivid pictures show the interior life of Athens, the vices of its administration, the faults of the new men of whom Isokrates spoke. It is clear that Demosthenes was keenly alive to the present danger.

"All this is not agreeable to hear," he says, "and if what one passes over in speaking to avoid offence, one could pass over in reality, it would

be right to humor the audience; but if graciousness of speech, where it is out of place, does harm in action, shameful is it, Athenians, to delude ourselves, and by putting off everything unpleasant to miss the time for all operations, and be unable even to understand that skilful makers of war should not follow circumstances, but be in advance of them; that just as a general may be expected to lead his armies, so are men of prudent counsel to guide circumstances, in order that their resolutions may be accomplished, not their motions determined by the event.

“Yet you, Athenians, with larger means than any people,—ships, infantry, cavalry, and revenue,—have never up to this day made any proper use of them; and your war with Philip differs in no respect from the boxing of Barbarians. For among them the man who is struck always meets the blow with his hands: strike him somewhere else, there go his hands again; ward or look in the face he cannot and will not. So you, if you hear of Philip in the Chersonesos, vote to send relief thither; if at Thermopylai, the same; if anywhere else, you run up and down at his heels, and are commanded by him: no plan have you devised for the war, no circumstance do you see beforehand, only when you learn that something is done or is about to be done.

“Formerly, perhaps, this was allowable; now it has come to a crisis, to be tolerable no longer. And it seems, men of Athens, as if some god, ashamed for us at our proceedings, had put this activity into Philip. For had he been willing to remain quiet in possession of his conquests and prizes, and attempted nothing farther, some of you, I think, would be satisfied with a state of things which brands our nation with the shame of cowardice and the foulest disgrace. But by continually encroaching and grasping for more, he may possibly rouse you, if you have not altogether despaired. I marvel, indeed, that no one of you, Athenians, notices with concern and anger that the beginning of this war was to chastise Philip; the end is to protect ourselves against his attacks. One thing is clear: he will not stop unless some one oppose him. And shall we wait for this? And if you despatch empty galleys, and the hopes of this person or that, think ye all is well? Shall we not embark? Shall we not make a descent upon his coast? Where, then, shall we land? some one asks. The war itself, men of Athens, will discover the rotten parts of his empire, if we make a trial; but if we sit at home, hearing the orators accuse and malign one another, no good can ever be achieved.”

These words were at once eloquent and true. But ten years ago Macedon had been the least important of kingdoms, and its power now was scarcely as formidable as that of Sparta had been. Nevertheless, Sparta had fallen, and why should it be more

difficult to beat down Philip? Demosthenes was right, standing as he did midway between those who closed their eyes to the danger, and those who, like Phokion, despaired too soon. That his demand for reforms was not more explicit is due to the fact that he was obliged to use extreme caution in what he said. In his commentary on the *First Olynthian*, Ulpian relates that a decree prepared by Euboulos, minister of finances and of the public pleasures, had pronounced the penalty of death against any man who should propose to divert to the service of the fleet and the army the money destined to increase the splendor of the public festivals and to permit all citizens to be present thereat. We have no information that this penalty was ever enforced, but we know that the senator Apollodoros, having proposed to employ for the expenses of the Olynthian war the surplus of the public revenue instead of devoting it to the *theorikon*, was condemned to a fine, which the accuser fixed at fifteen talents,—reduced, however, by the tribunal to a less sum.¹ This decree and this condemnation shock us, because we forget that the *theorikon* was a department of public worship, so to speak. The question was rather religious than political; and while we observe that Demosthenes was above all things occupied in finding resources for the war against Philip, we must also admit that the worshippers of the gods may have thought it no less needful to secure divine protection for the city.



This part of the community were of the same mind in this matter with partisans of peace at any price, who cared very little for military necessities. If war should come, they said, its expenses could be provided for by a special law taxing the fortunes of the citizens. This was to throw the burden upon the rich, who, to avoid it, would surely favor peace.²

Demosthenes — and, even more than the great orator, the news of an attempt made by Philip upon a fort guarded by an Athenian garrison, between Perinthos and Byzantion — awakened in the

¹ Demosthenic Collection, *Against Neaira*, 3-8.

² Two swine, to the left. Reverse: AΘE; a poplar-tree; the whole surrounded by a laurel-wreath. (Bronze.) The swine refer to the worship of Demeter at Eleusis.

³ However, in 347 B. C. there was voted an annual sum of ten talents for the arsenals of Peiraicus (Böckh, *Seelesen*, p. 67).

people some energy. A considerable armament was voted. But whether Philip was not ready for a direct collision with Athens, or whether an illness condemned him to inaction, he stopped in his career and let two years pass without making himself spoken of,—plunged in profligacy, if Demosthenes may be believed; always active, however,—laboring to adorn his capital with beautiful buildings, attracting to himself the best artists, and lavishing in the Greek cities his corrupting gold.

V.—THE OLYNTHIANS (349–348 B. C.); SURPRISE OF THERMOPYLAI; CLOSE OF THE SACRED WAR (346); ATHENS DEFEATS THE SCHEMES OF PHILIP IN RESPECT TO THE PELOPONNESOS AND AKARNANIA (346–343).

MEANWHILE Philip still beheld in the Chalkidic peninsula an independent city, whose alliance he had lately bought at a high price, namely, the cession of Potidaia, but which on the first occasion would perhaps turn against him,—a thorn in the side of Macedon. So long as Olynthos was not his,



SILVER COIN.¹

his enemies might consider it as a door ready to be opened and to give access into his kingdom. A rich city, moreover, the capital of a confederation of thirty-two cities, Olynthos obstructed the designs of Macedon in the direction of the sea. The asylum it gave to two half-brothers of Philip fleeing from his anger decided the king to strike this great blow. Before attacking it openly, he hemmed it in by taking the adjacent towns. Apollonia had been captured some months before; in 349 B. C. he seized upon Stageira, which he destroyed, and terror opened to him the gates of many other places. "Either you must give up your city," he said to the Olynthian deputies, "or I must give up Macedon." Olynthos appealed to Athens for assistance.

At once Demosthenes springs to the bema and delineates in burning words the progress and the perfidious policy of Philip,—

¹ Coin of Olynthos, as capital of the Chalkidic league. OΛΥΝΘ[*lww*]. Laurelled head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: ΧΑΛΚΙΑΕΩΝ; lyre; the whole in an incused square.

Olynthos deceived by the gift of Potidaia, Thessaly by the promise to restore to her Magnesia. "None who dealt with him has he failed to deceive. He has risen by conciliating and cajoling the weakness of every people in turn who knew him not." Then, comparing with this incessant activity of Philip the inertia of the people of Athens, "You are asleep, Athenians!" he exclaims; "you are asleep!" And he proposes the true remedies, — action, reform, a better use of the funds lavished on festivals and in distributions to the people.

BRONZE COIN.¹

"Be not surprised, Athenians, if I say that which will astonish many of you. Appoint law-revisers, not to enact new laws, for you have enough, but to repeal those which are at present injurious, — I mean, plainly, the laws concerning our theatrical fund, and some concerning the troops, whereof the former sacrifice our resources for the public amusement, and the latter indemnify deserters, and so dishearten men well inclined to the service. . . .

"Mark, O Athenians, what a summary contrast may be drawn between the doings in our olden time and yours. It is a tale brief and well known of all, for the examples by which you may still be prosperous are not found abroad, men of Athens, but at home. Our forefathers, whom their orators humored not nor caressed, as these men caress you, for five and forty years took the leadership of the Greeks by general consent, and brought above ten thousand talents into the citadel; and many glorious trophies they erected for victories won by their own fighting on land and sea. . . . Such were their merits in the affairs of Greece. See what they were at home, both as citizens and men. Their public works are edifices and ornaments of such beauty and grandeur in temples and consecrated furnishings that posterity can never surpass them. In private they were so modest and attached to the principle of our constitution that whoever knows the style of house which Aristeides had, or Miltiades and the great men of that day, perceives it to be no more spacious than those of his neighbors. Their politics were not for money-making; each felt it his duty to exalt the commonwealth. By a conduct honorable towards the Greeks, pious to the gods, brother-like among themselves, they justly attained a high prosperity.

"So fared matters under the statesmen of whom I have spoken. How fare they with you under the worthies of our time? Is there any likeness or resemblance? I pass over other topics, on which I could expatiate, but observe this: in the absence of all competitors, — Spartans being depressed, Thebans otherwise employed, and none of the rest capable of disputing the

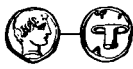
¹ Head of Zeus Laphytios, diademed, right profile. Reverse: AΛEΩN; Phrixos, seated on a ram which is leaping to the right. (Coin of Halos in Thessaly.)

supremacy with us,—when we might hold our own securely, and act as arbiters towards others, we have been deprived of our rightful territory, and have spent fifteen hundred talents to no purpose; the allies formerly gained in war, these men in time of peace have lost; and we have trained up against ourselves a formidable enemy. Let any one come forward and tell me by whose contrivance but ours Philip has grown so strong?

“It must be granted, do you say? that things outside have gone badly, but at home, what splendors! What proof is to be adduced of this? The walls that are whitewashed? The roads that are repaired? The fountains and fooleries? Look at the men of whose statesmanship these are the fruits. They have risen from beggary to opulence, or from obscurity to honor; some have made their private houses more splendid than public buildings, and in proportion as the State has declined, their fortune has been exalted. . . . You, the people, enervated, stripped of treasure and allies, are become as underlings and hangers-on, happy if these persons dole you out show-money or send you your share of the victims offered in the festivals; and, unmanliest of all, you are grateful for receiving your own. . . . By Demeter, I should wonder if I, for mentioning these things, suffered more from your resentment than the men who have brought them to pass! For even liberty of speech you allow not on all subjects; I marvel indeed that you have allowed it here.”¹

Indeed, it is true that much courage was required on the part of Demosthenes to speak thus, knowing that the death-penalty was decreed against the man who should propose abolishing the laws as to the public amusements.

The Athenians gave but a partial obedience to their great orator, and neglected the main point of his speeches,—a reform at home.



BRONZE COIN.²

They made no change as to the finances or the army, and contented themselves with sending Chares with thirty vessels and two thousand mercenaries to the relief of Olynthos. This was done after the *First Olynthian*. (349 B. C.); after the *Second*, Charidemos and four thousand mercenaries; after the *Third*, two thousand three hundred soldiers,—this time all Athenians.

¹ *Second and Third Olynthians*. The chronological order of the three *Olynthians* has been the subject of many discussions. By some the second is called the first. This is not the opinion of Weil, the latest editor of Demosthenes. They all, however, date from the last month of 349 B. C.

² Youthful head of Apollo (?), right profile. Reverse: Φ IA[*σρω*]; vase with two handles. The resemblance of the reverse of this coin to those of Kersobleptes leads us to believe that it was coined by Philip after he had dethroned the Thracian king (Imhoof, *Monnaies grecques*, 52).

But while the generals, by their disagreements, offended rather than aided the Olynthians, Philip gained over some of the magistrates of the city, who finally surrendered it to him (348 B. C.).

DANCING-GIRL.¹

His first care was to put to death his two half-brothers, the Macedonian princes who had taken shelter in Olynthos, and he then abandoned it to pillage, selling the inhabitants and employing his share of the booty in scattering gold lavishly, to appease ill-feeling, —

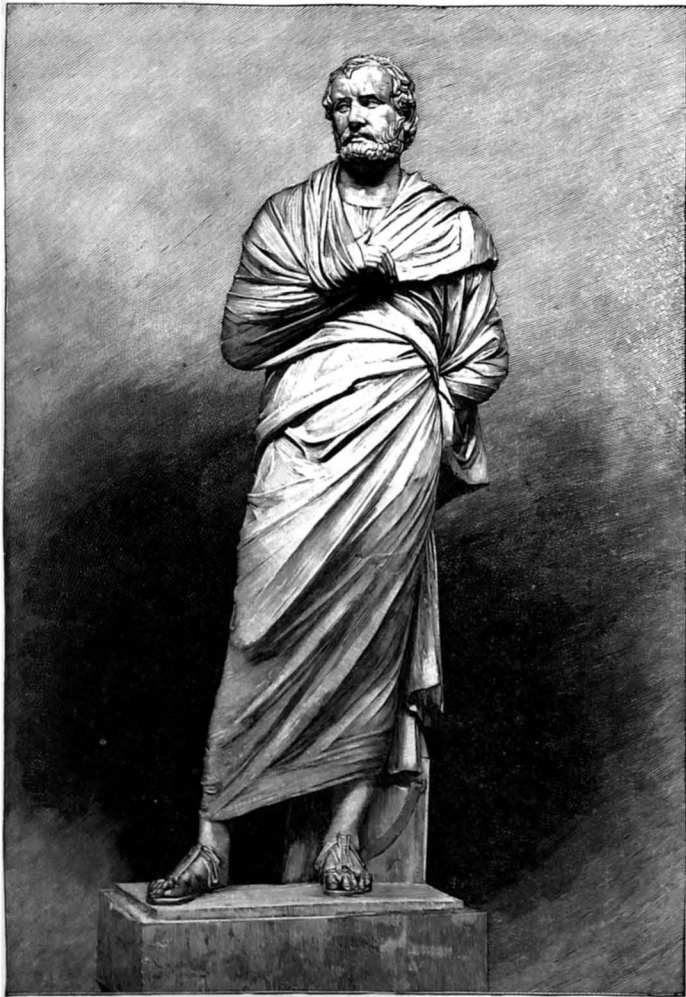
¹ A marble relief discovered in the theatre of Dionysos at Athens, and preserved in the Central Museum of that city (from a photograph). At the same time and place was discovered a similar bas-relief, and it is supposed that the two were part of the decoration of the theatre.

for example, in Dion, where he celebrated a splendid festival, at which Thessalian dancing-girls were present.¹ Many strangers came from all parts of Greece to attend these games, which were characterized by a royal magnificence. Philip made them very welcome, seated the most distinguished of them at his own table, delighted them, and won them over by his affable manners and rich gifts. This also was a campaign which he carried on, and as profitable to him as any in the field. His guests took with them to their homes a germ of corruption which grew in each city, even in Athens, where a numerous party always made mention of the good intentions of the king. Some were honest dupes, others men who had been bought by Philip; others still despaired, and in advance resigned themselves,—men of faint heart, who after the battle of Chaironeia said, “We were perishing, if we had not perished.” Some, however,—and at their head Demosthenes, Euboulos even, one of the leaders of the peace-party, and Aischines,—urged the assembling of a Pan-Hellenic congress, to organize a union of all the Greek States against these new barbarian foes who in two years had destroyed thirty-two Greek cities. A beginning was made; envoys were designated, who visited many cities, but brought back only friendly but barren words, and Athens remained alone. The situation being as it was, a rumor began to spread abroad that Philip was willing to negotiate. The peace-party had just been increased by all those interested in the fate of the Athenians made prisoners at Olynthos. Finally, the friends and relatives of these captives, attired as suppliants, presented themselves before the assembly; having laid an olive-branch upon the public altar, they besought the people not to forget those who for their sake had fallen into slavery. Their appeal touched the assembly, and it was voted to send ten deputies to the king; among this number were Demosthenes and Aischines.

The latter, born in 390 B. C., the son of a poor schoolmaster and of a tambourine-player, had passed through many occupations,—

¹ One of Philip's sons, Aridaïos, was the child of a Thessalian dancing-woman.

NOTE.—On the opposite page is represented (from a photograph) the marble statue of Aischines discovered at Herculaneum, and now in the Museum of Naples. The statue was long known by the name of Aristides, until the discovery of a bust of Aischines gave opportunity to identify it. The attitude and pose are the same with those of the statue of Sophokles in the Lateran (see Vol. III. p. 29), but the statue of the poet is much the finer of the two.



AESCHINES.

upon the orator's personal courage. His eloquence and his patriotism could not be called in question, and his enemies strove to make him out a coward, notwithstanding his campaigns as trierarch and soldier; after the battle of Chaironeia this was again repeated. But what had he to fear from Philip in this peaceful interview? If the sight of a king made him tremble, he had had time to recover himself while the fine orators who preceded him were overwhelming Philip with their eloquence. Possibly the accusation belongs elsewhere, and the foolish part is that of Aischines, who to induce the Macedonian to restore Amphipolis went back to the time of Theseus, urging the rights which Athens inherited from that mythologic king over a city built eight or ten centuries after his time (346 B. C.).

The king was exceedingly friendly towards the envoys, of whom some — at that time or later — did not disdain to accept gifts. Philokrates paraded even in Athens the luxury he owed to royal favors; Aischines obtained, like the former, lands in the territory of Olynthos.¹ In respect to Athens herself, Philip was less generous. He refused to restore to her Amphipolis or Potidaia, and proposed to treat on the basis of what we call the *uti possidetis*, — a very advantageous condition for the Macedonians, who had gained much, and very disastrous to the Athenians, who had lost much. Envoys, among whom were two of the future generals of Alexander, Antipatros and Parmenion, brought this plan of agreement to Athens. The discussion occupied two days; at its close

BRONZE COIN.²

the representatives of the maritime confederation showed their pacific intentions by giving, in the name of the allies, full power to the Athenian people to sign the peace. A remark made by Euboulos seems to have put an end to all hesitation. "Accept," he said, "or else prepare to pay the war-tax, with the *theorikon* added to it, and to man the galleys yourselves." The treaty was accepted, and the Thracian Kersobleptes was allowed to be included among the allies of Athens, his kingdom covering the Athenian Chersonesos; but the Phokians, who held Thermopylai against Philip, were excluded (April, 336 B. C.).

¹ Demosthenes, *On the Embassy*, §§ 114 and 146.

² Coin of Kersobleptes. Head of Demeter, right profile. Reverse: ΚΡΡ_σολίβου?]; two-handed vase; underneath, a grain of barley; field slightly concave.

While discussion went on at Athens, Philip took the field. He dethroned Kersobleptes and seized many strong places in the Chersonesos, regarding as a fair prize all that he could obtain before personally swearing to the peace. When, on the suggestion of Demosthenes, a second deputation was sent to receive his oath, the journey to Pella occupied twenty-three days, and the envoys were there obliged to await his coming for more than a month. The crafty monarch feigned to have no news of their arrival, and pursued his conquests in Thrace. On his return he received the envoys, but before giving them any reply he took them as far as Pherai in Thessaly. He there declared that he would never consent to have the name of the Phokians inscribed in the treaty. The deputies had scarcely returned to Athens, after an absence of seventy days, when Philip marched upon Thermopylai and made himself master of the pass. Demosthenes later accused his colleagues, Aischines especially, of having sold themselves to the Macedonian king. Aischines was, it is probable, guilty of nothing more than having contributed to spread among his fellow-citizens that simple-minded confidence in the promises of Philip which proved their ruin.

BRONZE COIN.¹

He was one of the advisers of the people, and could only urge later for his justification that he had shared in the general feeling. Demosthenes alone had been awake to the danger of the situation and had made it known; but none had listened (346 B. C.).

This Phokian war, which Philip had just brought to a conclusion, had lasted during ten years, with equal success on both sides. No power in Greece had seemed able to terminate it. Thebes had obtained from the king of Persia three hundred talents as an offset to the Delphian treasures. But more direct aid seemed necessary; and she appealed at last to Philip, who marched towards Thermopylai, whence Phalaikos instantly withdrew, with his eight thousand mercenaries, and sought shelter in the Peloponnesos.²

¹ Coin of the Phokians. Bull's head, front face, the horns ornamented with fillets. Reverse: ΦΩΚΕΩΝ; laurelled head of Apollo, right profile.

² From the Peloponnesos Phalaikos passed over into Krete, where he took service in Knossos, and was killed in an attack upon Kydonia. His mercenaries had the usual fate: they came to a bad end. Being defeated in Elis, they were slain or sold as slaves, and Diodoros (xvi. 63) sees in this disaster a case of divine vengeance.

The expedition was without danger; but the king nevertheless gained from it the renown of having been able, alone, to avenge the gods.

Philip's first care was to place a Macedonian garrison in Nikaia, without concerning himself as to the effect of this measure upon the Thebans, to whom this city at the time belonged; his intention was, by permanently establishing himself in the defile, to keep this



AMPHIKTYONIC COIN.¹

gateway into Greece always open to him. Having taken this precaution, he convoked the Amphiktyonic Council, to decide upon the fate of the Phokians. The authority attributed to this assembly by tradition was vague and indeterminate; but now that Philip placed an armed force at their disposal, the Amphiktyons could speak with decision. The council decreed that Phokis should no longer exist as a State, and that individuals who had taken part in the spoliation of the temple should be declared accursed, and seized wherever found; that the twenty-two towns of Phokis should be razed to the ground and the inhabitants dispersed in villages, no one of which should contain over fifty houses; that they might hold and cultivate their land, but must pay to the temple an annual tribute of sixty talents, until the losses, estimated at ten thousand talents,² should have been made good; that the horses of the Phokians should be sold, and their weapons broken or burned; and that they should not be allowed to replace these objects. At an earlier time, Philip had destroyed, in Chalkidike, thirty-two cities; he now, with his allies, exterminated an entire Greek State. Thus the Macedonian sway began.

After the chastisement came a distribution of the spoils. The presidency of the Pythian Games was given to Philip, conjointly with the Boiotians and Thessalians; and to the king of Macedon were transferred the two votes in the Amphiktyonic Council which the Phokians had possessed (346 B. C.). Religion and the jeal-

¹ Veiled head of Demeter, right profile. Reverse: ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ; the *omphalos* of the temple of Delphi, surrounded by a serpent which raises its head. (Silver. *Revue Numismatique*, 1860, pl. xii. 6.)

² Diodorus, xvi. 60. As, on this estimate, it would take a hundred and sixty-six years to pay the debt, this was a perpetual ground-rent for the benefit of the god. We have the receipts of many years on marble tablets recently found in the temple of Athene Kranaia, at Elateia, the city of Phokis second in importance to Delphi (*Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*, May-November, 1887, pp. 321 *et seq.*).

ousy of neighboring cities had thus slain the independence of the Greek nation. A foreign king was now president of the federal council, guardian of the Hellenic sanctuary, and held, in holding Thermopylai, the keys of Greece.

All this had greatly agitated Greece. The Athenians began to fortify Peiraiæus, to garrison the fortresses on the frontiers, and a decree had required citizens living outside the walls to remove into the city. When the time came for the meeting of the Amphiktyonic Council, they refused to send the usual deputation to Delphi, and Sparta did likewise. This was only a tacit protest, but Philip judged it prudent to withdraw into Macedon, according to his usual policy; and when the feeling was in a degree abated he sent an embassy to the Athenians to obtain an acknowledgment of his title as Amphiktyon, and it was not refused.

Demosthenes spoke for peace on this occasion, — it was, in fact, a question of peace or war; and although his fears grew more intense day by day, he did not judge it prudent to break with Philip on a pretext which would have exposed the Athenians to see formed once more, and this time against themselves, the league which had destroyed the Phœnicians. It was better to wait till a more favorable moment, when Athens could re-form an alliance of Greek States for her own advantage and against Macedon.



COIN OF RHODES.¹

“I advise you so to act,” he said, “as not to compromise your dignity, to avoid war, to prove yourselves right-thinking, just-speaking men. . . . We permit the Thebans to hold Oropos; and if one asked us why, and required a true answer, we should say, to avoid war. And to Philip now we have ceded Amphipolis by treaty, and allow the Kardians to be excepted from the other people of the Chersonesos, and the king of Karia to seize the islands of Chios, Kos, and Rhodes, and the people of Byzantium to detain our vessels, — evidently because we think the tranquillity of peace more

¹ Radiate head of the Sun, right profile. Reverse: ΕΠΙ ΑΝΤΙΦΟΝΟΥ ΡΟΔΙΩΝ; a Victory advancing to the right, holding a sceptre and a crown; in the field a bunch of grapes. (Bronze.)

beneficial than strife and contest about such questions. It were folly, then, and utter absurdity, after dealing thus with each enemy singly, on matters of importance to ourselves, to make war now upon them all united for a shadow at Delphi"¹ (346 B. C.).

That which Athens hoped to do at some future time against Philip, the king at once set on foot in respect to her; he sought to isolate this city from the rest of Greece, and he extended his influence and his intrigues into the very heart of the Peloponnesos. He had early resolved to carry out the schemes of Thebes in this direction. A civil war having broken out the following year (345 B. C.) in Elis, the aristocratic party massacred four thousand of their adversaries, who had been guilty of entering the sacred territory with arms; then they placed themselves under the protection of Philip. He had, long before this time, formed ties with Arkadia, flattering this people, who might at some time be useful to him as a check upon Sparta; had scattered gold through the Arkadian cities, and attracted the most important inhabitants to his court. From the year 356 B. C., the Megalopolitan Cheron had stood high in his confidence; in 349 B. C., at the time of the Olynthian war, Aischines, sent by Athens to Megalopolis, heard praises of Philip in the Council of the Ten Thousand, and saw the Arkadian hoplites set off to join his army. "The hostility between the Arkadians and the Lacedæmonians tended to increase greatly the power of the Macedonians and of Philip, the son of Amyntas," says Pausanias, "as neither at Chaironeia nor again in Thessaly did the Arkadians fight on the side of the Greeks."

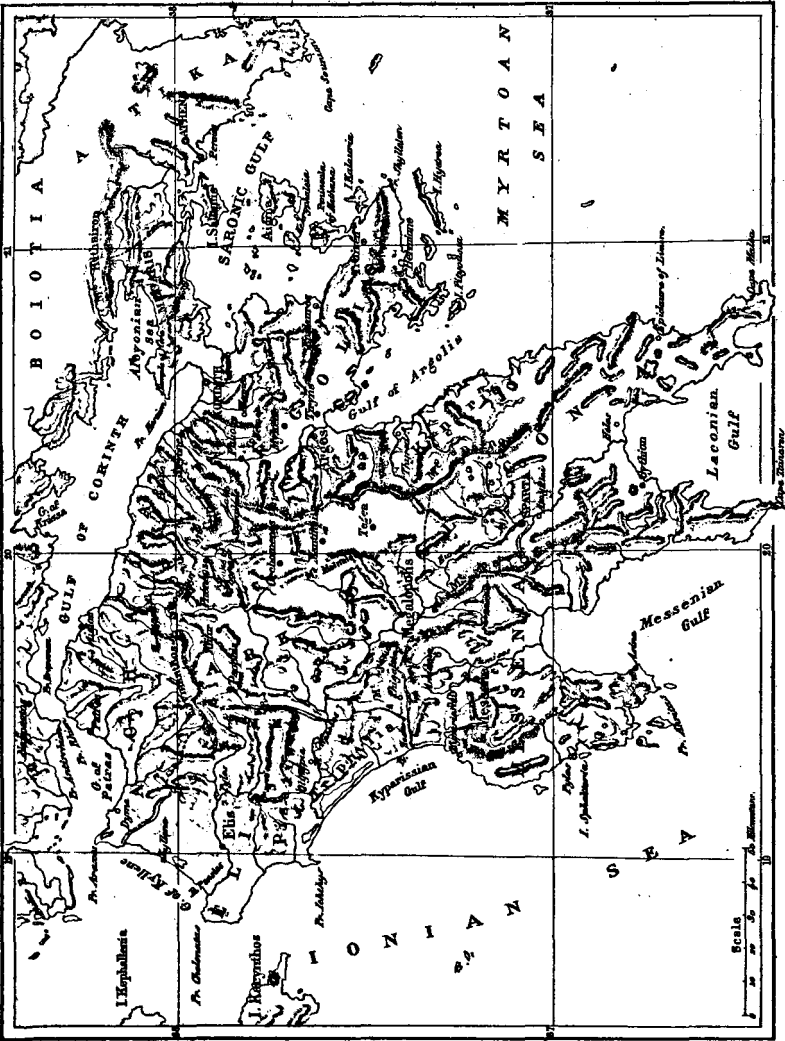
As a true statesman, Philip always took into account the passage of time; he sowed, and waited patiently for the grain to ripen. In 345 B. C. there had been decreed to him in Arkadia so many wreaths, and erected so many statues, that there was nothing farther to offer him except to call him into the country and decree that all the cities should be opened to him. He was not a man to plunge deeply into the affairs of the Peloponnesos until after he had terminated those of Northern Greece. He contented himself with sending money and foreign mercenaries and openly

¹ . . . πρὸς πάντας περὶ τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς σκίας ὑπὸ πολέμου (oration *On the Peace, ad finem*). By "a shadow at Delphi" Demosthenes means the valueless honors that Philip had recently caused to be decreed to himself at Delphi,—the presidency of the Pythian Games and the right of being the first to consult the oracle (*προμαρτυρία*), which had belonged to Athens since the time of Perikles.

PELOPONNESOS.

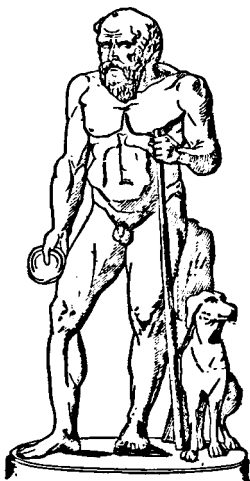


PELOPONNESOS.



taking Messene under his protection. He wrote to the Spartans: "If I enter Lakonia, I shall destroy your city;" and they made only the significant reply, "If!" At Corinth the inhabitants, notwithstanding their effeminacy, prepared for defence, and Diogenes, not to remain useless, rolled his tub to the walls. Demosthenes himself visited the most important cities of the Peloponnesos, every way endeavoring to defeat the machinations of Philip, who this time went no farther. The Macedonian had only sought to make a diversion, and that he had done.

In his harangues to the Peloponnesians Demosthenes had insisted on the perfidy of the king. "He is not only no Greek and no way akin to Greeks, but not even a Barbarian of a place honorable to mention,—in fact, a vile fellow of Macedon, from which a respectable slave could not be purchased formerly."¹ Philip felt the importance of effacing these impressions; and the city which, even in its humiliation, preserved, at least more than any other in Greece, along with the trophies of Marathon and Salamis, the sentiment of resistance to the foreign foe, saw deputies of the common enemy arrive, on the errand of making their master's excuses. Demosthenes then uttered his *Second Philippic* (344 B. C.), in which he returns to the war measures, the chimera of peace having vanished before the daring acts of the Macedonian. He referred to his earlier endeavors, in the case of the men of Messene and Argos, to frighten them away from the king's friendship, by showing them the Thessalians, victims of their own credulity.



DIOGENES THE CYNIC.²

¹ These words are employed in the *Third Philippic*, of three years later date (341 B. C.).

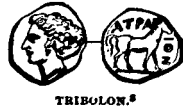
² Statuette of Carrara marble, now in the Villa Albani (from Visconti, *Iconografia greca*, pl. 22, 3-5). The lower part of the arms, the staff, and the dog are modern restorations, but they are perfectly justified; the dog, notably, appears in a replica of the same group. The name Diogenes is very appropriate to the statuette; the Cynic philosopher is represented nude, with a long, untrimmed beard.

"They heard me with a tumult of applause," he says; "and many other speeches they heard from the ambassadors, both in my presence and afterwards; yet none the more, as it appears, will they keep aloof from Philip's friendship and promises. And no wonder that Messenians and certain Peloponnesians should act contrary to what their reason approves; but you who understand, yourselves, and by us orators are told how you are plotted against, how you are ensnared, — you, I fear, to escape present exertion will come to ruin ere you are aware. So doth the moment's ease and indulgence prevail over distant advantage."²

SILVER COIN.¹

He then refers to the traitors in Athens and the Macedonian party, which was the greatest scourge of Greece.

"After the conclusion of peace and my return from the second embassy, I became aware that we had been basely deceived. At once I gave warning, and protested, and opposed the abandonment of Thermopylai and the Phokians. What said these traitors then? They declared that I, being a water-drinker, was by nature a churlish and morose fellow; and that Philip, if he came through the pass, would do all things that you desired, fortify Thespiæ and Plataia, humble the Thebans, cut through the Chersonesos at his own expense, and give you Oropos and Euboia in exchange for Amphipolis. All these declarations I am sure you remember. And the most disgraceful thing of all, you voted in your confidence that this same peace should descend to your posterity, so completely were you misled."⁴

TRIBOLON.³

Philip, after reading this oration, said: "I should have voted for Demosthenes and to declare war against myself, and I should have appointed him general." It was his expression of the strong effect this manly eloquence produced upon himself, and not, certainly, his real wish that the Greeks should declare war against him; for if an Hellenic league had been formed, his victory would certainly have been problematical. This league was the constant

¹ Cow suckling her calf; in the field the letter Φ, a monogram and the name of a magistrate, ΚΑΑΑΗΝ[ος]. Reverse: ΑΠΟΑΑ[Λαυραία] and ΑΓΗΝΟΖ, a magistrate's name; square adorned with finials, generally considered a conventionalized representation of the gardens of Alkinoüs.

² *Second Philippic.*

³ Coin of Atrox, in Thessaly. Head of nymph, left profile, the hair turned back. Reverse: ΑΤΡΑΤΙΟΝ; horse stepping to the right.

⁴ *Second Philippic.*

thought of Demosthenes; Euboulos even had come to share the idea. Thus far all attempts in that direction had failed; but recent events had rendered the danger so pressing that the undertaking seemed now more likely to succeed; and the Athenians showed an ardor worthy of their noblest days, in their endeavors to induce the other States to unite with them and with each other.

In 344 B. C. Philip invaded Illyria; he ravaged the country, took some cities, and then, returning into Greece, occupied himself in reorganizing Thessaly. He divided the territory into four districts, placed at the head of each a man devoted to himself, placed garrisons in the fortresses, and took possession of all the revenues of the country; Thessaly was manifestly a Macedonian province. He now held Thermopylai, one gate of Greece, and it was his aim to obtain another also,—the isthmus of Corinth. Established there, he would be at once master of the road into Attika and of that into the Peloponnesos. He encouraged a conspiracy in Megara, in order to cause himself to be declared protector of the city; but here the Athenians outwitted him: Phokion entered the place and rebuilt the walls (343 B. C.).

On the failure of this attempt he at once entered upon another in a different direction: he interposed in the affairs of Epeiros in the interest of his brother-in-law Alexander; conquered for him three semi-Greek cities which had refused obedience, and himself endeavored to seize Ambrakia, which would have made him master of Akarnania. Thence he would have obtained that entrance into the Peloponnesos which Athens had been able to deny him at Megara. But she closed this road also to him. A band of Athenians threw themselves into Ambrakia, and Demosthenes came to

GOLD COIN.¹GOLD COIN.²DRACHMA.³

¹ Coin of Alexander I., king of Epeiros (342-346 B. C.). Head of Zeus Dodonaios, with a wreath of oak-leaves, right profile. Reverse: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΥ; thunderbolt and spear-head.

² Coin of Alexander I., king of Epeiros. Radiate head of the Sun, front view. Reverse: ΑΛΕΞ[Ἀλέξανδρου]; thunderbolt.

³ Coin of Ambrakia. Veiled and laurelled head of Dione, left profile. Reverse: ΑΜ; obelisk adorned with two fillets at its top; at the left, a palm; the whole in a laurel-wreath.

enkindle the courage of the Akarnanians and Achaïans. An attack made at the same time by the Athenians upon Magnesia in Thessaly recalled Philip from Epeiros.

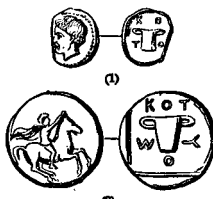
Thus the two adversaries, while still hesitating to close with each other, carried on distant hostilities. This was neither peace nor war; Philip complained of it: he sent to Athens the Byzantine Python, whose eloquence almost equalled that of Demosthenes, and, some time after, a crafty message in which were concealed threats under words of kindness. Hegesippos replied to it by a haughty harangue, of which the inevitable conclusion was war. "But you wish for war," cried a malcontent, as the orator left the bema. "Yes, by Zeus! and I wish for lamentations and public burials and funeral eulogies,—all that will make us free and shake off the Macedonian yoke from our heads." Unfortunately this time, instead of acting, the Athenians occupied themselves with the prosecution of Aischines and Philokrates, denounced by Demosthenes, who, nevertheless, was still unremitting in his efforts to turn their minds towards truly great objects (343 B. c.).¹

VI.—OPERATIONS OF PHILIP IN THRACE (341–339 B. c.); BATTLE OF CHAIRONEIA (338); DEATH OF PHILIP (336).

WHILE the Athenians were thus losing precious time, Philip was building ships and arsenals in his seaport towns, and was preparing an expedition into Thrace. His policy had two aims,—to obtain possession of Greece, in order to inherit, by right of conquest, the country's ancient glory, and to play, in this later day, the epic rôle of Agamemnon; and to possess Thrace, in order to extend the limits of his kingdom, to exercise his army, to recruit soldiers, and to reach the shores of the Euxine, where tributes might be levied upon Greek cities, and a navy might be created in these waters furrowed by the merchant-vessels of Hellas. In 342 B. c., when the sun had melted the snows of Haimos and driven winter away from the Thracian plains, he penetrated as

¹ In this oration Demosthenes exclaims: "A terrible evil has fallen upon Greece. In all the cities men betray the liberty of their country; they give to Philip titles of host, brother, friend, and the like" (*On the Embassy*, § 258).

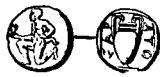
far as the ancient kingdom of the Odrysaï, and founded there, with Greeks whom he had carried off from the cities of the coast, a number of colonies. One of them, which he peopled with criminals in the lack of voluntary colonists, took his name, which it has kept, and is still one of the great cities of European Turkey, — Philippopolis, — on the Maritza (Hebros). These establishments in the neighborhood of the Chersonesos and of Byzantion menaced the possessions, the commerce, the very existence of Athens, who received her grain supply from the Tauris. One of her generals, Diopet-



COINS OF KOTYS I.¹

thes, was in the Chersonesos with a small army;² he made incursions into the territory recently acquired by Philip, who complained of this to Athens. “The Athenians,” said Demosthenes, “are the defenders of Greek liberty. Every blow aimed at this liberty is struck at them. Hence their right to defend it everywhere.” Then, representing Philip as the mortal enemy of Athens, he adds: —

“Do you not see that the more he is allowed to take, the more he takes, and the more he adds to his strength for overwhelming us? When then, O Athenians, will you begin to do your duty? You reply: ‘Certainly we will do it when it becomes necessary.’ But the necessity has long been most pressing.”



SILVER COIN.³

And he puts the case distinctly: —

“No one of you surely is so foolish as to suppose that Philip covets those paltry villages in Thrace (for what else can one call Drougelos and Kabyle and Masteira and the places which he is now conquering?) and to get them endures toils and winters and the extreme of danger, but

¹ 1. Horseman galloping to the right, the chlamys floating back from his shoulders, and holding with one hand an ear of his horse. Reverse: KOTYOS; *kotyla* with two handles. (Bronze.) 2. Bearded head, left profile. Reverse: KOTO; *kotyla* with two handles. (Silver.) Kotys I., king of the Odrysaï, reigned from about 382 to 358 B. C.

² The name of the Chersonesos was *Χερσόνησος*, and in the Attic dialect *Χερσόνησος*.

³ Coin of Saratos, king of a Thracian tribe about the year 340 B. C. Satyr kneeling to the left, holding a *kaniharos* in the right hand. Reverse: ΣΑΡΑΤΟΣ; amphora; the whole in an incused square.

covets not the Athenian harbors and docks and galleys and silver-mines and revenues of such value; and that he will suffer you to keep them, while for the sake of the barley and millet in Thracian caverns he winters in the midst of horrors. Impossible! The object of that and every other enterprise is to become master here.”¹

It is not greed alone which urges him; he understands that, for the accomplishment of his designs, Athens must disappear.



THE HEBROS.²

“You must assume him to be the irreconcilable enemy of our constitution and democracy; and you must be assured that all his operations and contrivances are planned against our country, and wherever he is resisted the resistance will be for our benefit.”

The mind of Demosthenes is possessed by this thought; it recurs in his *Fourth Philippic* (if we may regard this oration as authentic).

“He is unfriendly and hostile to the whole of Athens,—to the ground of Athens, and, I may add, to the gods of Athens (may they exterminate him!). But there is nothing which he strives and plots against so much as our constitution, nothing in the world that he is so anxious about as its destruction. And thereunto he is driven by some sort of necessity; for notice, he wrestles for empire, and he believes you to be his only opponents. He has been a long time injuring you, as his own conscience best informs him; for by means of your possessions which he has secured he holds all the rest of his kingdom. Had he given up Amphipolis and Potidaia he would not have deemed himself safe even in Macedon. He knows that he is plotting against you and that you are aware of it; and supposing you to have common-sense, he judges that you detest him as you ought. Besides this, he is assured that though he became master of everything else, nothing can be safe for him while you are under popular government; should any reverse ever befall him (and many may happen to a man), all who are now under constraint will come for refuge to you.”



SILVER COIN.³

¹ *On the Chersonesos*, 44 and 45.

² ΗΓΕ ΠΟΜ ΠΟΥΠΕΙΣΚΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ. The Hebe, seated to the left, holding a water-plant and leaning on an urn from which water is flowing. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Philippopolis, with the effigy of Antoninus Pius, minted by authority of the Consul Pompeius Vopiscus.)

³ Coin of Selymbria. Bearded head of Herakles, right profile, wearing the lion's skin. Reverse: cock, to the right, in an incused square.

And he ends by returning to the sole proposition that can save Athens,—the reform of abuses and a league of all the Greek States.¹

Part of his advice was followed; embassies were sent out, and their effect upon public opinion was sufficiently important to induce Philip to make no further advance. Demosthenes gained time, which was much, as he himself says, in the struggle of a republic against a monarchy (341 B. C.).

Philip suspended his designs in Greece, attention having been directed towards them; but he pushed them actively in Thrace, where the way seemed to him more open. Near the close of 341 B. C. he besieged Selymbria, and soon after, the more important place, Perinthos, on the Propontis. Protected by the strong position of their city, on an eminence,



BRONZE COIN.²

having the sea on two sides, the Perinthians made an obstinate resistance, notwithstanding the thirty thousand men with whom Philip invested the city, the mines that he dug under the walls, and the towers, eighty feet high, which his engineers constructed. The science of attack was developing itself, but the defence also increased its means of resistance; and on one occasion, when the Macedonians made their way through a breach in the walls, they were driven out.



BRONZE COIN.³

Demosthenes followed all the movements of his adversary; to the armies of Philip he still opposed his oratory, and what the king did in the Peloponnesos the great orator now proceeded to do in Thrace. He visited Byzantion, the most important city in that region, and destroying by his eloquence an inveterate jealousy, he revived the alliance which the Social War had for the time destroyed. Byzantion sent succor to Perinthos; the Persians, anxious on seeing the Macedonians so near Asia, sent over troops, pro-

¹ The oration *On the Chersonesos* was delivered in 341 B. C.; the *Third Philippic*, one of the most vehement of his harangues, a few days later.

² Veiled head of Demeter, right profile. Reverse: ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ; the Dionysiac *kistos*, from which escapes a serpent. (Coin of Perinthos.)

³ Coin of Byzantion. Youthful head of Dionysos, crowned with ivy, right profile. Reverse: ΕΠΙ ΦΡΟΝΤΙΝΟC ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ; ostrich stepping to the right, and worried by a dog.

visions, and money, and an Athenian, Apollodoros, had command of these reinforcements. Athens supported this coalition by attacking Philip elsewhere. While Ephialtes, the envoy at Susa, was reviving the fears of the Great King, a Euboian general in the interest of Athens, Kallias, pillaged the cities of the Pagasetic Gulf, captured vessels freighted for Macedon, and aided Phokion, who had landed in Euboia, to drive thence the Macedonians, who

BRONZE COIN.¹

were endeavoring to make of this island "a fortress menacing Athens." Phokion was but the hand which executed; it was Demosthenes who had caused the expedition to be undertaken; and, again, it was he who had just formed against the king

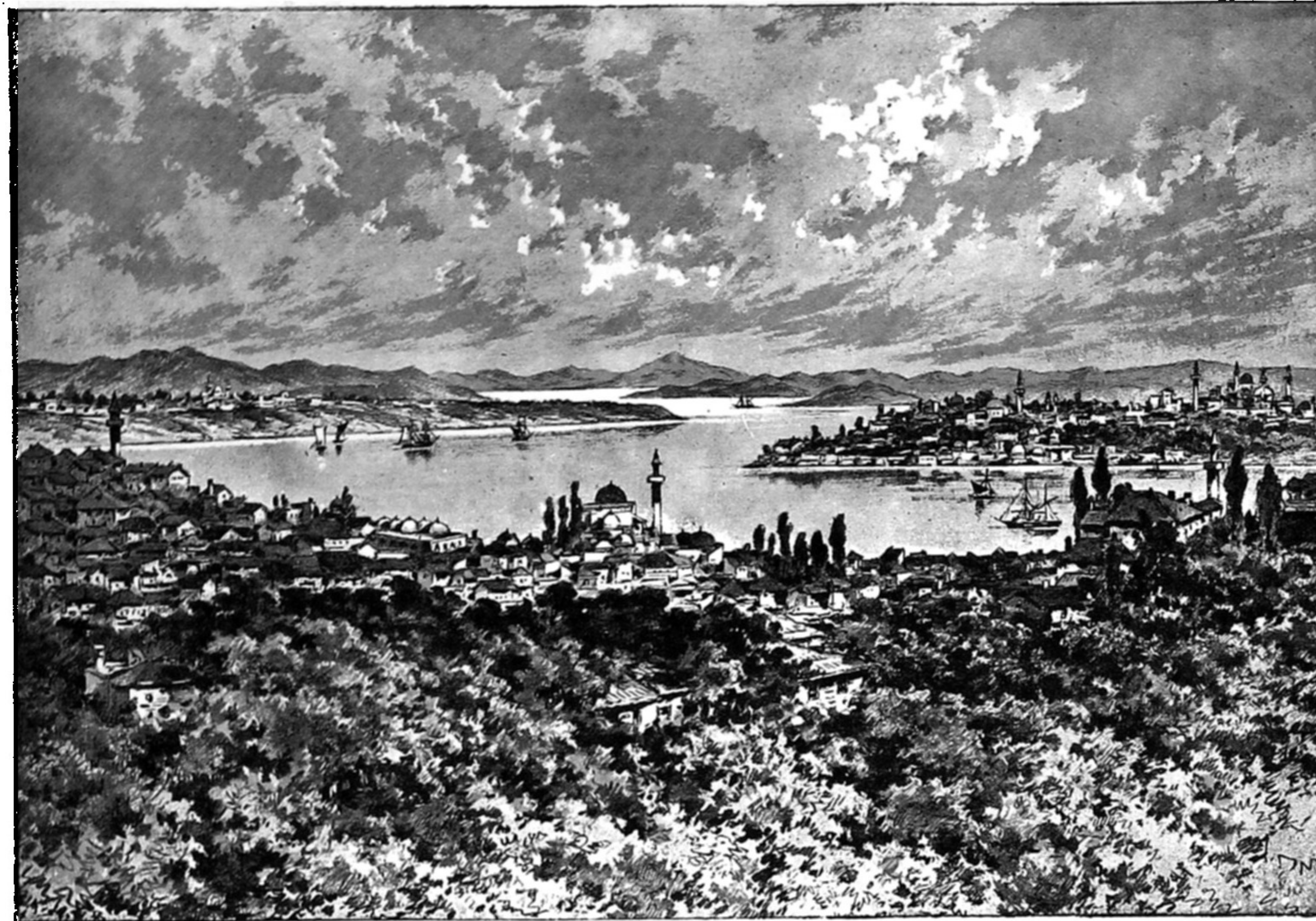
a league, comprising, besides Euboia and Korkyra, nearly all the seaport towns of the Gulf of Corinth. In the spring of 340 B. C. their deputies came to Athens to agree upon the operations to be undertaken and the subsidies to be furnished. The people, grateful for these successes due to their great orator, decreed him a gold wreath.

Meanwhile Philip made no advance in the siege of Perinthos. Thinking it might be easier to take Byzantion, he divided his forces, and carried on the siege of the two cities at once; at the same time he complained at Athens of the recent hostilities. This was going too far. Byzantion in the hands of the king would close the way to the Euxine. This time Philip threatened the very springs of life of the Athenian people; the excitement was extreme, and Athens became herself once more. Demosthenes induced the people to vote the destruction of the column on which, seven years earlier, the treaty of 346 B. C. with "this worthless fellow of Macedon" had been engraved, and a hundred and twenty galleys were equipped. Athenian hoplites went on board, and they

BRONZE COIN.²

¹ Coin of Sestos. Head of Persephone, with wreath of wheat-ears, left profile. Reverse: ΣΗ[erion]. Hermes standing, to the left, wearing the petasos and the chlamys, and holding the caduceus in his right hand; in the field, a wheat-ear.

² Coin of Eleos (Thracian Chersonesos). Ship's prow to the right, with fillets attached to the extremity of the *χρησος*; and floating in the air; on the deck, a serpent. Reverse: ΕΛΕΙΟΥΣΙΣΛΩΝ and a monogram; the whole surrounded by a laurel-wreath.



VIEW OF BYZANTION (CONSTANTINOPLE).

From Laborde, *Voyage en Asie Mineure*, 1838.

were placed under the orders of Phokion.¹ Encouraged by this decision, the inhabitants of Chios, Rhodes, and Kos also sent reinforcements to Byzantion. This city, built on the extremity of a triangular peninsula, two sides of which were bathed by the sea and the third protected by a strong wall, could make a prolonged resistance, especially if the maritime powers furnished assistance; and this they did. The probity of Phokion aided the eloquence of Demosthenes in making the Byzantines forget their wrongs and their suspicions of Athens. Earlier they had refused to receive Chares and his squadron, for it was almost in opposition to those cities that Athens assisted them; Phokion was admitted into Byzantion, and Philip, defeated by Demosthenes, withdrew (339 B. C.).²



BRONZE COIN.³

Like Megara, Ambrakia, and Eubœia, Byzantion and Perinthos escaped him. In the east, the west, and the centre, he experienced only humiliations and defeats; and the men who inflicted upon him these repeated checks were those who had been vanquished at Aigospotamoi! Yes, but they were the remnant of a great people, and they were supported by a great man.



BRONZE COIN.⁴

Perinthos and Byzantion ordered a colossal group to be made, representing the two cities offering a wreath to the Athenian people; and they also decreed that envoys should be sent to the four great Games of Greece, to proclaim their gratitude and the services of Athens. Sestos, Elaïous, Madytos, and Alopeknonnesos sent to Athens a wreath of gold costing sixty talents, and erected an altar to Gratitude and to the Athenian People.

This was the last of the splendid days of Athens. But no; she was to have yet one other, — the morrow of the battle of Chaironeia.

¹ It was for this expedition that Demosthenes accomplished an important reform, of which he speaks in his oration *For the Crown*, §§ 102-107; I have already mentioned it above, p. 55, n. 1.

² Coin of Madytos. Bull threatening with his horns, to the right; above, a helmet. Reverse: ΜΑΔΥ[ρον]; dog seated to the right, with head lifted; behind, an ear of wheat.

³ Phokion drove out the Macedonians from the Chersonnesos, and the garrisons from many cities of the coast.

⁴ Coin of Alopeknonnesos. Youthful head of Dionysos, crowned with ivy, right profile. Reverse: ΑΛΠ[εκεκνοννησος]. Dionysiac *kantaros*; in the field, a branch of a tree.

Philip went far away to hide his disappointment. He made an expedition against the Scythians occupying the region between Mount Haimos and the Danube, but was defeated, on his return, by



TERRA-COTTA HEADS DISCOVERED AT ELATEIA.¹

the Triballoi, who took away his spoils and wounded him grievously. While he thus concealed himself in the North his friends in Greece were preparing a triumph for him. Aischines stirred up the Amphiktyonic council against the Lokrians of Amphissa, who had dared to cultivate a portion of the territory of Kirrha, consecrated to



COIN OF AMPHISSA.²

Apollo after the First Sacred War. Had he sold himself to Philip, and was he making ready a new opportunity for the king to interfere in the affairs of Greece? Demosthenes asserted that this was the case. It is certain, at least, that Aischines served both the cause of the foreigner and of fanaticism. When he announced this news to the Athenian assembly, Demosthenes exclaimed: "You are bringing war, O Aischines, a sacred war, into the heart of Attika!" Shortly after this, the

¹ Fragments discovered in the excavations undertaken by the French School at Athens on the site of the temple of Athene Kranaia, at Elateia; from the *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, vol. xi. (1887), pl. 4 and 5. On these terra-cottas, see the articles of M. P. Paris, *ibid.*, pp. 408 etc.

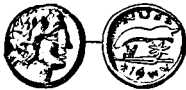
² Laurelled head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: AMΦΙΣΣΕΩΝ. Lance-head and jaw-bone of the wild boar of Kalydon; in the field, a star and a monogram of a magistrate's name. (Bronze.)

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command of the Amphiktyonic forces was again given to the king of Macedon by the following decree:—

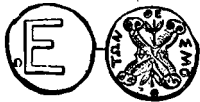
“Klimagoras being pontiff, in the spring assembly the Hieromnemes and the Pylagorai and all the Amphiktyons have decreed as follows: Since certain men of Amphissa have divided among themselves the sacred territory, and cultivate it, and feed their flocks in it, and since, being ordered to withdraw, they have made forcible resistance to the general council of Greece, and have even wounded some of the council, Kottiphos of Arkadia, general of the Amphiktyons, shall be sent on an embassy to Philip, king of Macedon, begging him to succor Apollo and the Amphiktyons, not to abandon the god outraged by these infamous Amphissians, and making known to him that all the Greeks who compose the Amphiktyonic council have elected him general and absolute chief.”



BRONZE COIN.¹

At this moment the Pythia *philippized*.

The king accepted this sacred duty offered so opportunely to him, and immediately sent a message to his allies in the Peloponnesos that they should appear in Phokis at the beginning of the month Boedromion, with provisions for forty days (August–September). “Those who do not present themselves will be punished by us,” continued



TESSERA OF THE ASSEMBLY.²

the letters, “with the penalties which the council permits us to inflict.” He himself entered Phokis with an army, apparently intending to fall upon Amphissa by the way of Doris. But after advancing some distance, he suddenly turned off upon Elateia and captured it. Thence it was easy to penetrate, through the valley of the Kephissos, into Boiotia and Attika, unless a resolute army barred the way. With Greeks yet free, there was always reason to apprehend some desperate resolve: a recollection of Marathon and Leuktra counselled prudence even to this daring king, whom victory had so many times attended. First, to secure

¹ Coin of Elateia. ΕΑΑΤΕΩΝ. Diademed head of Poseidon, right profile; behind, the trident. Reverse: bust of Athene, right profile.

² In the field, Ε. Reverse: ΘΕΜΟΘΕΤΩΝ; four owls making a cross; between, two branches of olive. (Bronze.) Beulé (*Mons. d'Athènes*, p. 78) thinks that this bronze tessera was probably used for the tribunals over which the *thesmothetes* presided.

his retreat into Thessaly in case of need, he fortified Elateia; then, to prevent an alliance between the two cities which were at this time the greatest military powers in Greece, he sent Python to the Thebans with friendly messages, notwithstanding the secret resentment he felt for what he called "Leuktrian insolence,"¹ and to beg of these ancient rivals of Athens passage through their country into Attika (339 B. C.).

This alarming news arrived by night in Athens as the *prytaneis* were taking their customary meal. Immediately fires lighted on the Akropolis called in the dwellers outside the city, the trumpet sounded in the streets summoned the inhabitants, and at daybreak an anxious multitude were assembled in the Pnyx. The magistrates caused the news to be repeated by one of the persons who had

COIN OF THEBES.²

brought it; when he ceased speaking, the terrified assembly remained silent, and not one of the usual speakers ascended the bema, notwithstanding the repeated invitations of the herald. At last, all eyes being directed to Demosthenes, he addressed the crowd; exhorting them not to be discouraged, and proposed a decree, in which are noble words. So long as Phi-

BRONZE.³BRONZE.⁴

lip laid his hands only upon barbarian cities, with which Greece had no concern, it was possible to take no notice of his encroachments; but when he attacked cities in Greece, insulting some, injuring and destroying others, they would be unworthy, he said, of their ancestral fame if they abandoned Greeks whom Philip sought to enslave. After prayers and sacrifices to the Poliac divinities of Athens, the senate and people had resolved to send out two hundred galleys to sail beyond Thermopylai, while the generals of the hoplites and

¹ . . . βουλόμενος τὰ λευκτριὰ φρονήματα συστῆλαι (Diodoros, xvi. 18).

² Boiotian shield. Reverse: ΧΑΡΟ; amphora surrounded by vine-branches. Charon was boatarch in 379-378. (See *Numism. chronicle*, 1881, p. 243.)

³ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ. Athene standing before the olive-tree. She holds her spear and shield resting on the ground, and the serpent Erichthonios is at her feet; on the olive-tree is the owl. (Reverse of a coin of Athens.)

⁴ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ. Athene standing, to the right; she holds the spear and a pomegranate (perhaps a wreath?); behind her, the owl, on a low pillar. (Reverse of an Athenian coin.)

the cavalry would lead their troops to Eleusis. Deputies, moreover, would be sent throughout Greece, and first to the Thebans, who were most closely threatened by Philip, exhorting them to stand firm in defence of their liberty, which was the common cause of Greece. These envoys were to assure the Thebans that whatever unfriendliness might have been felt hitherto between the two cities had been now forgotten by Athens, and she was ready to send to Thebes soldiers and money, and to furnish the Thebans with weapons. "For the Greeks," he said, "can honorably dispute among themselves for pre-eminence; but to receive laws from a Barbarian is unworthy of their fame and of the valor of their ancestors."

ATHENIAN COINS.¹

At the same time Demosthenes advised the establishment of a committee of public safety, and the employment of all the military force Athens could raise. And this force was large, thanks to two measures which he proposed, one of which was a victory over an ancient abuse: he caused the suspension of all public works, and the employment for the war of the money which had been intended for them; in other days it had been usual to add to the *theorikon* whatever might be left over from appropriations for building purposes. Moreover, an army was at hand, already assembled, of ten thousand mercenaries.

The deputies set off in all haste. The Thebans had causes of complaint against Philip: he had taken from them Echinus, on

¹ 1. Reverse of an Athenian drachma. AGE. Names of magistrates: ΔΩ[ΡΟΘΕΟΣ], ΔΙΟ[ΦΑΝΤΟΣ] (?), ΔΗΜΗΘΥ[ΑΙΔΗΣ]. Owl on an amphora. In the field, fore-part of a lion roaring. 2. Reverse of an Athenian tetradrachm. AGE. Names of magistrates: ΔΩΡΟΘΕ[ΟΣ], ΔΙΟΦ[ΑΝΤΟΣ], ΑΝΤΙΑΟΧ[ΟΣ]. Owl standing on an amphora; monetary marks, M and ΔΙ. In the field, fore-part of a lion, open-mouthed, to the right. The whole surrounded by a wreath of olive-leaves. 3. Reverse of a bronze coin of Athens. ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ. Athene advancing to the battle, armed with spear, shield, and helmet. The serpent Erichthonios goes before her.

the Maliac Gulf, he had refused them Nikaia, the key to Thermopylai, and his powerful "friendship" alarmed them. The Macedonian envoys who were in the city when the Athenians arrived reminded the Thebans of the king's services and also of the fate of those who made war against the sacred authority of the Amphiktyons. But Demosthenes by the power of his eloquence kindled so noble an ardor in the hearts of the Thebans, and so completely cast into the shade all other considerations that,



VIEW OF AMPHISSA (SALONA).¹

banishing fear, prudence, and even gratitude, they gave themselves up to the enthusiasm of duty. This result was so unexpected and so threatening that Philip at once sent heralds to ask for peace; that all Greece rose, fixing her eyes upon the future; that not only the Athenian generals, but also those of Boiotia, willingly came under the influence of Demosthenes, who was at Thebes, as he had been at Athens, the soul of all the popular assemblies.

The allies were at first successful in some partial engagements. A ruse of Philip, the lack of discipline among the mercenaries, perhaps also the incapacity of the leaders, gave the king, however, a passage into Doris, whence he was able to fall upon Amphissa,

¹ From Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece*, i. 146.

which he took and destroyed. The priests of Delphi had received satisfaction; the sacrilegious Amphissians "had lived;" but Greece was about to die. This defeat encouraged the peace-party. Philip seemed to favor peace, and Phokion urged it. "Take care lest the Athenians become angry," Demosthenes said to him on one



ROUTE OF PHILIP TO CHAERONEIA.

occasion. "Be careful yourself," was the reply, "lest they return to reason." But Athens was with Demosthenes; the assembly voted him, on the proposition of Hyperides, a second gold wreath (summer of 338 B. C.).

A general engagement was so long delayed that the Spartans might have been able to be present at this last battle for liberty, but they did not even arrive late, as they had done at Marathon.

With the exception of a few troops from Corinth, and perhaps a few from Arkadia, Athens and Thebes were alone. The Greeks had many leaders, the Macedonians but one: this difference would suffice to explain the result. The Hellenic army was very inferior to that of Philip, which consisted of three thousand foot and two



ALEXANDER (?) AS A YOUTH.¹

thousand horse. Demosthenes, at this time forty-eight years of age, fought on foot among the hoplites. The battle took place near Chaironeia. Alexander, at this time eighteen years of age, was in command of the left wing, opposed to the Thebans, and Philip of the right, facing the Athenians. In the centre of both armies were the mercenaries. Alexander was the first, by his impetuous valor, to break the enemy's lines. It is said that Philip allowed the Athenians to exhaust their first ardor and to be broken up in the pursuit of enemies whom their onset had thrown into disorder, and that he then fell upon

them from higher ground and put them to flight. A thousand Athenians were slain, two thousand made prisoners, among them Demades, and the rest fled, Demosthenes with the others.² The loss of the Thebans is not known, but must have been great. The whole Sacred Battalion lay dead upon the field. "There is no inscription over them," says Pausanias, "but there is a device of a lion, which may indicate bravery" (Aug. 2, 338 B. C.).

Athens, at news of this disaster, showed a Roman constancy. At the proposition of Hyperides a decree was passed which, to induce the slaves and aliens to take arms, offered to the former

¹ Parian marble, discovered at Smyrna (in the *Gazette archéol.*, vol. ii. pl. 7). The head is surrounded by the diadem.

² The ridiculous story of his fight is unworthy of mention. Demosthenes was not Leonidas, but he was not, and could not be, the grotesque figure he is represented. Cowardice was not in favor at Athens, and Demosthenes was always honored there. In Diodoros Siculos, the principal but very insufficient historian of that period, is found (xvi. 85-86) the story of Chaironeia.

freedom, and to the latter the title of citizens. The senate of the Five Hundred were obliged to arm themselves and go down into Peiræus to arrange for the defence. As in the period of the Median wars, it was proposed to place the women and children in this fortress; exiles were recalled, and citizens who had been disfranchised were restored to their former rights. A hundred talents were taken from the treasury to repair the walls, and contributions were solicited from rich citizens and from the allies. Demosthenes contributed a hundred minai. The timid proposed flight; but a resolution of the assembly made emigration an act of treason, and several were put to death for this base desertion of their afflicted country.¹

Of the three Athenian generals one, Stratokles, seems to have perished on the battle-field; the second, Chares, escaped, and was not prosecuted; all the resentment of Athens fell upon the third, Lysikles, who had, no doubt, manifested extreme incapacity, and he was put to death, perhaps as a victim of the popular fury. Incapacity in certain positions, however, and carried to a certain degree, deserves severe chastisement. It was the upright Lykourgos who accused him.

BRONZE COIN.²

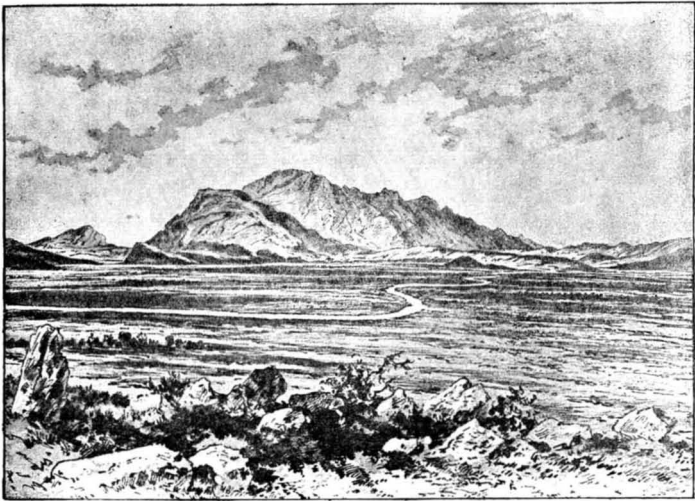
“You commanded the army; and a thousand citizens perished, two thousand were made prisoners, a trophy erected against the republic, and the whole of Greece enslaved! All these woes have fallen upon us while you were the leader of our forces; and you dare to live, you dare to behold the light of the sun, to present yourself in the open streets, you—a monument of shame and disgrace to the country!”

Rome after the battle of Cannæ was more noble: she went out to meet the defeated Varro; and the interests of the defence commanded magnanimity. But at least Athens, under the blow which struck her down, did not bend the knee to her victor. Upon the marble of a tomb erected in memory of those who fell was the inscription, or at least so it is said,—

¹ Aischines, *Oration on the Crown*, p. 105 (Plougoulin).

² Diademed head of Zeus, right profile. Reverse: AΘE; the Ithonian Athens fighting, with the thunderbolt and the shield; in the field, a horse's head. This Athena is found also on coins of Pyrrhos and of Thessaly. It is known that a statue to Pyrrhos was erected in the vestibule of the Odeion at Athens.

“Our soldiers, defenders of the country, took up their weapons for the conflict; they abased the insolence of the enemy, and in their impetuous valor took no thought for their own lives. They took Ploutos for arbiter between themselves and the oppressor, not willing that Greece should feel the yoke and undergo the hated wrong of servitude. They died in great numbers; their remains are buried in their country’s earth. This is the fate Zeus lays upon mortals. Never to fail, always to succeed, belongs to the gods alone; no man can escape his destiny.”



PLAIN OF CHAIRONEIA.¹

This was the old divine Envy again, — a skilful device of the orator in presence of defeated men who must be saved from despair.²

Athens preserved her confidence in those who had given her courage. Many of the measures proposed by Hyperides were in contradiction of ancient laws, and some zealous friend of Macedon promptly accused him of having acted illegally. He replied by an harangue in which were these firm and proud words:—

“Have you inscribed in the decree that liberty should be given to slaves?’ ‘I have, to the end that free men be not reduced to slavery.’ ‘Have you proposed the recall of exiles?’ ‘Yes, that no others should be

¹ From Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece*, ii. 142.

² But is the epitaph authentic? Many scholars question it.

driven into banishment.' 'Did you not know that these propositions were forbidden by the law?' 'No, for the weapons of the Macedonians hid the law from my sight.'"¹

And the judges, as patriotic as himself, dismissed the accusation.

Nor did Athens hesitate in her praise of Demosthenes. Notwithstanding the clamors raised against the man who had contributed so much to bring on this unfortunate war, the relatives of those who had fallen shared in the funeral banquet at his house, and Athens gave him the duty of pronouncing the funeral oration over the dead. "No," cried the orator, justifying at once himself and Athens, in an outburst of eloquence, "no, Athenians, you were not remiss in rushing to meet death for the safety and the liberty of Greece! No, I swear it by your ancestors who fell at Marathon, at Salamis, at Plataia!" And placing honor in the fulfilled duty, not in the success, he closed with brief and noble words: "Our dead have performed the duty of brave citizens; as to fortune, they have had that which the gods gave them."



ENGRAVED STONE.²

Mention must here be made of a rhetorician who remembered at this crisis that he was a citizen, if we may believe a story which is perhaps only a legend: Isokrates, still in good health, although ninety-eight years of age, starved himself to death. His long illusion as to Philip's good intentions had finally vanished, and the reality was fatal to him.³

Philip was worthy of Athens. It is told of him that on the evening of the battle, celebrating with his friends this great victory, he added, after sacrificing to the gods, the intoxication of wine to that of rejoicing,⁴ and with a garland on his head visited

¹ [Cf. the reply of Marius (*History of Rome*, ii. 581), and Cicero's *Inter arma, leges silent.* — Ed.]

² A Dionysiac faun, drunken and dancing, the thyrsos in his right hand, a *kantharos* in the left; on his arm, a panther's skin; at his feet a vase overthrown. Sardonyx of two layers. Height, 36 cent., breadth 38 cent. (Chabouillet, *Catalogue*, No. 1,648.)

³ This, at least, is said, but in writings of a much later date and of little authority; and as proof of his courage, it is added that he had ventured to appear in mourning for Sokrates, — which was no very dangerous rashness.

⁴ The Macedonians were much addicted to wine. Philip was so, and also Alexander; and one of the brothers of Perdikkas II. had been called the Wine Cask.

the captives, for the purpose of mocking at their grief. "How is this?" Demades said to him. "Fortune has given you the position of Agamemnon, and you conduct yourself like Thersites!"



VICTORY SACRIFICING A BULL.¹

Reminded of his dignity by this bold flattery, he threw the garland² down and placed his foot upon it; then, himself again, the able and generous statesman, he set free, without ransom, all the Athenian prisoners, burned the dead, and sent their ashes hon-

¹ Marble group in the British Museum (from *The Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*, vol. x. pl. 25 and 26). The Victory is represented at the moment when she is about to sacrifice the animal. Preparations for the sacrifice form one of the subjects most frequently and most successfully treated by the Greek sculptors. In Vol. III. p. 409 is represented the very fine bas-relief from the temple of the Wingless Victory. Cf. in the *History of Rome*, vi. 511, the bas-relief in the Louvre representing the sacrifice of a victim.

² Though the custom of wearing garlands — very early honored among the Egyptians — did not among the Greeks date as far back as the heroic period, it is nevertheless extremely old, as this verse of Sappho (towards the end of the seventh century) shows: "The gods turn away mute from those who worship without garlands." In the time of Perikles garlands were a sign of public authority. Neither official orators nor magistrates were allowed to appear publicly without them, and they were decreed to those citizens who had deserved well of the republic. They were also worn at sacrifices and banquets.

orably to Athens by envoys who carried conditions of peace more favorable than she could have expected. One would like to believe that the patriotic enthusiasm of the Athenians rendered this generosity necessary. Philip left them Skyros, Delos, Lemnos, Imbros, Samos, and he gave them Oropos, of which he deprived the Thebans; but he took from them the Chersonesos, which, giving him the control of the Straits, permitted him to hold over them a menace of famine, since he could now stop the grain-ships on their way. Consequently Athens soon sought to rid herself of this anxiety by obtaining her supply of cereals from Italy.¹ The Thebans, more severely dealt with, were obliged to pay a ransom for their prisoners and their dead, to receive a Macedonian garrison into the Kadmeia, to renounce all supremacy over Boiotia, where Orchomenos, Thespiæ, and Plataia were again coming into prominence, and to recall their exiles, who, on their return being invested with authority, avenged themselves by inflicting exile or death upon those who had banished them.

In this different way of dealing with the two States, there was manifested a hatred towards that city, lately saved by Philip, now hostile to him, and for the dull Boiotian character which, having given nothing to Greece, had nothing to claim from her; on the other hand there was an involuntary affection for that other people, — artistic, eloquent, courageous; for that city, his unwearying enemy, but consecrated by glory. Is it probable that Philip feared the delays of a long siege, the risks of a gallant despair, the postponement of his great enterprise? No doubt he weighed all this in his thoughts, feeling also that Athens, with her fleet intact, was by no means at his mercy, and that she was in a position to be useful to him. But we may also look at the nobler side: his power was boundless, and he acted generously. After the battle of Chaironeia, Demosthenes could say to the Athenians: "To have taken the more honorable part, and still to be in a better position than those who, by betraying us, hoped to secure their own advantage, has been your happy lot."

¹ In 329 a. c., when Egypt and all the coast of western Asia were in the hands of the Macedonians, Athens established on the coast of Picenum a naval station, with trading-vessels and war-galleys, to protect her commerce against the Tyrrhenian pirates. See Vol. II. p. 591, and *History of Rome*, i. 426.

The great enterprise towards which Philip now turns his attention was nothing less than the conquest of Persia. From Chaironeia he went to Corinth and convoked the deputies of the Greek States. All were obedient to the summons except those of Sparta, who held themselves dangerously but honorably aloof. The king made known his projects and asked their co-operation. A league, offensive and defensive, was concluded between the Greek States and Macedon for the maintenance of peace among themselves and of war with Persia. The contingents and subsidies to be furnished by each city were determined; the penalty of banishment, with confiscation of property, was pronounced against any Hellenic who should engage in the service of the Great King; and Philip was appointed general-in-chief of the Hellenic army, to avenge ancient wrongs and to conquer the lands of gold. If disagreements should arise as to the construction to be put on any clauses of the agreement, the Amphiktyonic council were to decide. It will be remembered that the general-in-chief was the president of this council; the trap was skilfully laid. Meanwhile to the remote observer this new confederation of the Hellenic body, with the king of Macedon at its head,¹ seemed to rest on equitable foundations. The Greeks remained free; they preserved their laws, their possessions, their revenues, but another was to think and act for them. Rome, at a later period, adopted this system towards the last of Alexander's successors, and servile acclamations saluted Flamininus, proclaiming, in this very city of Corinth, Hellenic liberty at the moment when it was finally lost for twenty centuries.

Before returning into Macedon Philip desired to show his power in the Peloponnesos and to humiliate the Spartans; he ravaged Lakonia, and increased, at the expense of Sparta, the territories of Messene, Megalopolis, Tegea, and Argos. He had no

¹ The terms of this league are known by the oration *Περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον συνθηκῶν*, which has been attributed to Demosthenes, but was not included by the ancients among his works. See also Diodoros, xvi. 89; xvii. 45; and Justin, who says (ix. 5) that at the assembly of Corinth two hundred thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse were promised to Philip. A great error is contained in this statement, and one that has been often repeated. These figures, if they are correct, are not those of the auxiliaries promised, but the total of men of the age for military service. Thus reckoned, France would have eight or nine million troops. No doubt the military population was first estimated in each State, in order afterwards to fix the contingent of each.

occasion to go into the west: the Akarnanians themselves drove out their enemies, and Ambrakia received a Macedonian garrison, as Thebes, Chalkis, and Corinth had already done: these garrisons were the shackles fastened upon Greece. Byzantion also solicited his alliance (338 B. C.), so that access to Asia was laid open to him at the very moment when Greece accepted his sway; and he had every reason to believe the acceptance sincere, for servility showed itself in the very home of Demosthenes when Athens gave her citizenship to Philip, to Alexander, and to two of the Macedonian generals, Antipatros and Parmenion,¹ and erected in her market-place a statue to the king of Macedon, with the inscription: "To the benefactor of the country!"

The following year was spent in domestic quarrels and in preparations for the Eastern expedition. Philip sent an army corps into Asia, under Parmenion and Attalos. It was at this time, doubtless, that the relations between Persia and Demosthenes began.

The great orator had not waited for the Barbarian's gold to decide him what course to pursue. He sold neither his eloquence nor his patriotism. There was offered him a means of aiding his cause, the cause of Athens and of Greece, and he accepted it. Persia was no longer formidable, Macedon was extremely so; the subsidies of the one could be used against the other, as, in France, in modern times, English gold was used against Napoleon. France, indeed, which has suffered so much from this means of war, may with reason call it dishonorable, but no one certainly is at liberty to accuse Demosthenes of venality.

When Philip's preparations were nearly completed he consulted the Pythia as to the success of the expedition. The oracle replied: "The wreath is upon the victim's head, the altar is ready, the priest is waiting." In this response Philip read the destruction of the Persians; but on that occasion the Pythia did not *philippize*; he himself was the designated victim.

COIN OF AMBRAKIA.²

¹ They were the heads of two of the most powerful Macedonian families. Of Antipatros the king said; "I slept without fear, for Antipatros was awake" (Plutarch, *Apophthegm.*, 27).

² AMIFPAKIOTAN. Helmeted head of Pallas, left profile; behind, a Fate standing, holding a thread. Reverse: Pegasus galloping to the right. (Silver.) Ambrakia was a colony of Corinth, which fact explains the Corinthian types of Ambrakian coins.

By splendid festivals, sumptuous banquets, games, and competitions in singing, to which he invited all his Greek friends, Philip celebrated at the same time his approaching departure and the marriage of his daughter Kleopatra with Alexander, king of Epeiros, his brother-in-law. A great crowd were gathered from all parts of Greece in the city of Aigai. During the royal banquet a famous tragedian recited, at the king's request, verses which



DRACHMA.¹

said: "You, whose soul is more lofty than the airy sky; you, who proudly regard the vast extent of your domains; you, who build palace upon palace, and believe that your life is endless,— behold Death, with swift step drawing near, and about to cast into darkness

your deeds and your far-reaching hopes." And Philip applauded the poet, regarding this threat of evil, not as his own sentence, but as the doom of the Persian monarch.

During these festivities gold wreaths were offered him by his rich guests and by envoys of the principal Greek cities. Athens sent him one, and with it this decree: "If any man conspire against the life of Philip and come to seek shelter in Athens, he shall be given up to the king."

At the termination of the banquet the crowd hastened to the theatre to be ready to witness a great religious parade which was to take place there in the early morning. The statues of the twelve great gods, wrought by the most skilful artists, and adorned with the richest vestments, were brought upon the stage, and with them a thirteenth statue,—that of Philip,—placed also on a throne like the gods themselves, seated with them as an equal and sharing in their counsels. When Philip himself entered the theatre, clad in white, he ordered his guards to stand back, and came forward alone, wishing to give signal proof of his confidence in the affection of the Greeks; at this instant an assassin, drawing a sword which had been concealed under his garment, sprang upon the king, struck him between the ribs, and laid him dead upon the ground. Philip

¹ Coin of Alexander of Epeiros. Head of the Dodonaian Zeus, with a wreath of oak-leaves; right profile. Reverse: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΥ; a thunderbolt; to the right an eagle.

was but forty-seven years of age. His murderer was a Macedonian noble, Pausanias, who had in vain sought justice from the king for an outrage inflicted upon him. According to other accounts Pausanias was instigated to the commission of the crime by the Persians or by the Athenians. Olympias, Philip's first wife and the mother of Alexander, has also been accused.

The queen, often displeased by her husband's intrigues with Greek hetairai and Thessalian dancing-women, had been mortally offended when, in 337 B. C., adopting the Oriental custom of polygamy, which was now beginning to make its way into Europe, Philip had married Kleopatra, the niece of Attalos, one of his



HYPNOS.¹

generals, and celebrated this second alliance with royal pomp. As the new wife was a member of a great Macedonian family, this marriage gave rise to political hopes, which showed themselves in the midst of the banquet when Attalos, heated with wine, cried out: "Macedonians, let us pray the gods that from this marriage may spring an heir to the throne!" Whereupon Alexander, who was present, hurled a goblet at him, exclaiming furiously: "Am I then illegitimate?" Philip started up, drawing his sword, and would have killed his son, but, overcome by passion and intoxication, he fell to the floor. "Here is a man," said the young

¹ Bronze head, discovered in the neighborhood of Perugia, and now in the British Museum (from Murray, *A History of Greek Sculpture*, vol. ii. pl. 21. The left wing is a restoration). The name is justified by a marble in the Museum of Madrid, where the god is represented standing with bent head, holding in the left hand a poppy, and in the right a horn, whence he is pouring sleep; also, by numerous monuments, statuettes, and gems. See, *History of Rome*, viii. 352, the statuette of green bronze in the Collection Daincourt.

prince, scornfully, "preparing to cross from Europe into Asia, who is not able to step safely from one table to another!" Olympias took shelter with her brother, the king of Epeiros, and Alexander went into Illyria, whence he did not return until Philip, who dared not leave enemies behind him, made a reconciliation with the king of Epeiros, taking him for his son-in-law. Suspicions of complicity in Philip's murder extended therefore to Olympias and to Alexander. It would not be strange that the mother, of barbaric origin, should seek in a crime her own vengeance and the safety of her son;¹ but Alexander, who did not hesitate at political assassinations, and even in a fit of rage once killed a friend with his own hand, was not capable of deliberately planning his father's death.

¹ According to Diodoros (xvii. 2), shortly before the murder a son had been born of this second marriage, who might one day contest the rights of Alexander. He was put to death later by order of Olympias.

CHAPTER XXXII.

ALEXANDER (336-323 B. C.).¹

I. — ALEXANDER AND ARISTOTLE; DESTRUCTION OF THEBES (333 B. C.).

ALEXANDER could not escape the legend-makers. "It is said that his father, Philip, being in Samothrace when he was quite young, fell in love there with Olympias, in company with whom he was initiated into the Mysteries of the island; and, her father and mother being both dead, soon after, with the consent of her brother, Arymbas, he married her. The night before the marriage she dreamed that a thunderbolt fell upon her which kindled a great fire, whose divided flames were scattered all about, and then were extinguished." This prodigy was a fitting image of the life of Alexander and of that dominion which was to rise so rapidly, to dazzle the world, and so quickly to disappear. It was also said that Zeus was the true father of Alexander, who by his mortal ancestry descended from gods and heroes, — from Herakles through Karanos, and from Achilleus on the mother's side.² He was born on the 29th of July, 356 B. C., the day on which the temple of Artemis at Ephesos was burned by Erostratos.



GOLD COIN.³

Alexander had that gift which the Greeks regarded as especially divine, — remarkable beauty of person. His eyes were brilliant and

¹ For authorities in this chapter see Arrian's *Anabasis*, Diodoros, Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, Justin, and even Quintus Curtius, who must be read with precaution, but still should be read, as well as Diodoros, to complete Arrian, who drew only from Macedonian sources, while the other two had Greek authority as well.

² Veiled head of Olympias, mother of Alexander, right profile. Reverse: ΟΑΥΜΠΙΙΑΔΟΣ; serpent moving to the left. (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, vol. iii., 1878, p. 56.)

³ On the legend concerning Zeus and the serpent, see Lucian, *Ἀλιζαρδίας*, 7, who explains it by the custom of the inhabitants of Pella to have tame serpents in large numbers, — a usage prevalent in his day.

expressive, and his complexion was extremely fair; it is said that his head was very slightly inclined towards the left shoulder. The great traits of his character showed themselves in his boyhood in trifles. He was still in the hands of Leonidas, his earliest tutor, who trained him in the severe habits of the Spartans, when, on one occasion offering sacrifice, he threw handfuls of incense upon the altar. "Wait," said his frugal mentor, "before making offerings like this, until you are master of the countries where incense grows." Many years after, Alexander, then conqueror of Asia, sent to Leonidas a hundred talents weight of spices, advising him to be no longer niggardly with the gods.

SARDONYX.¹

By his mastery over the horse Bucephalus, which he alone could subdue, he excited the amazement of all who witnessed his rash bravery, and Philip embraced him, crying out: "Seek another kingdom, O my son; mine is not enough for you!" This was saying much because of the taming of a horse, if the story be authentic; but it is certain that Alexander early revealed the heroic aspirations of his impetuous soul. They were heightened by another instructor, the Akarnanian Lysimachos, who taught him to enjoy Homer, and compared Philip to Peleus, and Alexander to Achilles. The Macedonian prince accepted as his model the valiant hero whom he was destined so far to excel. Like Achilles, Alexander excelled in the race and in all bodily exercises; but when he was asked if he would contend for the prizes of the Olympian Games, "I would do so," he said, "if I were to

BRONZE COIN.²

¹ Alexander, son of Zeus; he wears the royal diadem and has the ram's horn, which indicates his affiliation to Zeus Ammon. (Sardonyx of three layers. Height, 33 millim.; breadth, 31 millim. Cameo of the *Cabinet de France, Catalogue*, No. 154.)

² ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Youthful head of Alexander as Herakles, with the lion's skin, right profile. Reverse: ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΝΕΩ Β. Alexander, represented as a hero, nude, his chlamys flying back from his shoulders, mastering the horse Bucephalus, which rears before him. (Bronze coin, minted under the Roman Empire by the confederation of Macedonian cities, twice *neokoroi*.) The title *Neokoroi* was assumed by cities which had built a temple to the Roman emperor.

have kings for rivals there." He also played the lyre, like Achilles, and all musical instruments, indeed, except the flute. He knew by heart the *Iliad* and a portion of the *Odyssey*; Pindar and Stesichoros were, with Homer, his favorite poets. Music had

BRONZE HORSE.¹

a great influence over him; once, as he heard the singing of a warlike hymn with instrumental accompaniment, he sprang to his feet, Plutarch tells us, and seized his weapons.²

He had another famous master, Aristotle. The most learned and the most profound of ancient philosophers was not unwilling

¹ Bronze now in the Museum of Naples (from a photograph). It was discovered at Herculaneum in 1789.

² Plutarch, *On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander the Great*, i. 9.

to take charge of the education of a king's son. He had studied all the forms of government, and he regarded them all as good when they were in harmony with the circumstances of time and place. But for the Greece of his time he believed that a purely democratic system tended to disorganize the State, by leaving too free a scope to factions; that a tyranny, springing from the favor of the people, always was in danger of ending in disorder, — while

a monarchy, founded on an old hereditary right, was more capable of maintaining justice, repressing disorder, and affording security to person and property.

Aristotle, therefore, had no need of being converted to the cause of royalty, but it was his duty to train the man if the prince, by cultivating in the mind of the boy the serious dispositions which already existed there. While yet a child Alexander had astonished the Persian ambassadors by his questions as to the roads and distances and the military resources of the empire of the Great King. Aristotle taught him many sciences, we are told, — politics, ethics, and even eloquence,



ALEXANDER.¹

which cannot be taught, but may be trained. A physician, like his father Nikomachos, the philosopher inspired his pupil with a taste for medicine, so that Alexander at times practised this art in the case of his friends and his soldiers, although he never was able to profit in his own case by what he knew. It is said that Aristotle also initiated the prince into his most profound speculations, and that on hearing that his tutor was about to make these matters public, Alexander, who wished to be in all respects the superior of other men, reproached him with not keeping as a secret known only to themselves these mysteries of science.

¹ Marble bust of the young Alexander (μολλίφηβος) in the Collection Erbach, from Stark, *Festschrift dem K. deutschen archäolog. Institut zu Rom überreicht von der Universität Heidelberg*, 1879. Cf. Naue, in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1881, pp. 83 et seq.

We cannot tell how much Aristotle taught his royal disciple, for Alexander was only for three or four years his pupil, and quitted him before attaining his seventeenth year;¹ but it cannot be doubted that the philosopher broadened and elevated his mind, opening to him wide horizons, and increasing in him a thirst for all that was truly great, in peace as well as in war. The philosopher who desired to understand all things and reduce them to order was the fitting tutor of the king who wished to conquer all things, that he might reconstruct them all. However, when we see Alexander conceive thoughts so noble and liberal in respect to the ordering of his empire, we remember that Aristotle's idea of a State was a limited number of citizens served by slaves. Upon this point the pupil was greater than his master.

On the death of Philip, in 336 B. C., Alexander was scarcely twenty years of age. He had, however, already had experience of war: four years earlier, left as regent of the kingdom while his father besieged Perinthos and Byzantion, he had subdued certain revolting Thracian tribes; also at the battle of Chaironeia his courage had been remarked. The circumstances of his accession were extremely trying; from without and from within the whole edifice his father had reared was in danger of overthrow. But Alexander had on his side the soldiers, delighted with his brilliant courage, the people, won by his liberality, and, best of all, his own genius.²

His first care was to rid himself of all the accomplices, real or supposed, of Pausanias. An accusation of conspiracy was made against Amyntas, that son of Perdikkas from whom Philip had taken away the crown, and he was put to death. As soon as Philip had fallen, Olympias took her revenge upon Kleopatra and her child. She killed the infant in its mother's arms, and compelled Kleopatra to hang herself with her own girdle. The uncle of Kleopatra, Attalos, who commanded a Macedonian corps in Asia, was assassinated under the private orders of the young king.

¹ In respect to Aristotle's teaching, see Plutarch, *Alexander*, 9, and in Vol. III. of this work, pp. 631 *et seq.* Aristotle did not leave Macedon until 335 B. C.; and his influence upon the mind of Alexander doubtless continued as long as he remained in the country.

² According to Justin (xi. 1), he accorded exemption to the Macedonians from all taxes and burdens, except military service. But this cannot be true; perhaps we may understand it to refer to the taxes of the current year.

These executions served to make Alexander more secure upon the throne, but they also laid a lasting reproach upon his name. The king of Macedon at times forgot that he was Alexander, and conducted himself as the barbaric king of some savage country.

Meanwhile Greece was astir, Athens—and in Athens, Demosthenes—giving the signal. The great orator was lamenting the recent death of a daughter when a secret courier brought him news of Philip's murder. Upon this he put on white garments and a wreath of flowers, and hastened to announce to the Five Hundred that the gods had revealed to him in a dream the



CORINTHIAN COINS STRUCK ABOUT 338 B. C.¹

death of the Macedonian king. The news was speedily confirmed, and Demosthenes, although opposed by Phokion,

obtained a decree that a wreath should be given to the assassin. This conduct of Demosthenes deserves double blame: it was a useless deception, and it was an offence to public morals. We should remember, however, first that the story of the dream rests on the authority of Aischines, an enemy, and hence not perfectly trustworthy in the case;² and secondly, that in his public manifestation of joy on account of this assassination, Demosthenes offended neither the morals of his time nor those of classic antiquity at any period, honoring, as it did, Harmodios and Timoleon, and saying without hesitation, in the words of the wise Polybios: "The murder of a tyrant is a title to glory."³

Immediately emissaries are sent out from Athens, and Demosthenes sows broadcast Persian gold and revolt. Argos, Arkadia, and Elis throw off the Macedonian supremacy. Thebes overthrows her oligarchical government and attacks the Kadmeia, until now held by Philip's garrison; Sparta abandons her immobility and

¹ (1) Head of Aphrodite, right profile; the hair covered with an elegant *kekryphalos*. Reverse: the kopps; Pegasus, galloping to the right. (Hemi-drachma.) (2) Helmeted head of Pallas, left profile. Reverse: ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ; trident. (Bronze.)

² Aischines, *Against Ktesiphon*, 71-78.

³ ii. 56, 15: Ὁ δὲ τὸν . . . τύραννον τιμῶν καὶ προεδρίας τυγχάνει κατὰ πᾶσαν. Athens had, in 359 B. C., given citizenship and a wreath of gold to the two assassins of Kotys, king of Thrace, as to those who had slain a tyrant. Cf. Demosthenes, *Against Aristokrates*, 119.

seeks for allies; the Aitolians offer succor to the Akarnanian exiles; the Ambrakiots expel the Macedonian garrisons; Demosthenes, as a last stroke, seeks to bring about the revolt of the general in command of the army sent by Philip into Asia.

Upon this scene of disturbance Alexander appears, and disconcerts all by the rapidity of his movements. A large army accompanies him. He wins over the Thessalians, convokes at Thermopylai the Amphiktyons, who acknowledge his supremacy, promises an independent national existence to Ambrakia, and suddenly appears before the walls of Thebes, striking terror into the city. Athens sends to him ambassadors, among them Demosthenes, who, either from timidity or shame, is said to have gone no farther than the Kithairon, and votes him two gold wreaths, — one more than she had lately decreed to Pausanias.¹ Finally, Alexander convoked at Corinth the general assembly of Hellas, including the Spartans, who replied to him, with more dignity than prudence, that it was their habit to lead, and not to follow. We may believe that Alexander smiled on hearing these theatrical words. But Sparta was now nothing more than a memory; he left her undisturbed, that he might not for a moment be turned away from his great enterprise. The assembly named him general-in-chief of the Greeks in the war against Persia (336 B. C.).

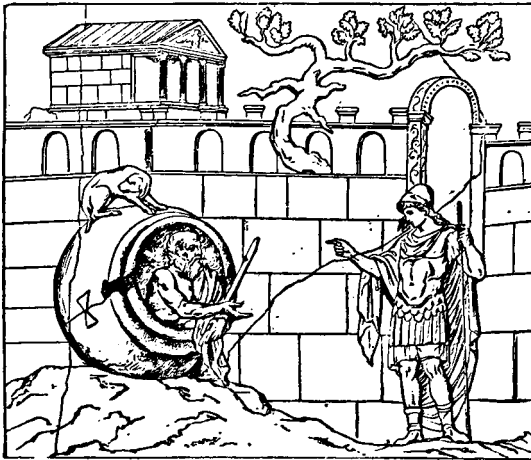
One man, however, astonished the young conqueror. It is said that at Corinth Alexander went to visit Diogenes in his tub. "What would you like to have me do for you?" he asked the philosopher. "Nothing," was the reply, "except to stand a little out of my sunshine." Upon which the king said to his attendants: "If I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes." The story is probably without foundation in fact; but this is certain, there are but two ways to place oneself above fortune, — by despising it, or by conquering it; and the former is the surer.²

Among historic sayings, which perhaps were never said, we may also mention the Pythia's reply to Alexander, who, visiting Delphi at a period of the year when the sun-god deserted his temple, rendered gloomy by winter, wished nevertheless, in spite

¹ That Demosthenes was sent on this legation is improbable.

² See Bayle, *Dict. philos.*, art., *Diogène*. The philosopher was not singular in occupying a tub; exiles and beggars lodged thus for the sake of economy.

of Apollo's absence, to consult the oracle. The Pythia refused; but the king seized her and carried her by force to the tripod, whereupon she exclaimed: "O my son, thou art irresistible!" It was all Alexander required. The Greeks had too much mental acumen not to endow with it those whom they represented as speaking. It would not be possible to certify to the authenticity of the reported sayings of Philip, Alexander, and many others. It



ALEXANDER AND DIOGENES.¹

was the delight of Greek historians to scatter these graceful flowers among their most serious works, and they did it with success.

In a few weeks Alexander had pacified the whole region southward of his kingdom; but in the north the barbaric tribes were threatening. He hastened into Thrace, in ten days reached the foot of the Haimos range, crossed it, notwithstanding the resistance of the independent tribes, and completely defeated the Triballoi. Those who survived the battle escaped to an island in the Danube, whence, notwithstanding he sent for vessels from Byzantion,

¹ Alto-rilievo in the Villa Albani (from Zoëga, *Bassirilievi antichi di Roma*, vol. i. pl. 30). The tub is placed near one of the gates of Corinth.

Alexander was not able to dislodge them. He boldly crossed the great river and destroyed a city of the Getai, who, terrified, retreated into the depths of their deserts; but he remained on the left bank only one day: this was long enough for the fame of the exploit to spread the fear of his arms to a great distance. He received embassies from many barbarous tribes in these regions, even from the Kelts on the Adriatic. "What do you fear?" asked the young conqueror, expecting an expression of homage to his own valor. "We fear nothing, except that the sky may fall," was the reply. "How proud these Kelts are!" Alexander said. He, however, gave them the title of allies and friends; then he withdrew from the banks of the Danube, having sufficiently estab-

KELTIC COINS IMITATED FROM TETRADRACHMS OF PHILIP II.¹

lished a respect for his name, and went on a like errand westward among the Illyrians, — valiant but barbarous tribes, who sacrificed before a battle three boys, three girls, and three black rams.

Alexander had thus made a circuit around his own dominions, defeating, as he went, all the neighboring tribes. He suddenly learned that, on a false report of his death while absent on this expedition, the Theban exiles had returned into their city and had surprised and murdered one of his officers, but that the Kadmeia was still held by its Macedonian garrison.

BRONZE COIN.²

In thirteen days he arrived in Boiotia with thirty-three thousand men. The Phokians and the people of Thespiæ, Orchomenos, and Plataia, hereditary enemies of the great Boiotian city which had been so harsh towards them, rushed to the division of

¹ The style of these coins, very often found in the valley of the Danube, is barbaric. On the former of the two are some letters of the legend ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. (Silver coins.)

² Coin of the Boiotians, struck between 338 and 315 B. C. The Boiotian shield. Reverse: BOIOTON; much ornamented trident; in the field a dolphin and an ivy-leaf.

the spoils. "Demosthenes called me a boy when I was among the Triballoi, and a youth when I arrived in Thessaly," the king said; "I will show him under the walls of Athens that I am a man." He sought, however, to avoid bloodshed, and left the



1. Didrachm.



2. Drachma.



3. Hemi-drachma.



4. Diobolon.



5. Bronze coin.



6. Obolos.

COINS OF ALEXANDER.¹

Thebans time to return to submission. They replied by a proclamation calling to their aid "every man who is willing, with the aid of the Great King, to labor for the restoration of liberty to Greece and the overthrow of the tyrant who oppresses her." Although they had not received the succor voted by Athens on

¹ 1. Laurelled head of Zeus, right profile. Reverse: ΑΑΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ; eagle standing on a thunderbolt; in the field a club and a vessel's prow. (Didrachm.) This coin is struck in the type and system of Philip II.'s coins; it is of the beginning of the reign of Alexander. 2. Youthful head of Alexander, right profile, with the lion's skin. Reverse: ΑΑΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ; eagle standing on a club. (Drachma of about the year 336 B. C.). 3. Head of Alexander, right profile, with the lion's skin. Reverse: ΑΑΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ; eagle, to the left. (Hemi-drachma of about 336 B. C.). 4. Head of Alexander, right profile, with the lion's skin. Reverse: ΑΑΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ; two eagles facing each other; between them a monogram. (Diobolon of about 336 B. C.). 5. Head of the young Alexander, right profile, with the lion's skin. Reverse: ΑΑΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ; thunderbolt; at the right a wreath. (Obolos of about 336 B. C.). 6. Youthful head of Alexander, right profile, with the lion's skin. Reverse: ΑΑΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ; eagle, to the right, with reverted head. (Bronze of about the year 336 B. C.) The date of this series of coins and the fact that they are of Alexander's reign have been settled by Imboof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 120.

the proposition of Demosthenes, nor the contingents from Elis and Arkadia, which were detained on the isthmus, they offered battle to the Macedonians outside the walls of Thebes. The struggle was desperate, and long indecisive. A storming party under Perdikkas finally forced an entrance, carrying a portion of the outworks, and also making their way through a postern gate that had been left unguarded. On sight of their city thus open to the enemy, the Thebans hastened back to its defence; but the garrison of the Kadmeia making a sortie, the rout became general. There was no further fighting for victory on the part of the Thebans, nor even an attempt to save their lives; but they fell bravely, no man asking for quarter.

COIN OF THEBES.¹

The battle ended in a general massacre lasting a whole day; six thousand Thebans were killed, and thirty thousand made prisoners.

Thebes was about to undergo the fate she had inflicted on Plataia and had wished to have Athens endure. She had no great and noble fame which could save her. One thing only was remembered of her in the council of the allies, that she had been under the ban of Greece for her impious alliance with Xerxes. The following decree was passed: "The city of Thebes shall be destroyed and razed to the ground, the Kadmeia alone being left as a military post to be held by a Macedonian garrison; the Theban territory shall be distributed among the allies; Orchomenos and Plataia shall be rebuilt and fortified; all the captive Thebans, men, women, and children, shall be sold as slaves; all Thebans escaping shall be proclaimed outlaws, and asylum in any Greek city forbidden them." In consequence of this decree, dictated by a hatred which had lasted for generations, rather than by the recent victory, Alexander caused the city to be destroyed, making exception in favor of the house of the poet Pindar, whom he greatly admired. The priests were not sold as slaves, nor were those who had ties of hospitality with the Macedonians; and the conqueror also spared a noble Theban woman, Timokleia, to whom one of the Macedonians had offered insult. When the officer had further demanded the treasures she was known to possess, she had led

¹ Youthful head of Herakles, right profile, with the lion's skin. Reverse: ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ; a thyrsos ornamented with fillets, and a club. (Bronze.)

him to a well in the court and bade him look for them there; as soon as he had gone down into the well she had killed him by throwing down stones. Alexander openly justified her conduct. The population, sold at the block, brought four hundred silver talents [about \$500,000; that is, about \$17 apiece];¹ and the division of the Theban territory was made in the autumn of the year 335 B. C.

One of the most ancient cities of 'Hellas was thus destroyed; old legends, dear to the Hellenic mind, were uprooted, and certain gods lost their accustomed honors. It was a mutilation of Greece which left sadness in the hearts, and fear in the minds of those who dreaded the anger of the Poliac divinities. Accordingly, less than thirty years after, Kassandros, one of the successors of Alexander, re-built the city of Dionysos and the Labdakidai.



PAINTED CLAY PLAQUE.²

For the moment the execution of this terrible sentence struck terror throughout Greece, and from all sides came expressions of repentance and submission. Athens herself sent to congratulate the conqueror on his fortunate return. Alexander, in reply, asked that nine of his enemies should be given up to him. This proscription was, to the patriots at whom it was aimed, a title of honor. Their names should be forever remembered; they were as follows: Demosthenes, Lykourgos, Hyperides, Polyuktos, Chares, Charidemos, Ephialtes, Diotimos, and Merokles. The Athenians hesitated at committing this base action, and Demosthenes related to them the fable of the wolf who asked the sheep to give up to him their dogs. The upright Phokion exhorted the victims to sacrifice themselves for the public safety. It is just to add that he himself would have done without hesitation that which he asked of others. The situation was serious: Alexander had begun with the Thebans by asking no more than this. Athens, however,

¹ Justin says, however (xi. 4), that the bids were higher than they would have been because *pretium non ex ementium commodo, sed ex inimicorum odio extenditur*.

² Fragment of a plaque representing a Greek fable, discovered at Corinth, and now in Berlin; from the *Antike Denkmäler*, vol. i. (1886) pl. 8, No. 2. The fox is at the foot of the tree on which is perched the crow; the bird is not visible, but the first two letters of his name are seen, $\Theta\sigma$ ($\Theta\sigma\alpha\zeta$), at the upper end of the fragment.

resisted, and Demades offered a decree skilfully worded, which, while containing the resolution not to give up the orators, promised to punish them with the full rigor of the laws if they were found guilty. He was sent, with other deputies, to induce Alexander to be satisfied with this concession. The king at first refused to listen; but a second embassy had better success. The moment of anger had passed; the king became aware that his severity at Thebes had been enough. Permission even was granted Athens to harbor a few of the Theban fugitives. But Ephialtes and Charidemus, the two military leaders of the anti-Macedonian party, were obliged to go into exile. The former of these Alexander found at Halikarnassos at a later day, and the exile was able for a moment to counteract the plans of the conqueror.

Henceforward without anxiety in respect to Greece, Alexander returned into Macedon. Here he assembled his principal officers to consult them as to the Asiatic expedition, or rather to lay before them his design and his plans. He kindled their ardor by his own glowing language, and the war being decided on, he offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods in the city of Dion and in Aigai, and celebrated scenic games in honor of Zeus and the Muses, in accordance with the rites instituted by Archelaos. Splendid banquets, given to the Macedonian generals and to the envoys of Greece, and costly festivals for the entire army, preceded the departure of the expedition and the prolonged fatigues that all were about to enter upon.

But Alexander was a Macedonian; the Oriental policy which counts human life so unimportant prevailed in his country: we must note that before his departure he took one further precaution; namely, he put to death all the kindred of Kleopatra, his father's second wife, and also all his own relatives whom it seemed dangerous to leave behind. Great men are like tall trees; by their roots the latter are attached to the ground on which they stand, as are the former by certain traits of character to the ethics and the civilization from which they spring.

II. — SITUATION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE; BATTLE OF THE GRANIKOS (334 B. C.); CONQUEST OF ASIA MINOR (333).

THE empire which Alexander was about to attack had long been near its ruin. The Retreat of the Ten Thousand had made known its weakness; and since that expedition how many shocks — not to speak of the enterprise of Agesilaos — that enfeebled empire had received! In the first place, the revolt of Evagoras, who, having made himself the independent ruler of Salamis in Cyprus, had formed an alliance with Akoris, the king of Egypt, and made resistance to the forces of the Great King, even after the latter, by the treaty of Antalkidas, had obtained from the Greeks recognition of his right to the possession of Cyprus. At first defeated,



HEAD OF ALEXANDER.¹

Evagoras recovered himself, taking advantage of the quarrels among the satraps who were in command of the hostile army, and at the end of ten years was acknowledged as an independent sovereign (385 B. C.). A second time the whole empire had fought in vain against one man and one city.



PHARNABAZOS.²

Another war, that with Egypt, was no more successful. This province had had, since the year 411 B. C., its own kings. In 386 Akoris had been for six years on the throne; Artaxerxes made an attack simultaneously upon him and upon Evagoras, and with as little success in the former as in the latter case. Again threatened in 377, Akoris took into his pay the Athenian Chabrias,

¹ Cameo of the *Cabinet de France*. The king's helmet is adorned with a laurel-wreath and a lion. This head has also been regarded as a representation of Lysimachos. (Sardonxy of three layers; height, 35 millim. *Catalogue*, No. 163.)

² ΦΑΡΝΑΒΑ. Head of the satrap, wearing an Oriental tiara, right profile. Reverse: ship's prow surrounded by three fishes. (Silver.) This coin was apparently struck in Phrygia.

whom Athens, on the Persian king's complaint, recalled. Pharnabazos, sent with two hundred thousand men and twenty thousand auxiliary Greeks to reduce Egypt, obtained the services of Iphikrates as his lieutenant. When the Athenian general arrived, the twenty thousand Greeks were not on the spot. "Why do your acts contradict your words?" Iphikrates asked, indignantly. "I am master of my words," the satrap said, "but my actions depend upon the king." Not infrequently did the unreasonable and despotic orders of him called by his subjects "the man who was like the gods" paralyze the action of the generals. This delay as to the levies caused the failure of the expedition.

DRACHMA OF MAUSOLOS.¹

In 362 B. C. it was almost the whole of Asia Minor which came near being lost to the empire. Ariobarzanes, the satrap of Phrygia, who was in possession of Perinthos on the Propontis, and both shores of the Hellespont, had revolted against his master, and to obtain the alliance of the Athenians had yielded to them Sestos, "the grain-bin of Peiraieus,"³ with a portion

DIDRACHMA.²

of the Chersonesos. Under pretext of bringing him back to obedience, the satraps of Lydia and Kappadokia, and Mausolos, king of Karia, had attacked Adramyttion and the stronghold of Assos, which had declared for Pharnabazos; in reality, however, they themselves sought to profit by the old age of Artaxerxes Mnemon and the disturbances in the royal household to secure their own independence. At the same time the Phœnicians were in a state of insurrection, and the whole western part of the empire seemed lost. Treason broke the tie of the confederated satraps, but Damos, the governor of Kappadokia, long defended himself, and only fell at last by the dagger of an assassin. Some years later, in

¹ Laurelled head of Helios, front face, the hair like rays. Reverse: ΜΑΥΣΕΩΑΑ[ου]; Zeus Stratos, stepping to the right, holding the bipenna and a sceptre.

² Coin of Pixodaros, dynast of Karia (341-335 B. C.). Laurelled head of Apollo, front face. Reverse: ΠΙΞΟΔΑΡΟΥ; Zeus Stratos, holding the bipenna and a spear, stepping to the right.

³ Thus called because Sestos in the hands of the Athenians secured the arrival of the cereals from the Tauros (Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, iii. 10, 3: ἡ τῆλιά τοῦ Πειραιῶς).

350 B. C., Artabazos, the revolted satrap of Phrygia, fled into Macedon to Philip, doubtless bringing to the king important information.

The close of the reign of Artaxerxes was disturbed by domestic conspiracies and assassinations. Ochos, his son, obtained the throne by violence in 362 B. C., and put to death his hundred and

TETRADRACHM.¹

sixteen brothers, and all others of his kindred whom he suspected of hostility. He had to oppose a league of the petty Phœnician kings of Arados, Tyre, and Sidon. This league was dissolved by treason; the Sidonians burned their own

city, in which the victor found nothing but forty thousand dead bodies; Cyprus also yielded, notwithstanding eight thousand mercenaries whom Phokion had brought thither.

To complete his reconstruction of the empire, Ochos attacked Egypt, where Agesilaos had placed Nektanebos on the throne. The Persian king took into his service ten thousand

DRACHMA.²

Greeks of Thebes, Argos, and Asia Minor, and Nektanebos had twenty thousand Greek mercenaries. Meeting one another in this

COIN OF ASSOS.³

way in foreign quarrels, these Greeks came to an understanding among themselves, and spared each other, as did the Italian condottieri of the fifteenth century; hence wars were interminable, except where gold decided the victory by causing the defection

of one or other of these bodies of troops. Ochos, more fortunate than his predecessors, reduced Egypt; but he deeply offended the religious feeling of the country by plundering the tombs and temples, and, like Cambyses, he killed the sacred bull, Apis (344 B. C.). Becoming odious even to the Persians, he was poisoned by the

¹ Coin of Idrisios, of the Karian dynasty (351-344 B. C.). Laurelled head of Apollo, front face. Reverse: ΙΑΠΙΕΩΣ; Zeus Stratiotes, holding a bipennis in the right hand, and a spear in the left, advancing to the right.

² Coin of Adramyttion. Diademed head of Zeus, left profile. Reverse: ΑΔΡΑΜΥΘΙΩΝ. Eagle on a thunderbolt, to the left; in the field a monogram.

³ Head of Pallas, right profile, the helmet ornamented with a laurel-wreath. Reverse: ΑΣΣΙΩΝ; griffin couchant to the left; in the exergue, a caduceus. (Bronze.)

eunuch Bagoas, who placed on the throne his victim's youngest son, Arsēs. At the end of three years Arsēs also perished by the same hand, and with him all his brothers, about the time of the death of Philip of Macedon, and Bagoas raised to the throne Darius, a nephew of Artaxerxes II. The new king put an end to these murders by causing Bagoas to drink the poison he had prepared for Darius.

This rapid sketch shows us the Persian empire lacking cohesion in all its parts; formed of populations indifferent to the fate of the Great King; shaken at its centre by murders and intrigues,



UNCERTAIN PHOENICIAN COINS.¹

and at its extremities by revolts; given over to violent despotism, to the caprice of mercenaries whom it had in pay, to the rivalries of satraps, of which many were hereditary; holding its ground against so many shocks and causes of disintegration only by the discords among its enemies, the conspiracies fomented among them, by assassinations, and the temporary employment of mercenaries. The power which was about to attack this empire gave no opportunity for the employment against itself of these base and odious means, and it was able to impede greatly, if not absolutely to prevent, the levies of Greek mercenaries. Finally, the Great King had still, it is true, innumerable multitudes to bring into the field against the Macedonians; but these Asiatics had learned nothing from their defeats, they had retained the method of fighting in disorder and from a distance, with projectiles,—a method which, however large the army, could not prevail against

¹ In Phœnician letters, 𐤀 (Ascalon?). Lion going to the right on sand-dunes. Reverse: the god Bel Dagon, "serpent-footed" [the epithet *anguipes* is applied to giants, in Ovid's *Met.*, i. 184. — Ed.]; he holds in his right hand a trident, and in the left a crown. (Silver.)
 2. Young and beardless head, right profile, with laurel-wreath. Reverse: in an incused square, a lion and a wild boar crouching, to the right; in the field, the Phœnician letter 𐤁. (Silver.) Probably of Gaza.
 3. Head with two faces, the one bearded, the other beardless. Reverse: owl standing, front face; on each side an olive-branch. (Silver.) Coin classed as of Gaza.

troops under strict discipline, accustomed to military evolutions and trained to fight hand to hand. These were the only formidable armies of the time, and this is why the Greek hoplites of the earlier time, and then Alexander's phalanx, and, lastly, the Roman legion, made their way everywhere.

Early in the spring of 334 B. C. Alexander set out from Pella to carry to Susa and to Persepolis the response of the Greeks to



ADORATION BEFORE APIS.¹

to the Median wars. In twenty days he reached Sestos, where the army crossed over to Asia. It was composed, in infantry, of twelve thousand Macedonians, — among which number were two corps of picked men, the Hypaspistes and the Argyraspides, with silver shields, — and of five thousand mercenaries, the entire force being under the command of Parmenion. These regulars were followed by five thousand Odrysai, Triballoi, or Illyrians, and a thousand archers, forming in all thirty thousand foot. The cavalry, very much more numerous than was usual in Hellenic armies,

was commanded by Philotas, the son of Parmenion, and consisted of forty-five hundred horse; namely, fifteen hundred Macedonians, — among them the Hetairoi, "the king's companions," representing the Macedonian nobility, — fifteen hundred Thessalians, six hundred Greeks, and nine hundred Thracian or Paionian light-horse. The fleet was composed of a hundred and sixty triremes, — of which twenty were Athenian, — and a large number of transports. The war-machines, *petroboloi* and catapults, which were to be employed in the sieges and battles, accompanied the army.²

¹ From G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'antiquité*, vol. i p. 67, fig. 46.

² These were of great service at the siège of Tyre and at the crossing of the *Iaxartes* (Arrian, iv. 4, 7). ["All the missiles used in war, except those thrown from the sling, were projected either by the hand alone, or with the aid of elastic substances. Of elastic instruments the bow is still used by many nations. But the *tormentum*, so called from the *twisting* (*torquendo*) of hairs, thongs, and vegetable fibres (Polybius, iv. 56), has fallen into disuse through the discovery of gunpowder. The word *tormentum* (*ἀπέτριπτον ὄργανον*) is often used by itself to denote engines of various kinds. Often these engines are specified separately

Alexander had left in Europe twelve thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry under the command of Antipatros, whose three sons he took with him into Asia.¹ He had distributed his personal possessions among his friends, and his military chest was empty.² "What do you keep for yourself?" Perdikkas said to him; and Alexander replied: "Hope!" The Persians had a fleet of four hundred war-vessels, manned by the experienced sailors of Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Egypt. A very able soldier, who knew Greece well and had already rendered signal services to the empire, having even defeated in Asia the Macedonian corps sent over by Philip, — Memnon of Rhodes, — advised the Persian king to dispute with Alexander the crossing of the straits; but the Macedonian found not a single vessel to oppose him in the Hellespont. Midway on the passage he sacrificed a bull, with libations from a gold cup to Poseidon and the Nereids. On reaching the coast he threw his javelin at the land, as if to take possession of it, and was the first to step on shore. The spot where he landed was near the ruins of Troy; he visited the temple of Athene on the hill, offered sacrifices, and hung up his



under the names of *balistae* and *catapultae*, — which names, however, most commonly occur together in the accounts of sieges and military operations, because the two kinds of engines denoted by them were almost always used in conjunction. The balista (*περροβόλος*) was used to shoot stones, the catapulta (*καταπέλτης, καταπέλτης*) to project darts. . . . While in besieging a city the ram (*κρίδις*) was employed in destroying the lower part of the wall, the balista was used to overthrow the battlements, and the catapult to shoot any of the besieged who appeared between them. The forms of these machines being adapted to the objects which they were intended to throw, the catapult was long, the balista nearly square. . . . In the same armament the number of catapults was commonly much greater than the number of balistae. . . . Three sizes of the balista are mentioned by historians, — that which threw stones weighing half a hundredweight, a whole hundredweight, and three hundredweight. Besides these Vitruvius mentions many other sizes, even down to the balista, which threw a stone of only two pounds weight. In like manner catapults were denominated according to the length of the arrows emitted from them. According to Josephus, who gives some remarkable instances of the destructive force of the balista, it threw stones to the distance of a quarter of a mile. Neither from the descriptions of authors nor from the figures on the column of Trajan are we able to form any exact idea of the construction of these engines." — Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq.*, p. 1,138. — Ed.]

¹ Diodoros, xvii. 17.

² He owed eight hundred talents, and his father had bequeathed to him a debt of five hundred (Arrian, vii. 9, 10).

³ Coin of Phaselis. Ship's prow turned to the right; above it an owl. Reverse: ΘΕΟ-XPΗΤΟΣ, a magistrate's name; Pallas Promachos standing to the right; in the field, φ, the initial letter of Phaselis.

own weapons in the temple, taking in exchange some of the arms already there, which he caused to be carried along with him in his later battles. He also sacrificed to Priam to appease the resentment of the shade of the Trojan king against the race of Neoptolemos, to which the royal house of Macedon belonged. Thus at every step we find him sacrificing to the gods, consulting oracles, practising the rites of all the cults. In the pupil of Aristotle was this faith or was it policy? We may believe that it was both. Here it was especially a homage rendered by his lively and poetic imagination, full of memories of Homer, to

GOLD COINS OF ALEXANDER.¹

the brilliant fictions of Greek mythology. Alexander placed a wreath on the tomb of Achilles, and Hephaestion on that of Patroklos. "Fortunate Achilles!" the king exclaimed, "to have had Homer to celebrate thy exploits!"

A Persian army was assembled behind the Granikos, a small river of the Troad coming down from Mount Ida and falling into the Propontis west of Kyzikos. Memnon the Rhodian, who had succeeded his brother Mentor as satrap of the western coast of Asia Minor, proposed that the Persian army should themselves

¹ 1. Double stater. Head of Pallas, right profile, the helmet adorned with a serpent. Reverse: ΑΑΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ; a winged Victory, standing, to the left, holding a wreath and the staff of a trophy; in the field, a thunderbolt and a letter, a mint-mark. Weight, 17.23 gr. 2. Stater. Head of Pallas, right profile, the helmet ornamented with a griffin. Reverse: ΑΑΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ; a winged Victory, standing to the left, holding a wreath and the staff of a trophy; in the field a monogram in a wreath and a letter, a mint-mark. Weight, 8.61 gr. 3. Hemi-stater. Head of Pallas, right profile, the helmet adorned with a serpent. Reverse: ΑΑΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ; the same Victory; in the field, different mint-marks. Weight, 4.30 gr. 4. Quarter-stater. Same head of Pallas. Reverse: ΑΑΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ in two lines; thunderbolt, bow, and club. Weight, 2.15 gr. 5. Another quarter-stater. Same head of Pallas. Reverse: ΑΑΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ; a Victory as on the preceding coins; in the field, a mint-mark.

lay waste the country in front of Alexander and harass him incessantly, without engaging in any action, while the fleet should make a diversion in the rear and land troops in Macedon and Greece. "I will never permit," said Arsites, satrap of Phrygia, "that a single house be destroyed in my province." The counsel of the Rhodian was good, but difficult to put in practice. The Persians were not capable of destroying their own possessions and

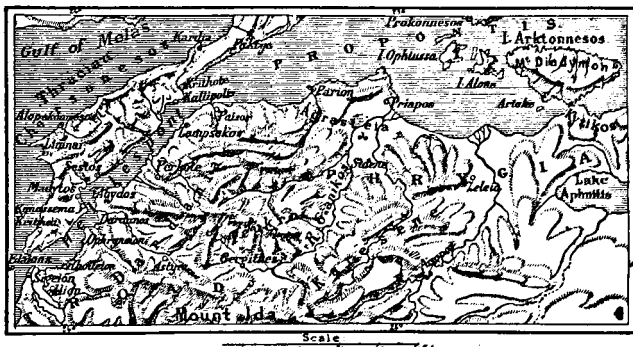
TOMB OF PATROKLOS.¹

steadily retiring. Moreover, the soldiers of Alexander showed that a desert had no terrors for them. It is true, however, that when they crossed it so cheerfully they had behind them three victories, and before them the hope of immense booty.

According to Arrian, the Persians had twenty thousand horse, and in their pay almost as many foreigners, who composed the best part of their infantry; according to Diodoros, ten thousand horse and a hundred thousand foot. The Persian cavalry were in order along the bank, and the infantry in reserve upon the higher ground behind the river. Alexander, leading the right wing, was one of the first to cross, and to encounter the fierce resistance of the Persians; the Macedonian line advanced with

¹ From a photograph. The tomb of Patroklos is N.N.E. of the promontory of Sigaion.

great difficulty and obliquely, owing to the nature of the river's bed and the sloping bank up which the men had to force their way. In the first shock the pike was broken in Alexander's hand; asking for another from a soldier near him, he found that the man had only the broken fragment of his in his hand; but one of the Corinthian cavalry furnished the king with a weapon, and Alexander dashed forward against Mithridates, the son-in-law of Darius, who was at the moment approaching in advance of his own troop of cavalry, and brought him to the ground with a thrust in the face. Upon this another Persian general aimed a blow at Alexan-



MAP FOR THE BATTLE OF GRANIKOS.

der with his scimitar, breaking off a part of the king's helmet, but doing no further injury; and Alexander ran him through the body. Another Persian, Spithridates, had his arm lifted to strike the king down; but a timely sword-cut from Kleitos, Alexander's foster-brother, averted this danger, taking off the Persian's arm at the shoulder. The Macedonians had now made the passage of the river in great numbers, and pressing hard upon the Persians, the cavalry and the light-armed foot who fought among them succeeded in producing a panic in the enemy's ranks. As soon as the centre gave way, the two wings having already broken, the rout of the cavalry was complete, and Alexander gathered his troops in attack on the infantry which had not been in the action. The Macedonian phalanx and cavalry charged at once,

and in a few moments the victory was complete. Great numbers of the enemy were killed, two thousand made prisoners, and a few remained concealed under the mass of dead bodies on the field.

“Of the Macedonians there perished in the first onset twenty-five of the ‘King’s Companions.’ Alexander caused to be erected in their honor at Dion bronze statues from the hand of Lysippos. The rest of the cavalry lost not more than sixty men, and the infantry twenty; Alexander had these buried with their weapons, and exempted their fathers and their sons from taxes of all kinds. He took the greatest care of the wounded, visiting them, examining their wounds, and encouraging them to talk freely of their exploits. He also paid the last honors to the Persian generals, and even to the Greek mercenaries who had perished; but he caused the Greek prisoners to be put in irons and sent to Macedon to be sold as slaves, because, ‘in violation of the decree passed by the assembly at Corinth, they had fought against the Greeks on the side of Barbarians.’ He offered at Athens three hundred panoplies, selected from the Persian spoils, to be consecrated in the temple of Athene, with this inscription: ‘Alexander, son of Philip, and the Greeks, except the Lacedæmonians, out of the spoils of the Barbarians inhabiting Asia.’” (Arrian.)

Alexander at once seized upon the whole satrapy of Phrygia, but without increasing the taxes; and he now marched southward. In Lydia he restored to Sardis and to the entire country the ancient laws of the Lydians. At Ephesos he dispossessed the oligarchy, re-established a democratic form of government, and directed that the tribute formerly paid to the Persians should

SILVER COIN.¹

now be paid to the Ephesian Artemis towards the completion of the temple; he offered sacrifice repeatedly to the goddess thus avenged, and he extended the right of asylum belonging to her temple to the distance of a stadion from the edifice itself. Later he offered to undertake himself the completion of the edifice, on condition that his name should be engraved in it as founder; but this the Ephesians refused. Meanwhile detachments of the army had reduced to submission the cities of Aiolis and Ionia, Magnesia, Tralles, and others, while some had freely offered their obedience;

¹ Coin of Magnesia on the Maiandros. Horseman, with helmet and lance, galloping to the right; under him a mint-mark. Reverse: wreath formed of the windings of the Maiandros; in the centre a buffalo threatens with his horns, to the left; in the field, ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ; in the exergue, a magistrate's name: ΑΝΑΣΤΑΡΩΑΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ.

and everywhere free forms of government had been established and the tribute paid to Persia remitted, thus producing respect for the Hellenic name, and also gaining the useful alliance of the Asiatic Greeks.



MARBLE KNOWN AS THE VENUS OF TRALLES.¹

On leaving Ephesos Alexander marched along the coast. Here was the life, the wealth and strength of Asia Minor; it was important to seize these cities, — to complete the union of the Hellenic world under the Macedonian protectorate, by causing the Asiatic Greeks to enter it; lastly, to prevent the entrance of Persian gold and Persian intrigues into Greece by closing the

¹ Marble head, discovered in Tralles, and now in the Belvidere, Vienna. The head of Tralles has very justly been likened to the Venus of Milo (see Vol. III. p. 611).

gates through which they had hitherto passed. The first city which offered resistance was Miletos, and Alexander laid siege to it. Nikanor, with a hundred and sixty Macedonian vessels, took



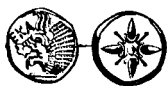
(1) (2)
EPHESIAN OBOLS.¹

up his position at the entrance of the harbor on each side of the island of Lade, cutting off all communication between the inhabitants and the Persian fleet, of four hundred galleys, which arrived outside, but found him too strongly established for them to attempt to force a passage. By this measure and the vigorous attacks made upon the town it was shortly induced to surrender.

Notwithstanding the services his fleet had rendered him here, Alexander decided to make no further use of it, — possibly because he had not the means to pay the sailors, but more probably because he felt but little confidence in these vessels gathered from all sides, in which he could not embark his phalanx, and whose crews were



BRONZE COIN.²



DRACHMA.³

necessarily of doubtful fidelity. The conqueror was unwilling to place his fortunes in hands so insecure. Later we shall see that he found another means of bringing to nought and capturing the hostile fleet. In disbanding his fleet, he retained a small squadron for the transport of his engines of war, and especially he did not dismiss the twenty Athenian galleys.

Memnon, now invested by Darius with the chief command on the Asiatic coast and the Ægean Sea, was in Halikarnassos, the capital of Karia, held by the satrap Rhoöntopates.⁴ Ephialtes,

¹ (1) Bee Reverse: ΕΦ (Ephesios). Two stags' heads affronted. (Obol coined between 387 and 301 B. C.) (2.) Bee. Reverse: ΕΦ (Ephesios). Fore-part of a stag running to the right, with reverted head. (Obol coined between 387 and 301 B. C.)

² Reverse of a coin of Ephesus with the effigy of Marcus Aurelius. ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΔΙΕ ΝΕΩ-ΚΟΡΩΝ ΗΡΩ[ΤΩΝ] ΑΣΙΑΣ. Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, the one in a toga, the other in the dress of a legionary, sacrificing on an altar lighted before the statue of Artemis of Ephesus; in the field, the sun and the moon.

³ Coin of Miletos. ΕΚΑ; lion's head to the left, with open mouth. Reverse: star with four rays. This coin of Miletos bears the name of Hekatomnos, dynast of Karia from 390 to 377 B. C. (Waddington, *Mélanges de numismatique*, 1861, pp. 14 et seq.)

⁴ By Arrian called Oronotobates. Several rare and beautiful silver coins of this satrap remain to us. In Vol. III. p. 504, is represented a tetradrachm of his.

the Athenian exile, was there also, with a large garrison of Greek mercenaries. The city was bravely defended, and when they were



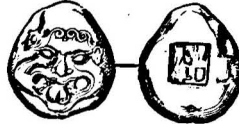
VIEW OF LYKIA (XANTHOS).¹

finally obliged to surrender, Memnon and Rhoöntopates set fire to their engines and towers and magazines of arms.

Winter was now approaching. Alexander sent home all his newly-married soldiers, who pledged themselves to return in the



BRONZE COIN.²



TETRADRACHM.³

spring and bring with them as many as could be attracted by the story of their exploits, of the wealth of Asia, and the liber-

¹ From Benndorf and Niemann, *Reisen in Lykien und Karien*, pl. 23. The river on which are the ruins of Xanthos is called by the same name.

² MIAAC BACIAEYC. Bust of King Midas, right profile; the head is bearded and wears a Phrygian cap, having a peak thrown forward. Reverse: ΠΡΥΜΝΗΧΘΕΩΝ; Equity standing, holding a sceptre and balances. (Coin of Prymnessos, minted under the Roman rule.)

³ Gorgon's head, front face, with tongue out, and grimacing. Reverse: incused square. This coin is attributed to Lesbos (?).

ality of the conqueror. Having subjugated Lykia and Pamphylia, he went northward through Pisidia to Phrygia, with the design of establishing his sway in the centre of the peninsula, and extending his influence over the satrapies of the north-east. At Gordion he discovered, in the recesses of a valley filled with ruins of unknown date, the tomb of Midas and the ancient wagon, of rude structure,

SILVER COIN.¹

said to have belonged to that king and his father, the peasant Gordios. A cord, twisted and tied in a singular manner, attached the yoke of this wagon to the pole, and an oracle had declared that to him who should untie this knot was destined the empire of Asia.

With a stroke of his sword Alexander cut the knot; and this was accepted by all as the fulfilment of the oracle (March, 333 B. C.). Thence he descended to Ankyra and Kappa-

TETRADRACHM.²

dokia, and marched southwards to the Tauros. This mountain surrounds Kilikia with an insurmountable barrier except at two points, which a handful of men could defend; neither of these

HEMIDRACHMA.³

passes was guarded, and Alexander easily made his way to the shore of the Sea of Cyprus. Thus he had traversed three times, from north to south, from south to north, and again returning southward, this broad peninsula, in such a way as to leave in it no centres of resistance.

However, serious dangers now threatened his rear. The Persians preserved the empire of the sea, and Memnon, at the head of their fleet, had the design of landing in Greece and carrying war to the homes of the aggressors. He began by operations upon the islands in order to secure points of support, seized Chios, subjugated almost the whole of Lesbos, laid siege to Mytilene, and was on the eve of success when he died suddenly of fever.

¹ Coin of Mytilene. Laurelled head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: MY[ταλλραίων]; head of Sappho, right profile.

² Coin of Tenedos. Double-faced head, one face bearded, the other beardless. Reverse: TENEAIION; bipenna; in the field a bee and a bunch of grapes.

³ Beardless head of Herakles, right profile, with the lion's skin. Reverse: ΚΟΙΩΝ ΕΥΔΑΜΟΣ. A crab and a club, in an incused square.

With him the empire lost its only support. His successors indeed captured Mytilene, Tenedos, and Kos, but went no farther, having



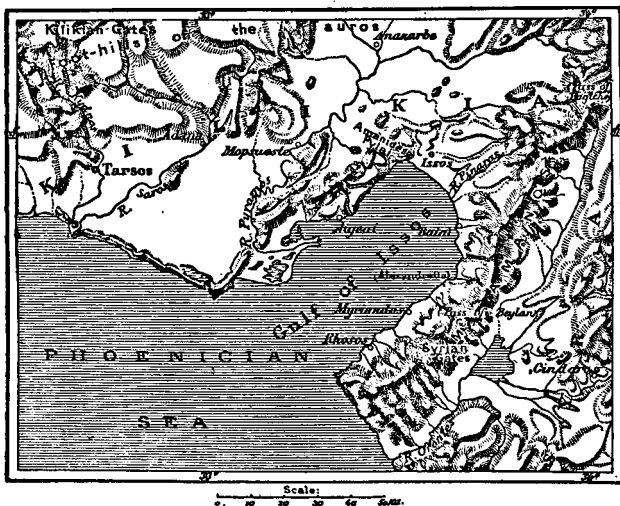
VIEW OF THE GORGES OF THE TAURUS.¹

received orders to send to the royal army the Greek mercenaries that they had on board the fleet.

¹ From V. Langlois, *Voyage en Cilicie et dans le Taurus (Tour du Monde, 1861, p. 416)*.

ALEXANDER (336-323 B. C.).

It was at this time that Darius called together from the interior of Asia all the military strength of the empire. Between five and six hundred thousand men assembled around him in the plains of Mesopotamia;¹ and at sight of this immense multitude his confidence was as boundless as his power seemed to be. His courtiers still further increased his pride by their servile flatteries. One man alone, Charidemos, an Athenian exile, noting the resem-



MAP OF THE TAUROS, OF THE AMANOS, AND OF KILIKIA.

blance between this throng and that which had followed Xerxes into Europe, ventured to express his fears, and besought the king to trust rather to his treasures and to Greek mercenaries. The outcry was great against this insult offered to the Persians and their courage. The exasperated king himself seized Charidemos and gave him over to the guards. "You will recognize too late," the Athenian said as he went to his death, "the truth of my words: my avenger's hand is already upon you."

¹ According to Diodoros, four hundred thousand foot and a hundred thousand horse. Arrian says that at Issus the Persian army numbered six hundred thousand fighting men.

Darius had made no attempt since the battle of the Granikos to save Asia Minor; but he resolved to defend Syria, and advanced with his immense army as far as Mount Amanos, which protects it. He had encamped first in the extensive plains of Sochi, two days' march from the mountains; as he did not see Alexander approaching, he persuaded himself that his own advance had terri-

COIN OF ISSOS.¹

fied the Macedonian, and crossing Mount Amanos, he advanced towards the gulf of Issos through hilly ground, extremely ill-chosen for his cavalry, — which, it is true, did no better at Arbela, — to a very unfortunate position. This irregular surface was no better suited to the phalanx, but between these two adversaries the nature of the battle-field was unimportant; the Persians were sure to be vanquished wherever they met Alexander, and there was but one safe course for them, — never, in any case, to meet him; to profit, for instance, by the almost impregnable barrier of the Tauros or of the Amanos, to keep its passes resolutely closed, while Persian gold and the Persian fleet should operate in Greece. But the men about the Great King had courage, and so had Darius himself,² like the Persian army that had so bravely allowed itself to be slaughtered at the Granikos; and they were unwilling to refuse the combat.

THE KYDNOS.³

Alexander, having crossed the defiles of the Tauros without meeting an enemy, marched down into Kilikia and seized the city of Tarsos, where he was detained by an illness which endangered his life and came near changing the world's fate. Heated with violent exercise, he had bathed imprudently in the cold waters

¹ ΙΕΣΙΚΟΝ. Zeus standing to the left, leaning upon a long sceptre, and holding on the right hand an eagle. Reverse: Ormuzd, whose head emerges from a winged disk; he holds in his right hand a wreath, and in the left a flower. (Didrachm.)

² On one occasion, before ascending the throne, he had slain in single combat a hostile chief renowned for his strength who had defied the bravest of the Persians (Diodoros, xvii. 5).

³ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗΣ ΤΑΡΣΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΥ ΚΥΔΝΟΣ. The Genius of the Kydnos is seated to the left, leaning on an urn, from which flows the river; his right hand is lifted, and in the left he holds a marine plant. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Tarsos, with the effigy of Antinoos.)

of the Kydnos, and being seized in consequence with a violent fever, became so ill that his life was despaired of. The physician Philippos, an Akarnanian and a friend of the king, sought to save him, preparing a medicine of which the effect would be violent. As he was about to take this draught a letter was handed him from Parmenion, warning him to beware of this physician, who had accepted a bribe from the king of Persia. Not long before this, Darius had offered to one of Alexander's generals the throne of Macedon and a hundred talents as the price of the king's life. This plot had been discovered; it is possible another was now on foot. Alexander would believe nothing against his friend; and giving Philippos the letter to read, at the same instant he drank the medicine, showing thus, with a courage more rare than that shown on battle-fields, his confidence in his friends and his faith in honor.

SILVER COIN.¹

III.—BATTLE OF ISSOS (29 NOVEMBER, 333 B. C.); CONQUEST OF SYRIA; FALL OF TYRE (AUGUST, 332); OCCUPATION OF EGYPT; BATTLE OF ARBELA (2 OCTOBER, 331).

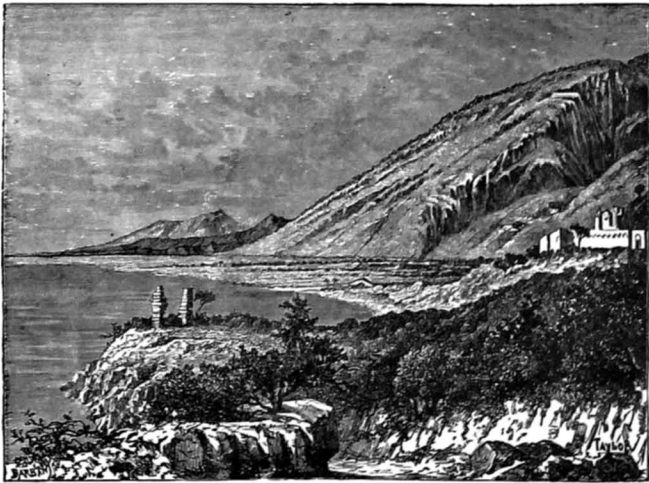
RESTORED to health, Alexander hastened, subduing Kilikia on his way, to meet Darius. The entrance from Kilikia into the countries lying in the basin of the Euphrates is by two passes in Mount Amanos: the southern, called the Syrian Gates, or Pass of Beilan; the northern, the Amanian Gates. The two adversaries who were seeking each other crossed the mountains by these two passes at nearly the same time, the Macedonians by the southern pass, on their way into Syria, where Darius was supposed to be,

SILVER COIN.²

¹ Hoplite fighting, one knee on the ground, with spear and shield; in the field, an ansate cross and the name Tarsos in Aramaic legend. Reverse: satrap wearing a mitre and trousers (*anazyrides*), galloping to the right, and holding with both hands the bridle of his horse; before him, the ansate cross. (Persian coin struck at Tarsos.)

² The king of Persia, accompanied by a charioteer, in a chariot drawn by three horses, to the left; in the field, the Phœnician letters 𐤃𐤍, unexplained. Reverse: Persian vessel on the waves, with a row of oarsmen on the deck.

the Persians by the northern, which brought them to Issos, in Kilikia. Thus it happened that when Alexander, learning that the enemy were at Issos, returned on his own steps to meet them, the two armies were placed inversely to the position it might have been expected they would hold, — Darius turning his back to Greece, as if he had come thence, and the Macedonians having Persia behind them, as if it were they who sought to defend that country.



BATTLE-FIELD OF ISSOS.¹

They met on the banks of the little river Pinaros, which falls into the bay of Issos. Darius rested his right wing on the shore of the sea, and strengthened it by nearly all his cavalry. On his left he threw across the river thirty thousand horse and twenty thousand bowmen, with the design of turning the enemy's flank. In the centre he defended the shallowest parts of the river by palisades, and to the Macedonian phalanx he opposed thirty thousand Greeks and sixty thousand Kardouchoi² armed as hoplites.

¹ From Dr. Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, p. 42.

² [The wild tribes who occupied the high, mountainous tract between the great Upland, or Plateau of Persia, and the low-lying plains of Mesopotamia. . . . They are now the Kurds,

The remainder of his great army was an inert and useless mass. Alexander in forming his line of battle rested his right wing against the mountains, thus outflanking the enemy's left, and his own left upon the sea, so that it could not be turned, and then advanced at a very slow pace, keeping his phalanx in perfect order. As soon as the Macedonians came within bowshot of the enemy they suddenly quickened their pace, and Alexander himself, leading his cavalry and accompanied by the divisions of the phalanx on the right, dashed across the river and charged upon the Persian left. The Kardouchoi gave way almost instantly; but in this hurried advance only a part of the Macedonians had kept close to the king, and the rest had broken ranks in crossing the river,—upon which the Greek mercenaries, comprehending the situation, had seized the opportunity to fall upon the unprotected right flank of the phalanx. The struggle was fierce; Ptolemy, the son of Seleukos, and a hundred and twenty Macedonians of distinction were killed. During this time Alexander, having driven the Persian left wing completely off the field, returned, and attacking the Greek mercenaries on the left flank while they were engaged with the phalanx in front, made a frightful slaughter. The Persian cavalry had itself crossed the river, and a fierce encounter was going on between them and the Thessalian horse: but at sight of the destruction of the Persian infantry the troopers were seized with panic, and joined in the flight. The great mass of the army was soon hopelessly entangled in the defiles, crowded upon one another, and ridden down by the fugitive cavalry.

BRONZE COIN.¹

At sight of the disaster to his left wing Darius had leaped into his chariot and fled with all speed across the plain. On reaching the ravines he threw away his shield, his royal mantle, and even his bow, and continued his flight on horseback. The

inhabiting the district of Kurdistan, who are proved by their peculiar idiom to be a branch of the Aryan race (Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, p. 516). — Ed.]

¹ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ; head of Alexander, with the lion's skin, right profile. Reverse: ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΝΕΚΡΟΦΩΝ. Alexander on horseback, galloping to the right; he is armed with a javelin, which he hurls at a fallen enemy. (Bronze coin, struck under the Roman rule.)

coming on of darkness concealed him from the hot pursuit of the victor, who only gained possession of his abandoned chariot. Alexander doubtless would have been able to seize the king himself if there had not been a needful delay in re-forming the disordered phalanx, defeating the Greek mercenaries, and putting to flight the Persian cavalry. The Persian loss was estimated to be a hundred thousand, the dead bodies filling the ravines near the entrance to the pass. The loss of the Macedonians was only three hundred foot and a hundred and fifty horse (29 November, 333 B. C.).¹

“In the camp of Darius the Macedonians found his mother, his wife, his sister, his son, still a child, two of his daughters, the wives of some of his principal officers, and no more than three thousand talents, the royal treasure and baggage having been sent to Damascus, where Parmenion, immediately despatched for the purpose, seized it. On the following day Alexander, though suffering from a wound which he had received in the thigh, visited the wounded, ordered the burial of the dead with great ceremony, in presence of the army drawn up in battle array with all possible splendor, and he made special eulogy of the heroic deeds he himself had witnessed or which the general voice of the army proclaimed. Each of the soldiers who had distinguished himself received a gift in proportion to his rank and merit. Balakros, one of the guards, was made satrap of Kilikia. . . .

“Some historians relate that Alexander, after the pursuit, entering the tent of Darius, which was reserved for him, heard the cries of women and groans from within. He asked the reason for these outcries and who the women were. He was told that the wife and mother and children of Darius, learning that the king's bow and shield and mantle had fallen into the hands of the victor, had no doubt that Darius was dead, and were lamenting for him. He immediately sent one of his officers to tell them that Darius was alive, and that the Macedonian had only these objects, which the king had left behind him in his chariot. The messenger added that Alexander would allow them to retain the honors, condition, and title of queens, since he had not made war upon Darius from any personal animosity, but in order to dispute with him the empire of Asia. On the following day Alexander visited the women, accompanied only by Hephaestion. The mother of Darius, not knowing which was the king, for no mark of superior rank distinguished either, struck by the stately bearing of Hephaestion, fell down before him. Informed of her mistake by one of her women, she drew back

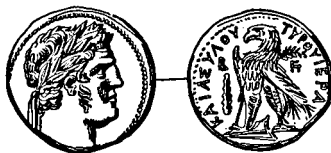
¹ This disproportion is amazing, and it is still greater in the results of the battle of Arbela; but, notwithstanding the authority of Arrian, we are not obliged to accept these figures. Who, in fact, could have counted the Persian dead?

in embarrassment, when the king said to her, 'You were not wrong; this is also Alexander'" (Arrian).¹

Alexander had found among the prisoners taken at Damascus two deputies from Thebes, one from Athens, and one from Sparta. The Thebans and the Athenian he pardoned and sent home; but he held the Spartan for some time a prisoner.

While Darius was making his escape to Thapsakos, and thence across the Euphrates, Alexander advanced along the sea-coast towards the cities of Phœnicia.

This left Darius time to gather a new army; but Alexander knew what was the value of Persian armies, and it was of much more consequence to him to carry out the skilful plan

TYRIAN COIN.²

which he had suddenly formed, namely, to separate Persia from Greece, to shut it off from the sea by taking possession of all the maritime cities, and thus, without striking a blow, to become master of the enemy's fleet which lay menacing in the Ægæan Sea, and — being composed chiefly of Phœnician vessels — would share the fate of the cities to which it belonged. They all opened their gates, with

HERAKLES.³

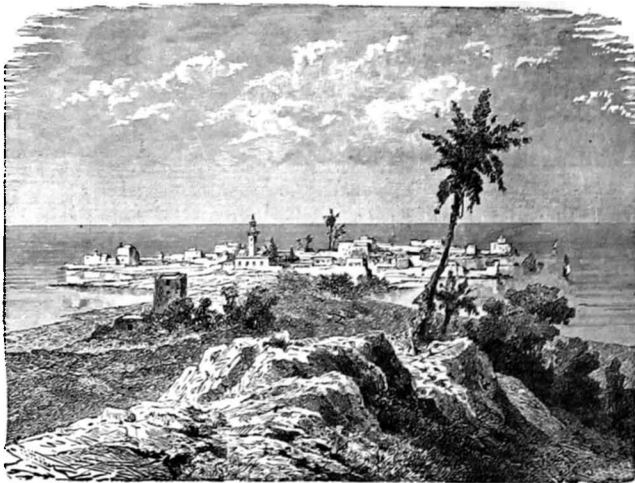
the exception of Tyre, which indeed solicited peace and alliance, but refused to admit within its walls one single Macedonian, — not even Alexander himself, who desired to sacrifice to the Tyrian Herakles. The conqueror of Issos was ill-disposed to accept conditions; and it being important for him to have the city in his power, he attacked it. The siege was difficult, for Tyre was built on a rocky islet about half a mile from the mainland. It was necessary to build a mole

¹ Stateira, the queen, died in the camp of Alexander, who gave her funeral honors suited to her rank. See, in Plutarch (*Alex.*, 80) and in Quintus Curtius (iv. 10, 34), what the rhetoricians knew how to add to an historic fact: they had overheard, it would seem, the conversation between the Great King and the eunuch Tiroos, a fugitive from the Macedonian camp; they had been in the confidence of Darius as to his anxiety about Stateira's fidelity, his admiration of Alexander's noble conduct towards her, etc.

² Laurelled and lightly bearded head of Melkart, right profile. Reverse: ΤΥΡΟΝ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΑΟΥ. Eagle standing to the left, on a rudder; in the field, a club, a laurel-branch, and two mint-marks. (Tetradrachm struck about the year 100 B. C.)

³ Herakles kneeling, bearing on his shoulders the celestial globe. Chrysopeprase; height, 15 millim., breadth, 13 millim. (*Cabinet de France, Catalogue*, No. 1,769.)

two hundred feet broad across the channel. The Tyrians harassed the working parties incessantly, and burned the two wooden towers which Alexander had built on the mole to protect his soldiers. But Alexander's victories on land had made him master of the sea also. He readily assembled a fleet by employing the ships of the Phœnician towns now subject to him, and moreover the fleet of Cyprus, a hundred and twenty vessels, which was at once offered him.



TYRE: ISTHMUS OF ALEXANDER.¹

He had thus two hundred galleys, with which he blocked up the Tyrian fleet in its two harbors, and he was also able to complete the mole, which still remains. The walls, a hundred and forty feet high, were broken through by his machines, and the Macedonian troops, infuriated by a resistance which had lasted seven months, and by the massacre upon the walls, in full view of the besieging army, of a number of prisoners who had been captured by the Tyrians, forced their way into the town. Alexander led a storming party, and was among the first to enter the city. But even then

¹ From Dr. Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, p. 133.

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the Tyrians did not surrender; they barricaded the streets, and fought as, later, their kindred at Carthage fought against Scipio, and the Jews at Jerusalem against Titus. Eight thousand Tyrians perished, with arms in their hands; a few citizens of rank, together with the king, Azemilchos, and some Carthaginians present in the city, took refuge in the temple of Herakles, and were spared by

CYPRIOTE WARRIORS.¹

the conqueror; and thirty thousand non-combatants were taken prisoners and sold as slaves. Two thousand Tyrians, who had escaped the general massacre of the first day, were hanged on the sea-shore by Alexander's order,—most unworthy treatment of brave men who had done no more than resist an unjust aggression.

After all this butchery followed thanks to the gods, after the impious custom of all ages. "Alexander sacrificed to Herakles; the procession was composed of all the troops, fully armed, and the fleet shared in the pageant. Games were celebrated by the

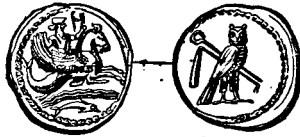
¹ Figurines of terra-cotta in the collection of E. Piot, from the *Gazette archéologique*, 1878, pp. 108, 109. The shape of the cap and of the shield is characteristic.

light of a thousand torches, and the catapult which had made the breach in the walls was dedicated to the god" (Arrian). But a great and splendid city was now a heap of ruins, and one of the most ancient peoples of the earth, one of those which had contributed to the advancement of general civilization, had been sacrificed to a conqueror's pride (August, 332 B. C.).

Before the siege of Tyre Darius had written to the Macedonian king, reproaching him for this unjust war, and asking for his mother, his wife, and his children, and offering his friendship and alliance. Alexander had replied by an enumeration of the wrongs of Greece. He further said that if Darius would come to him without fear and ask, he should

TYRIAN COIN.¹

receive back his mother and children, and whatever else he might desire; but Alexander made known to the Persian king that he

SILVER COIN.²

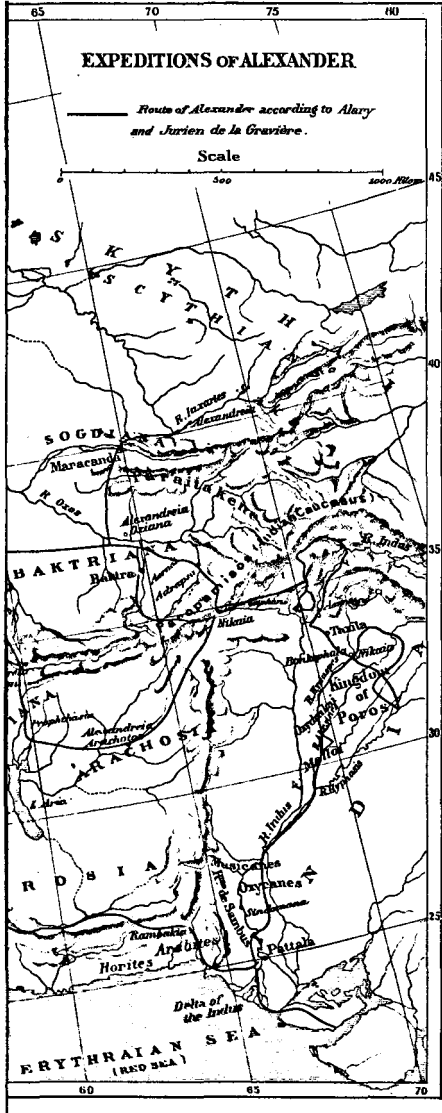
did not expect to be addressed as an equal, but as the master of all Asia and of all that had hitherto belonged to Darius. Near the close of the siege of Tyre the Great King, feeling the force of the new blow his power was about to re-

ceive, again addressed the invader, offering him ten thousand talents, with the cession of all the territory between the Euphrates and the Ægæan Sea, as ransom for his family; also his alliance and the hand of his daughter in marriage. Parmenion recommended the acceptance of these proposals; "I would agree to these terms," he said, "if I were Alexander." "And so would I, were I Parmenion," rejoined the king. And he sent word to Darius that there could no more be two masters in the world than two suns in the sky.

After such communications there was nothing left but to fight. Alexander, however, did not deign to turn back to meet his adversary. The southern portions of the coast of Palestine and Egypt

¹ Head of a satrap of a Persian king, wearing a high tiara, right profile. Reverse: a vessel; above it the Phœnician numeral twelve. (Bronze.)

² Melkart, holding a bow, borne over the waves by a winged hippocamp, to the right; under him a dolphin. Reverse: an owl, standing to the right, with an Egyptian scourge resting against his wing.



were not yet conquered; and it was important to subdue these regions before advancing into the heart of Persia, that there might be no hostility left in the rear. The fortified city of Gaza was taken after two or three months' siege (December, 332 B. C.). Quintus Curtius relates that Alexander, infuriated at the long resistance made by the governor of the place, Batis, caused a leathern thong to be passed through his heels, and, attaching him thus to the back of a chariot, dragged him seven times around the walls of Gaza, in imitation of Achilleus.¹ The discredit attached to Quintus Curtius has given good cause to disbelieve this story, and further evidence against it is found in the fact that Alexander, seriously wounded before Gaza, was not in a condition to play the part of Achilleus. The story, however, is not entirely at variance with the character of the Macedonian conqueror, whose clemency could not always be depended upon. He had already been responsible for many massacres, and was to incur further reproach of this sort. When his admiral brought to him as prisoners the chief men of the cities which had sided with Persia, he sent them back to their respective cities to be judged, which was equivalent to a sentence of death.

COIN OF GAZA.²

From the Jewish historian Josephus we learn that Alexander turned from his route to visit Jerusalem, that he bowed down before the high-priest Jaddua, and announced himself to be the man from the West to whom the prophet Daniel promised the empire of Asia. The Jews were but a petty nation at that time to be honored by a visit from the conqueror of Asia, and this story is too flattering to their vanity not to be of doubtful credibility, although it is in accord with Alexander's general policy. We have seen that he paid honor to the Tyrian Herakles; shortly he will sacrifice to the bull Apis;³ and wherever he went he paid to

¹ This incident, mentioned neither by Arrian nor Diodoros, occurs, however, in the work of another of Alexander's biographers, the rhetorician Hegesias, of whose work there remain but brief fragments. Cf. *Scriptores rerum Alex. M.*, ed. Didot, p. 139.

² Head of Apollo (?), right profile. Reverse: in an incused square, the fore-part of a horse galloping to the right, and the Phœnician letters VI, initials of the name Gaza. (Silver.)

³ Ochos, much less politic, had thought it a good joke to slaughter the bovine divinity and to have the meat served up at his table. Alexander's religious opinions are very uncertain. He was always accompanied by the diviner Aristandros: was this merely a remnant of superstition in an enlightened mind?

the native cults and priests a homage which they accepted for themselves, while it was really offered only to his own ambition or to the divinity whom he adored in all the national forms, but really to himself the same, however diverse the manifestations.

Egypt, so ill-treated by the kings of Persia, at once submitted. Alexander entered the country by way of Pelusium and Memphis, descending the Nile as far as the little village of Rhakotis to visit an island mentioned by Homer, Pharos, which forms at this point the best harbor on the African coast. It was neither by Thebes nor by Memphis that a Greek could hold possession of Egypt, but by a maritime town. Alexander found the site very favorable for a great city; it was easily approached by sea

THE NILE.¹COPPER COIN.²

for commerce, easily defended by land, on account of the lake, and in rapid communication with the interior by canals and the Nile. He himself marked out the circuit of the walls and the direction of the principal streets, which were to cut each other at right angles, the better to receive the refreshing breath of winds from the sea. It was his plan to make the city half Greek, half

¹ Head of the Genius of the Nile, right profile, and wearing a diadem, a poppy over the right shoulder; legend, ΝΙΛΟΣ Λ Γ (the year 3). Reverse of a copper coin of Alexandria, with the effigy of Titus.

² ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ; the Genius of the city, wearing an elephant's skin on the head, right profile. (Reverse of a coin of Alexandria, with the effigy of Hadrian)

NOTE. — The engraving on the opposite page represents scenes in the life of Achilles, carved upon a marble table in the Museum of the Capitol. As here represented they are from *Conze, Vorlegeblätter für archäologische Übungen*, series B, pl. ix. First scene: the birth of Achilles. Thetis seated on a bed, her right hand at her breast; at the right a servant woman is bathing the child. The second scene is on the banks of the Styx. Thetis is plunging the child, whom she holds by the right heel, into the waters of the Styx, and the personified River reclines to the right, leaning on an urn. Reeds at the left separate this second scene from the first. Third scene: Achilles and the Kentaur Cheiron. Thetis gives the boy to the Kentaur, who later trains him to the chase. Fourth scene: Achilles at Skyros. At the left a servant woman, or one of the sisters of Deidamia, comes to inform her that Achilles is departing; Deidamia reclines upon a bed. To the right, we see her endeavoring to detain Achilles; the hero still wears women's garments, but has his sword and shield; before him Diomedes, running, points out to him the way, and a flute-player is performing a martial air. This scene takes place on the banks of a river, and the river-god is lying on the ground, resting on an urn. Fifth scene: combat of Achilles and Hektor before the gates of Troy. At the feet of the warriors lies a Trojan, recognizable as such by his cap. Sixth scene: Achilles drags around the walls of Troy the body of Hektor. Before his chariot flies a Victory, holding a palm and a wreath. Upon the city walls appears a Trojan, who seems to be making a sign with the left hand lifted to heaven.



SCENES IN THE LIFE OF ACHILLEUS

Egyptian, — a bond uniting the two races; and he caused the erection of temples to the divinities worshipped by each. It became rapidly one of the most famous cities in the world, — Alexandria (Alexandreia), the rival and successor of Tyre, the depot of commerce between the East and West, the meeting-point of all doctrines and forms of worship.

Meantime the best of news was coming from Greece. The islands of Chios, Kos, and Lesbos had returned to their alliance with Macedon, and the navies of Persia having been destroyed or taken possession of by Alexander, the Ægæan was once more a Greek lake, entirely in his power. He was therefore the undisputed master of the western part of the Persian empire, and could without fear advance into the centre of Asia. Before entering on this expedition he thought it wise to consult a famous oracle and to cause to be decreed to himself an apotheosis which would be an additional

ZEUS AMMON.¹EUPHRATES.²

means of dominion. He went to seek this amid the sands of Africa, in the temple of Zeus Ammon, where the priest saluted him as the son of the god.³ Apollo had been no less complaisant than his father; the oracle of the Branchidai had already acknowledged Alexander's divine birth. The human and divine are so closely blended in polytheism, and philosophy had already so often shown in the different local divinities one and the same god, honored under different names and with different rites, that the pupil of Aristotle was prepared to mingle all these religions, as he was about to unite all these provinces, in a single empire. The Pharaohs, and after them the kings of Persia who had been masters of Egypt, had assumed the title of sons of

¹ Zeus Ammon seated on a ram; he holds a sceptre, and has on his head the modioe. Before the ram is an altar. In the exergue, L B (the year 2). Reverse of a bronze coin of Alexandria in Egypt.

² The Zeus Ammon was represented with the horns of a ram; this, to the ancients, was a sign of power or of divinity. See *History of Rome*, iv. 176.

³ ΦΑΑ CAMOCATEQN MHT KOM. Turret-crowned Genius of the city Samosata, metropolis of Commagene; Kybele is seated on a rock, and an eagle is perched on her hand; at her feet is seen half the body of the Genius of the Euphrates, nude, and extending the arms in swimming. (Reverse of a bronze coin of the Roman emperor Philip.)

Ammon; Alexander adopted this name as part of his spoils of war, that he might not seem to his new subjects on the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates to be in any way inferior to their previous masters. Rendered arrogant by his marvellous successes, he seemed even, at certain moments, himself to believe in his own divinity,

ZEUS AMMON.¹

as on the occasion when he disowned the man to whom he owed life, a kingdom, and the means of subjugating the most extensive empire in the world. In a letter to the Athenians on the subject of Samos, he says: "I myself should never have

relinquished to you that illustrious city, but keep it, since you have received it from him who was then the master, and whom men call my father" (332 B. C.).² Even here it is probable his words were less an expression of his own feeling than a secret sarcasm on the popular flattery offered him. Moreover, all is easily reconciled if we remember the saying which is ascribed to him: "Zeus

COIN OF KYRENE.³

is the father of all men, but he adopts as his sons only the best."⁴ Alexander had a right to this latter title in the sense in which it was understood by the ancients, and this authorized him to take the former. In the words of Aristotle, his master: "The king endowed with superior genius is a god among men."⁵

By this march westward as far as the oasis of Ammon, Kyrene had felt itself menaced, and sent gifts and promises of obedience.

Alexander was now at liberty to go in pursuit of Darius and penetrate the heart of the Persian empire; no embarrassing complications were to be feared. In Egypt he left two native satraps, that the administration might be national, and a detachment of

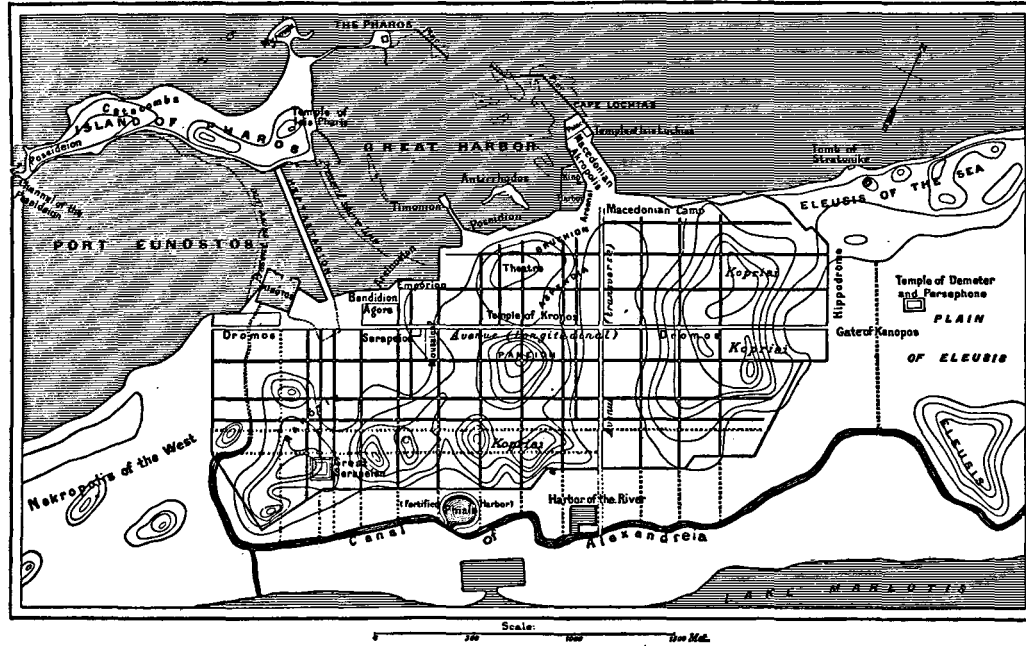
¹ Horned head of Zeus Ammon, left profile; behind it a branch of laurel. Reverse: ΑΙΒΥΤΡΑΤΟ, a magistrate's name. Stalk of silphium. (Tetradrachm of Kyrene.)

² We shall see later that Perdikkas restored Samos to its ancient inhabitants in 322 B. C. (Diodoros, xviii. 9.)

³ Gazelle to the left, about to browse on a stalk of silphium; above, a seed of the same plant; underneath, the letter Κ, initial of the word Kyrene. Reverse: stalk of silphium. (Silver.)

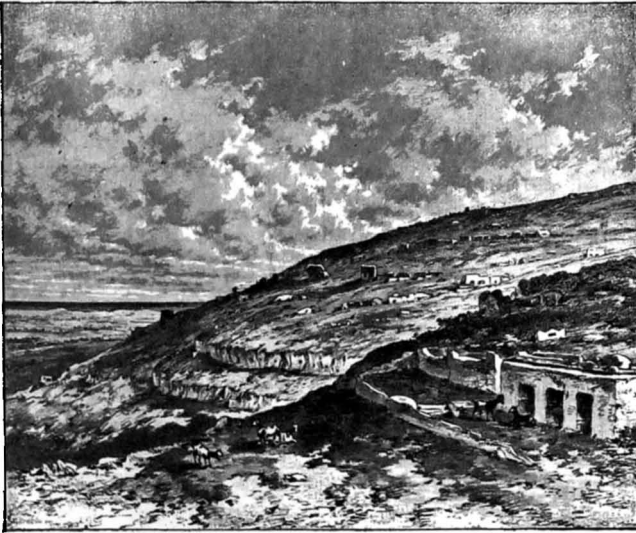
⁴ Plutarch, *Alexander*, 38; and *Apophth. reg. Alex.*, 15. Didot, *Moralia*, i. 215.

⁵ *Politics*, iii. 13, 8.



PLAN OF ALEXANDRIA.

the army, four thousand men, and also a squadron of thirty triremes under Macedonian officers, that revolt should be impossible. He returned to Tyre, celebrated splendid games with tragic representations, and then marched eastward of Anti-Libanos to Thapsakos, the usual ford of the Euphrates, which he crossed late in August, 331 B. C. From this same point, in 401, Cyrus had turned



KYRENE: VIEW FROM THE NORTHERN NEKROPOLIS.¹

southward, because the Persian army was in the vicinity of Babylon.² The army of Darius was across the Tigris nearly as far up the river as Thapsakos and Nisibis; Alexander moved directly eastward, across northern Mesopotamia (Mygdonia), in order to pass through a region well watered and abounding in provisions and forage. It was now near the close of September, and as at this season of the year the melting of the snows on the Armenian mountains ceases, the river is fordable at many points. The pas-

¹ From Smith and Porcher, *A History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene*, pl. 13.

² See in Vol. III. opposite p. 466, the map for the march of the Ten Thousand.

sage of the Tigris was not at all difficult, therefore, any more than that of the Euphrates had been. Then turning southward, he advanced to meet the immense army of the Barbarians, a million foot, and forty thousand, or, according to Diodoros, two hundred thousand, horse. He came up to them in the plain of Gangamela, about thirty miles west of the city of Arbela. There

SILVER COIN.¹

once stood Nineveh, formerly the capital of a great Oriental empire, now a ruin and a place of evil omen to the heir of the Assyrian kings. Darius had taken care to have the ground levelled where the slopes seemed inconvenient, in order to facilitate the evolutions of his two hundred war-chariots, his cavalry, and his elephants, now seen by the Greeks for the first time.

Alexander had been constantly receiving reinforcements from Greece, where his agents recruited, with the gold captured in Asia, numerous bands of mercenaries. His army now amounted to forty thousand infantry and seven thousand cavalry. In the night the innumerable camp-fires of the Barbarians made still more conspicuous the disproportion of the forces. Parmenion proposed a night attack; but the king rejected this advice as unworthy of him: prudence, even, advised him against trusting to the darkness, and in an unknown region, the success of a decisive attack.

BAKTRIAN HORSEMAN.²

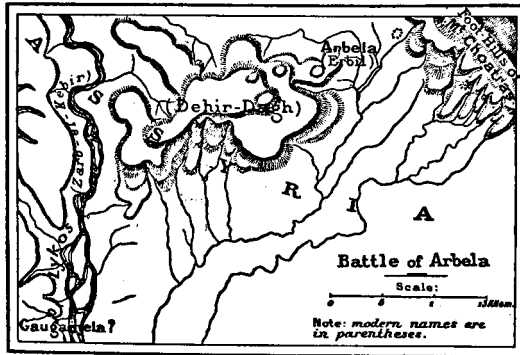
On the 2d of October, 331 B. C., the battle took place. On the morning of that day it was extremely difficult to waken Alexander, who, occupied with the preparations for the engagement, had not been able to sleep until daylight. In the centre of the first line he placed his phalanx, sixteen thousand men, armed with the long sarissa, to whom Darius opposed, as at Issos,

¹ Persian horseman, stepping to the left, the right hand lifted; under the horse, the anate cross. Reverse: two Persian warriors, standing, facing each other. They have bows and quivers on their backs, and each holds with both hands a pike. They wear tunics of embroidered material; in the field is the legend $\Gamma\text{Α}\text{Ρ}\text{Σ}\text{ΟΣ}$ (*Tarsos*), the name of the mint, and an isolated letter, perhaps a Greek Γ . (Waddington, *Mélanges de numismatique*, 1861, pl. 79.)

² Legend $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΝ ΑΖΩΩΝ}$. The king on horseback, stepping to the right; he is armed with a pike. On the reverse of this coin is Zeus standing, and an Indian legend. King Azos seems to have reigned about the year 150 B. C. (Silver coin.)

the Greek mercenaries; behind the first line was a second, designed to be thrown out wherever the Persians should attempt a flank movement.

“Darius bravely took up his position opposite Alexander, who moved forward obliquely towards the right. The Persians responded to this movement, extending their front towards the left; and as this manoeuvre of the Greeks led them almost beyond the ground levelled by Darius for the operations of his chariots, the Persian king ordered his cavalry to advance still farther to the left and endeavor to surround the Macedonian right flank. Upon this Alexander detached his regiment of cavalry against



MAP FOR THE BATTLE OF ARBELA.¹

the Scythian and Baktrian horse, who, both men and horses, were covered with imbricated plates of metal,—a secure protection against arrows, but insufficient against sword or pike. They gave way; but other bodies of cavalry, advancing to their support, brought them back, and for some time the action was hotly fought. At this moment Darius ordered his scythed chariots to charge upon the phalanx; but the Macedonians had been instructed in what manner to meet this attack. As soon as the chariots began their advance the archers and javelin-men rained upon the drivers and horses a hail of arrows, under which it was impossible for the line to proceed. The few who were not turned back dashed through the Macedonians' lines, which opened to give them passage, and were finally captured, without having done any harm, by the grooms in the rear.

¹ From Czernik, *Petermann's Mittheilungen, Ergänzungsheft ii. 75.*

"Darius now set in motion his whole army. Alexander gave orders to the troops of his main line to raise the war-shout and charge at a quick pace, and at the same time ordered Aretes with the light cavalry to repel the Persian cavalry, threatening to turn the right flank. He then himself turned towards the Persian centre, and forming a wedge, with the Companion cavalry (*hetairoi*) and the phalanx, pushed directly towards Darius. The engagement was brief; the Persian king, terrified at the advance of the close-packed ranks, everywhere bristling with pikes, ordered his chariot to be turned, and fled in all haste from the field.

BATTLE OF ARBELA.¹

"Meantime, on the Macedonian left, the battle remained undecided for some time. Parmenion sent a message to Alexander asking for assistance, and the king reluctantly abandoned his pursuit of Darius and brought his troops to the aid of the left wing. By this movement a gap

was made between the divisions of the phalanx, and the Persian and Indian cavalry dashed through to the very rear of the Macedonian army. For a moment the confusion was

¹ Marble relief, discovered in Italy and known as the *Relief Chigi*, from O. Jahn, *Griechische Bilderchroniken*, pl. vi., M. Two women, with turret-crowned heads, support, each with one hand, a shield on which is carved a cavalry engagement, and with the other hand make libations on an altar adorned with figures; these two women are Europe and Asia (ΕΥΡΩΠΗ, ΑΣΙΑ), the cavalry engagement is that which decided the battle of Arbela, as we learn from the inscription engraved under the shield, and the shield itself is represented as an offering which Europe and Asia consecrate in a temple in honor of Alexander. Thus we read below the shield: "H ἐπὶ πάσι μάχη τρίτη πρὸς Δαρίων γενομένη ἐν Ἀρβήλοισι. We know that the victory of Arbela, the third which Alexander gained over Darius, was decisive. An epigram, engraved above and below the relief, extols the birth and glory of the victor:—

Ἐστασαν βασιλεῖς ἰμὸν δέρον ἴθνην ἑ
 ὅσσα περὶ γαίης Ἄκεαρὸς οἴμεται.
 Εἰμὶ δ' ἀπ' Ἡρακλῆος Διὸς ἐγγυος, υἱὸς Φιλίππου,
 Αἰακίδων γενεῆς μητρὸς Ὀλυμπιάδος.

Like the Iliac Tables, of which fragments have been published, this relief is of a later epoch.

extreme, the Persian prisoners at once turning against their guards. But the second Macedonian line quickly faced about, and attacking the cavalry in the rear, killed part of them and drove the rest away. Alexander, meantime, in crossing the field to bring help to Parmenion, fell upon a compact body of Parthian and Indian horse, who were drawing off in good order. The shock was terrible, for the Persian troops had no other chance than to cut their way through Alexander's Companion cavalry. Sixty of the Macedonians were slain, and many severely wounded, among them Hephais-tion. In the end Alexander was successful, and of the Persian cavalry only those escaped who were able to make their way through his ranks.

"On reaching the left wing, he found that the Thessalian cavalry had succeeded in putting the enemy to flight; and his presence being no longer necessary, he left Parmenion to occupy the Persian camp and collect the spoils, while he returned to the pursuit of Darius. Darkness coming on, he halted to give a few hours of repose to his men and horses, and then, at midnight, again pushed forward towards Arbela, where he hoped to surprise the Persian king. He reached the city the next day; but Darius had gone, leaving behind his bow and shield, his chariot, and a large treasure. In two days Alexander had fought a great battle and had marched a distance of over sixty miles. In the battle he had lost only a hundred men, and about a thousand horses, from wounds or fatigue. More than half of the loss was in the Companion cavalry. Of the Barbarians it was said that three hundred thousand had perished, and the number of prisoners was even greater"¹ (Arrian).

The basin of the twin-rivers, Euphrates and Tigris, separates, we might almost say, the eastern from the western world, as known to the ancients; and rarely have these two worlds been united under one government. The expedition made by Alexander after the battle of Arbela, eastward from the Tigris to the Indos, was a rapid dash rather than a deliberate invasion; and we also shall quickly pass over these provinces, which have been so often conquered for the moment and then lost, and in which Greece gained but a transient footing. The geography and history of these countries do not belong to classic antiquity, with which alone we are here concerned.

¹ See, on this point, above p. 148, n. 1. Quintus Curtius, this time undoubtedly more correct than Arrian, gives forty thousand dead for the Persians, and three hundred for the army of Alexander; Diodoros (xvii. 61) speaks of five hundred dead. But only partial confidence can be placed in these statements of the ancient writers.

IV.—OCCUPATION OF THE PERSIAN CAPITALS; DEATH OF DARIUS;
DEFEAT OF THE SPARTANS (330 B. C.); SUBJUGATION OF
THE EASTERN PROVINCES (329 B. C.).

AFTER the battle of Arbela, as after Issos, Darius had succeeded in making his escape; Alexander, leaving him to flee with a few thousand men, advanced southward along the Tigris, to make prize of the Persian capitals and the treasures they contained. When he approached Babylon, the priests, magistrates, and inhabitants came out to meet him, bringing presents. He



CHALCEDONY.¹

established friendly relations with the magi, sacrificed to Bel, and ordered the rebuilding of his temple and of the other temples which Xerxes had destroyed. Of the gold found in the city he gave six hundred drachmas per man to the Macedonian cavalry, five hundred to the foreign cavalry, two hundred to the Macedonian infantry, and a little less to the foreign infantry: this was an instalment of the profits of the conquest.

After having made arrangements in respect to the government of the conquered provinces, he turned eastward towards the land which was the centre, and, so to speak, the sanctuary of the empire; in twenty days he reached Susa, where he found forty thousand talents in uncoined gold and silver, and ten thousand in gold darics; also the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, which he sent back to the Athenians. Fifteen thousand Macedonians, Thracians, or Peloponnesians, levied by Antipatros with the money that Alexander had sent him, met the king in Susa, and filled the gaps which had been made in his army, not so much by hostile weapons as by the garrisons which he had left behind him. Between Susa and Persepolis the road was difficult and dangerous, with arid plains to cross, precipitous mountains to ascend, and narrow defiles to force, under showers of stones which a brave satrap, Ariobarzanes, who

¹ A magian or Achaemenid king, standing, extending his hands in the attitude of adoration above the winged symbol of Ormuzd; before him, the *hom*, or mystic plant. (Engraved cone of the Cabinet de France, Catalogue, No. 1,010.)

had escaped from the battle of Arbela with thirty or forty thousand men, rolled down upon the heads of the Macedonians. Alexander had not only nature against him; the Uxians, a rude and warlike population, whose mountains the Great King even did not traverse without paying tribute, sought to stop his advance; and he was obliged to make his way by force through the Persian Gates, — memorable conflicts, in which he showed that rash courage which gained for him the hearts of his soldiers.

Persepolis (Istakar), the metropolis of the empire, "was at that time the richest of all cities upon which the sun shines"¹ (Diodoros). It is said that as they drew near its walls the Macedonians met four thousand Asiatic Greeks, who had been relegated into this remote exile, after having been frightfully mutilated, and that this sight kindling the anger of the conquerors, Persepolis was given up to pillage, and when night came, Alexander himself, instigated by the courtesan Thaïs, who accompanied him on this expedition, burned the palace of the king, to avenge Greece for the destruction of her temples.² Shall we regard these accounts as true? Making exception in the case of some details which are



¹ "When I endeavor to reconstruct in thought," says Dieulafoy, in his interesting book, *L'Art antique de la Perse*, "these stately edifices, when I see these porticos with columns of marble or polished porphyry, these two-headed bulls, whose horns, feet, eyes, and collars were gilded, the beams and joists of cedar of the entablature and of the ceilings, the mosaics in brick like heavy lace laid upon the walls, these cornices covered with plaques of turquoise-blue enamel, ending with the glitter of dripstones of gold or silver; when I think of the draperies hung upon the walls, and the heavy carpets laid upon the floors, I ask myself sometimes if the religious monuments of Egypt, if the temples of Greece itself, could have produced so striking an impression as must have been made by the palace of the Great King."

² 1. Head of a satrap, right profile, the head enveloped in the Oriental tiara, resembling the Arab turban. Reverse: the satrap, standing in adoration before a pyre; in the field, at the right, a standard. Aramaic legend, which has been thought to be the name of a satrap, Phahaspes (?) (tetradrachm). 2. On the reverse of the obolos is the Persian archer, without legend. These coins have been attributed variously to Susa, Persepolis, and Armenia. (See *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1879.)

³ A tradition was current later among Orientals that the sacred books of Zoroaster, the *Zend-Avesta*, perished in this conflagration. Arrian does not mention any mutilated persons, but Diodoros, Justin, and Quintus Curtius do, and the habitual cruelty of Asiatic governments warrants us in believing their statement.

manifestly arranged for dramatic effect, it remains probable that Alexander wished to make known to the whole Eastern world, by this destruction of the national sanctuary, the close of the Persian dominion. As to the city, it was not destroyed, as Quintus Curtius says; for we see, shortly after the conqueror's death, the satrap Peukestes sacrificing at Persepolis to the manes of Philip and Alexander. For his share of the booty, the new master of the East obtained a hundred and twenty thousand talents,—a mass of

COIN OF A SATRAP OF PERSEPOLIS.¹COIN OF THE SATRAP TARKAMOS.²

gold which Darius had not been able to utilize; and, to complete his possession of the holy cities of the Achaimenid kings, Alexander advanced from Persepolis to Pasagardai, where was the tomb of Cyrus, and where it was the custom to crown the Persian kings (May and June, 330 B. C.).³

Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis being thus occupied, Alexander had nothing further to do in the south of the empire, and he went in pursuit of Darius, who had gone northward to Ekbatana (Hamadan), reaching that city eight days after Darius had quitted it. He there deposited his spoils, one hundred and eighty thousand talents, under the guard of Parmenion, and made this point his new base of operations. Six thousand Greeks joined him there,

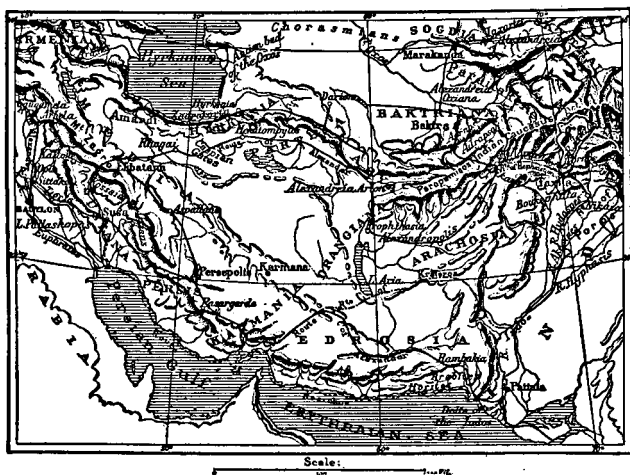
¹ Head of a satrap wearing the mitre, with long mustaches, and an earring. Reverse: magian standing before a closed temple, surmounted by three pyres; in the field the standard of Caveh; in an Aramaic legend the name and titles of Bagakert, satrap of Persepolis under one of the later kings. (See Mordtmann, *Persepolitische Münzen*, in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, iv. 154.)

² *בַּעַלְתָּרְס* (*Baal-tars*). The Zeus of Tarsos seated to the right, half nude, holding in one hand a sceptre surmounted by an eagle, and in the other a wheat-ear, with a bunch of grapes; in the field a *thymaterion*, or incense-burner; under the throne a flower; the whole in a crenelated circle, like the top of a fortress. Reverse: *תַּרְכָּמוֹס* (*Tarkamos*); a satrap seated to the right, holding a bow and arrow; in the field the symbol of Ormuzd. (Silver.)

³ The position of Pasagardai has been the subject of much discussion. Some authors place it northwest of Persepolis, others, southeast; this last is the opinion of the most recent explorer of Persia, M. Marcel Dieulafoy, and we have good reason to accept his authority.

but others left him to return to their homes, and besides their pay and spoils he distributed among them two thousand talents.

Great as had been the conqueror's indifference in regard to the fugitive king so long as it was a question of seizing his capitals and his treasures, no less great now was Alexander's ardor in pursuit of Darius when there was only himself to capture. In eleven

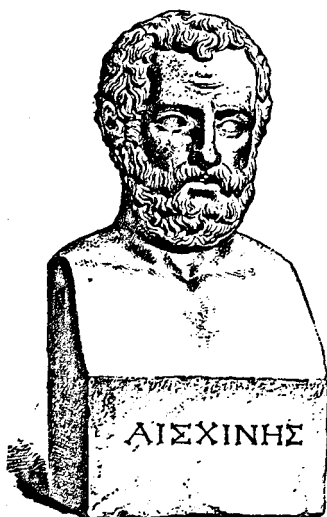


ROUTE OF ALEXANDER FROM THE TIGRIS TO THE INDUS.

days he made three hundred miles, and reached Rhagai (Rei, near Teheran), about fifty miles from the Caspian Gates, through which Darius had already passed. Alexander continued his pursuit, and soon after two Persian nobles came to meet him, with the information that Bessos, one of the eastern satraps, had made Darius a prisoner and was carrying him off, by way of Aria (Khorasan), to the satrap's own province of Baktriana. Alexander at once urged the pursuit still more rapidly, marching two days and three nights almost without an hour's rest, and on the morning of the third day, with what remained of the troop that had started with him, he came up with the Persians near Hekatompylos. At sight of him they fled in terror. The satrap endeavored to persuade

Darius to accompany them; but the king refused to go farther, whereupon Bessos and others discharged their javelins at him as he sat in his chariot, and left him mortally wounded (July, 330 B. C.).

Alexander caused the body of the Persian king to be buried with royal honors. Before the news of his death had crossed the



AISCHINES.¹

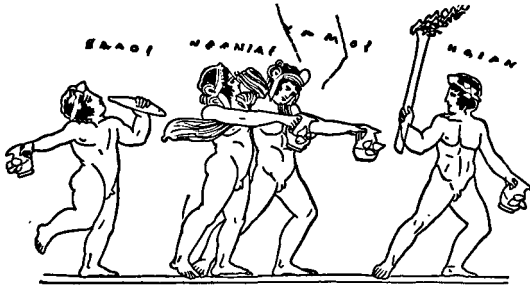
Ægæan Sea, Aischines, in an oration at Athens (*Against Ktesiphon*, § 132), had said: "We were born to furnish posterity with an incredible history. This king of the Persians,—who made a canal across Mount Athos and put chains upon the Hellespont; who demanded earth and water from our fathers; who in his messages dared to call himself the master of the world, from the places where the sun rises to those where it sets,—this Persian king now seeks to save, not his empire, but his very life in a desperate struggle!" But the Athenian orator deceived himself; there was no desperate struggle: the Great King had been assassinated like any other man, and

his immense empire had fallen, as a tower, undermined at its base, at the first shock falls to the ground.

While Alexander was gaining an empire, he narrowly escaped losing his own patrimony. It was at Chaironeia that the Spartans should have been present; that which they did not do against Philip they attempted when they saw Philip's son making his way into the heart of Asia. They had refused to recognize

¹ Marble bust discovered at Bitolia, in Macedon, and now in the British Museum (from *Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*, vol. xi. pl. 18). The inscription and the resemblance of the head to other portraits of Aischines leave no doubt as to the name to be given to the hermes of the British Museum. Cf. the statue in the Museum of Naples represented above, p. 79.

the congress of Corinth, and constantly kept envoys at the Persian court. The defeat of a Macedonian general by the Scythians of the Danube, who inflicted great loss, and the revolt of the governor of Thrace, determined them to take advantage of the difficulties which surrounded Antipatros. The Eleians, the Achaians with the exception of Pellene, and the Arkadians with the exception of Megalopolis, united with the Spartans, so that Agis, their king, was able to besiege Megalopolis with twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse. Did this unexpected awakening of Lacedæmon cause Athens to hesitate, to whom the hegemony of Sparta was no less hateful than that of Macedon? Demosthenes at least kept silence; and when an orator called for the arming of galleys, Demades, at that time administrator of the *theorikon*, replied that there was certainly money in the treasury which might be used for this purpose, but that if it were expended in such preparations he should no longer be able to distribute to each citizen the half-mina which he had reserved for the festival of Choes. We cannot say that the hope of this gift was the motive impelling the Demos to prudence: it is better to believe that consider-



THE FESTIVAL OF CHOES (KOMOS).¹

æmon cause Athens to hesitate, to whom the hegemony of Sparta was no less hateful than that of Macedon? Demosthenes at least kept silence; and when an orator called for the arming of galleys, Demades, at that time administrator of the *theorikon*, replied that there was certainly money in the treasury which might be used for this purpose, but that if it were expended in such preparations he should no longer be able to distribute to each citizen the half-mina which he had reserved for the festival of Choes. We cannot say that the hope of this gift was the motive impelling the Demos to prudence: it is better to believe that consider-

¹ Painting on a vase discovered at Vulci, and now in the Museum of Berlin (Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, No. 2,656); from the *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1852, plates 37, 3 and 4. Four boys advance towards the right, each holding an *oinochos* in the hand. The first, above whose head is the word *Ἑλλάς*, carries a lighted torch in the right hand. He turns back towards the two following, with their arms around each other, who seem to be extending to him the vases they carry. Above them are the inscriptions *κομος, κομος*. The fourth holds in his left hand a cake, which he lifts to his mouth; above him is the inscription *καλε*. This is a scene of *Komos*, rather than a representation of the festival of Choes.

ate men represented to the multitude the city held in check by the Macedonian garrison of the Kadmeia; its ports blockaded by Alexander's fleets, now supreme at sea; the benefits of victory, if any there were, given entirely to Sparta; lastly, exiles everywhere recalled and democratic governments overthrown.

Antipatros was equal to all the demands of the occasion; he arranged affairs in Thrace, and hastened to Megalopolis with forty thousand men, in time to save the city. The Spartan king was killed, with five or six thousand of his men. Like Agis, who, wounded, for a moment recovered himself and fought on his knees until he received the mortal blow, Greece fell, death-stricken, at the feet of Macedon (September, 330 B. C.). The congress assembled at Corinth decided that envoys should be sent to Alexander, asking him to decide the fate of the conquered. The king remembered the advice of Aristotle, recommending him to remain for the Greeks their general-in-chief, and to govern as a master only the Barbarians; and he showed himself clement. The Achaians, Eleians, and Arkadians, who, members of the league, had violated the federal compact, were punished with a fine of a hundred and twenty talents, to be paid to Megalopolis; of Sparta, who had never entered into any engagement, Alexander asked only the fifty hostages which Antipatros had required.

News of the Spartan defeat reached the king almost simultaneously with news of their outbreak; and in the midst of his great enterprise, agitations like these seemed to him trivial. "While we are destroying the empire of Persia," he said to his soldiers, "there has been a battle of rats in Arkadia;" and this contempt was to the Spartans a second defeat. At this moment Alexander was right in being indifferent to the affairs of Greece; he was much more concerned with Bessos, who might perhaps establish a centre of resistance in Sogdiana or Baktria, where he had assumed the title of king. Alexander resolved to give him no time to fortify himself there; but following the policy of leaving in the rear no centre of resistance or population of doubtful fidelity, he advanced northward to close the road into Asia Minor and the countries of the Euxine to those who might seek to excite disturbances in the West. Hekatompylos was situated probably in the neighborhood of Shah Rud, southward of Asterabad. Between

these two cities extended a mountain range, touching the southern shore of the Caspian, and separating Parthia (Kohistan) from Hyrkania (Mazenderan). Extending eastward, to connect itself by the Indian Caucasus, or Paropamisos (Hindu-Kush), with the colossal masses of the Himalaya, this chain runs, with altitudes greatly varying, between two very different countries,¹—Turan and Iran, or Baktriana and Sogdiana, on the north, and Persia and Afghanistan on the south. After having rapidly subdued the Parthians, Mardians, and Hyrkanians, Alexander went in pursuit of Bessos, and on the way subjugated Aria, where he founded an Alexandria, which, under the name of Herat, has remained one of the great markets of the East, one of the gates of Persia and India. A fellow-conspirator with Bessos was satrap of Drangiana and Arachosia (Seistan); Alexander sought for him, and caused him to be delivered up by the Indians.

At this point a tragedy arrested, for a moment, the king's advance. Philotas, son of Parmenion, received information of a plot formed against the life of Alexander; for three days he kept it secret, and then another made it known to the king. This inexplicable delay, an obscure letter written by Parmenion, bitter words and sarcasms which Philotas had long been accustomed to utter in respect to Alexander, gave cause to a belief in his complicity, and Alexander himself accused Philotas in presence of the army. Being put to the torture, he made confessions, which perhaps were not true;² and he was stoned to death by the army. A number of his friends, officers of high rank, perished with him. The most shameful part of this sad and mysterious affair was the murder of Parmenion. He was at Ekbatana, a distance of thirty

¹ Between Herat and Sarakhs opens, from south to north, the valley of the Heri-Rud, — bordered by hills not over a thousand feet in height, — which leads to the neighborhood of the valley of the Murghab, where is the oasis of Meru; so that the passage from one side of the range to the other, from Turan to Iran, is extremely easy on this side. It was said by Nadir Shah that "he who holds Herat holds the handle of the sword by which to be master of Turan and Iran."

² Without taking into account confessions wrung by torture from possibly an innocent man, there remains the secrecy in respect to a crime of high treason which old French laws punished with death, as in the case of De Thou. Articles 103 and 107 of the Penal Code of 1810 punished with more or less severe imprisonment the non-revelation of crimes endangering the State. These articles were not abrogated until the law of the 28th of April, 1832. It was a matter of custom among the Macedonians, as among many barbarous peoples, that the relatives of the proscribed perished with him (Quintus Curtius, vi. 11, 20).

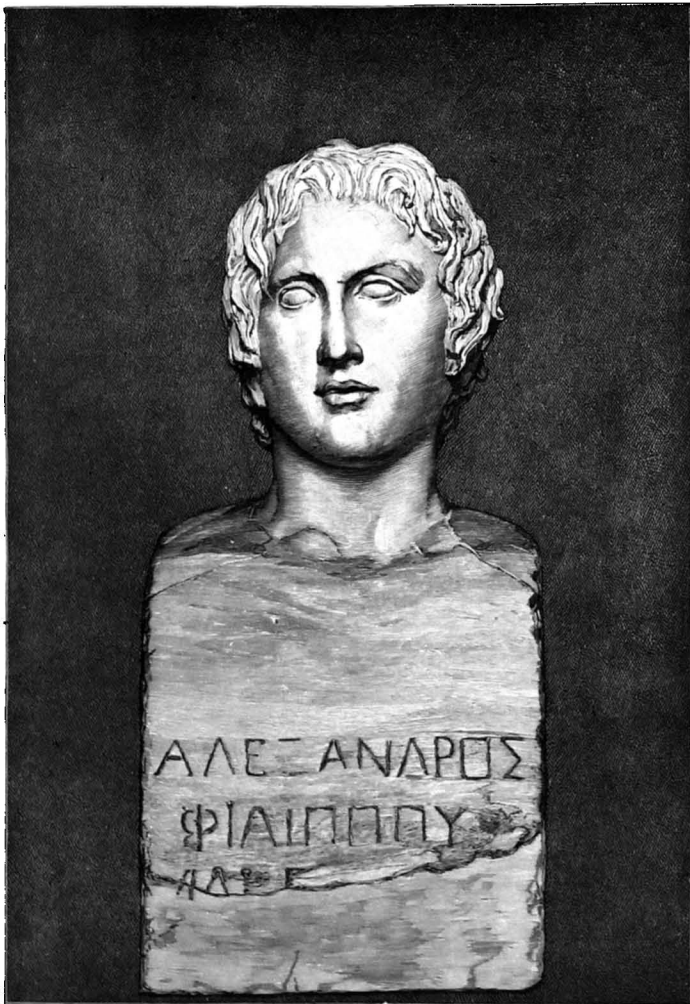
days' journey, in guard of immense treasures. A messenger mounted on a swift dromedary traversed the desert in eleven days, bearing to the old man a forged letter from his son, and Parmenion was killed while reading it (330 B. C.).

From Prophthasia (Furrah?), the scene of these disastrous events, Alexander reached the defiles of Paropamisos, which separated it from Baktriana, leaving behind him two other Alexandrias, of which one, still a flourishing city, keeps its founder's name, Kandahar.¹ A revolt of the Arians at this time did not cause him to turn back; he sent a detachment against them and went on into Baktriana.

The great plains of Central Asia were now far behind him, and he was entering countries bristling with mountains and cleft by ravines, in which he found, instead of the disorderly masses so easily dispersed at Arbela, mountaineers, here, as everywhere, energetic and brave. To the great battles succeeded now isolated skirmishes, sieges, — a war with Nature herself among the snows of the Indian Caucasus, and a severity of cold which the Macedonians had never before encountered. For fourteen days they suffered extremely; and when they arrived, emerging on the north from these mountain passes, at the first city in Baktriana, Adrapsa (Anderab?), they found the whole country laid waste; Bessos had created a desert before the invading army. However, Aornos "the impregnable," and even Baktra were taken, and the Macedonians advanced into the valley of the Oxos. This deep and rapid river, a mile in breadth, was crossed on tent-skins stuffed with straw; and the Sogdian, Spitamenes, the ally of Bessos, seeing the satrap's cause was lost, betrayed him to Alexander. The King

¹ The Eastern peoples call Alexander "Iakander." Emerging from the defiles of the Paropamisos, he founded another Alexandria, to guard them on the north. A Russian mission, directed by M. Kanikof, made, in 1858-1859, a scientific exploration of Khorasan, passing through Asterabad, Meshed, and Herat; it went as far as Lake Hamun, in Seistan, a great body of water without external issue; and returned through Kerman, Yezd, and Teheran. This expedition therefore followed Alexander's route in part, and was able to certify to the perfect accuracy of ancient documents as to the marches of the Macedonian army.

NOTE. — The engraving of the opposite page represents a marble hermes, discovered in 1779 at Tivoli by the Chevalier Azara, given later to Bonaparte, and now in the Museum of the Louvre. It is possibly the only authentic likeness extant of Alexander, and is unfortunately in a very bad state of preservation. Moreover, to judge from the characters of the inscription, it must be only the copy of an original now lost. The head wore a royal fillet, doubtless of bronze. It is slightly bent towards the left, and we know that in consequence of a contraction of the muscles of the neck Alexander's head was thus inclined to that side.



BUST OF ALEXANDER.

caused him to be beaten with rods in the presence of the army, and afterwards gave him up to the cruel vengeance of the family of Darius (329 B. C.).

These acts of cruelty were only reprisals, but the massacre of the Branchidai was an outrage on humanity. They were Greeks, the descendants of a family who, a hundred and fifty years earlier, had given up to Xerxes the treasures of the temple of Apollo at Miletos, of which they were the guardians. After the dominion of Xerxes on the coast had been overthrown they escaped by flight to him from the odium their fellow-Greeks attached to them; and the Great King had given them lands in Sogdiana. Here they had preserved their traditions, and, in a degree, their language, and at news of the approach of a Greek army they came out, rejoicing, to meet them, offering welcome and all that they possessed. But Alexander, to avenge the god and the country betrayed by their fathers, caused them every one to be massacred, the city walls to be levelled, and the trees cut down, so that the place occupied by the sacrilegious race should be forever devoted to desolation.¹

After Baktriana, Sogdiana accepted the yoke, and the victors occupied its capital, Marakanda (Samarcand?). But Alexander did not stop here; he went on as far as the Iaxartes, crossed this river, and defeated the Scythians who gathered to oppose him. Here he built another Alexandria (Khodjend?), completing its fortifications in twenty days; this was the point farthest north which he reached.² Chroniclers who follow the old legends place here a visit from the queen of the Amazons to Alexander. This Amazon was, as the king himself related to Antipatros, the daughter of a Scythian chief, offered by the father to the conqueror's harem.³

AMAZON.³

¹ It has already been remarked (Vol. I. p. 408) that this biblical idea of visiting the sins of the parents upon the children was also an idea of the Greeks. Furthermore, it was a Punic idea; we know that the Carthaginian Hannibal sacrificed three thousand Greek prisoners on the battle-field of Himera because his grandfather, Hamilcar, had been killed there seventy years before (Diodoros, xiii. 62).

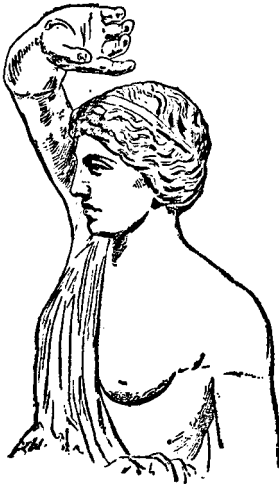
² Amazon standing, leaning upon a spear. (Sardonyx of two layers; height, 14 millim., breadth, 9 millim.; engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,905 bis.)

³ He occupied also, a little farther to the south, seven fortresses, built doubtless by Cyrus on the edge of the steppe, one of which bore the name of this king.

⁴ Plutarch, *Alexander*, 61.

An insurrection set on foot by Spitamenes recalled the king toward the south; a detachment of the Macedonian army had been cut to pieces by the satrap, who escaped from pursuit. Alexander

punished the province for this insurrection, with which perhaps it was in no way concerned, by frightful ravages (329 B. C.). The disturbances broke out more widely the following year: one of the Macedonian officers, Peithon, was captured with his men by Spitamenes; but the capture of the Sogdian Rock, a famous stronghold of the country, alarmed some of those insurgents. On being summoned by Alexander to surrender, the governor of the fortress had replied: "Hast thou wings?" And it seemed that wings were necessary to reach the inaccessible citadel; but the king offered twelve talents to him who should first touch the walls, and a little band scaled the precipitous rock.



AMAZON.¹

In the fortress Alexander found the family of a Baktrian chief, one of whose daughters, Roxana, was of remarkable beauty. It was the conqueror's policy to unite the two races; in all the cities that he founded he established Greeks and Persians side by side. He now gave an example of the fusion of the two by marrying Roxana. The father, flattered by so great an honor, hastened to make his submission, which brought with it that of a part of the province. The better to tranquillize this region, he entrusted Hephaestion with the duty of founding twelve cities there, which should serve as a protection against the Scythians, while he himself went everywhere in Sogdiana, leaving neither a fortress closed against him nor an enemy in arms. A further attempt of Spitamenes proved fatal to him; he was defeated, and

¹ Fragment of a statue in marble of the Petworth collection, from a photograph. (Cf. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1887, i. 336.)

the Massagetai, at the approach of the Macedonians, saved their tribes from pillage by sending to the conqueror the bold partisan's head. Alexander had occupied two years in the sujagation of these warlike tribes; he passed a few months more in Baktriana, where many chiefs still refused to lay down their arms, and only left the country to set out on his expedition into India (328 B. C.).

Behind him he left great but also terrible memories. In the deserts of the Oxos men had seen him, on foot, at the head of his troops, suffering with thirst, refuse a little water that a soldier had brought him, and pour it upon the ground, because he could not share it with his men. In battles, he was in the front rank, and often wounded; he never gave to others the duty of leading those marvellously rapid marches which so often enabled

TETRADRACHM.¹SILVER COIN.²

him to strike unexpected and decisive blows. In a great hunt, being attacked by a lion, he refused the assistance of Lysimachos, and alone destroyed the wild beast; but this time the army, in their anxiety, decreed that he should not again hunt on foot or without escort. His liberality, like his courage, was boundless, and he had, at need, as much perseverance as impetuosity. He had habituated the Macedonians to regard nothing as impossible; accordingly, among the soldiers, and especially among the new-comers, many, in seeing such great things accomplished, remembered the rumors current as to his divine parentage, — the responses of Ammon, the mysterious serpent that Philip had found in the

SILVER COIN.³

¹ Head of Alexander, with the lion's skin, right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Zeus Aetophoros, the eagle-bearer, seated to the right; in the field, a caduceus; under the throne the monogram of Arados.

² Coin of an unknown Phœnician king. Galley ending in a horse's head, sailing to the left; on board are a bearded satrap and two helmeted hoplites, all three with shields. Under the galley a sea-horse or winged hippocamp. Reverse: vulture in relief, perched on an *siggros* in intaglio.

³ Aramaic coin, with the name of Alexander. Head of the goddess Atergatis, right

room on his wedding night,—and base flatterers sought to make the king himself believe these things. On occasion of a storm, Anaxarchos of Abdera said to him: "Is it not thou, O son of Zeus, who thunderest from the sky?" But the group immediately surrounding the conqueror remained incredulous. His companions of boyhood, his old generals, the haughty Macedonian nobles, who had been wont to approach their kings so freely, regarded this apotheosis with deep displeasure.

When Alexander, after the death of Darius, adopted Persian usages, assumed the diadem and the white robe, and sent purple garments to his friends; when he learned the language of the country, and received into his guard the sons of the noblest families in the land,—this was not yielding to a vain desire of emulating the display of the Great Kings, but doing what policy commanded. Moreover, this Oriental etiquette was for the Persians only; with the army he still preserved a soldier's simplicity. One evening, among the mountains of Persia, in an icy air which had



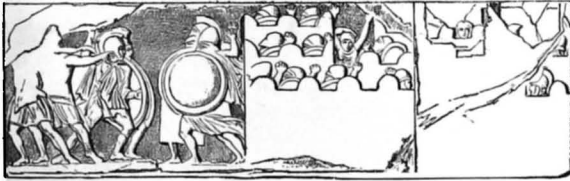
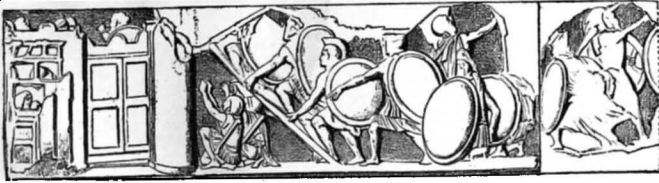
DIONYSOS.¹

proved fatal to some of the men, Alexander sat warming himself by a camp-fire, when he saw approaching a veteran so overcome with

profile; behind the head, in Aramaic letters, *ערת טובת* (*Athe Thabet*, 'Arrayáth. Dea bona). Reverse: in Aramaic letters, *אליכסנדר* (*Alexander*); lion devouring a bull, to the left; underneath, the letter *כ*, mint-mark.

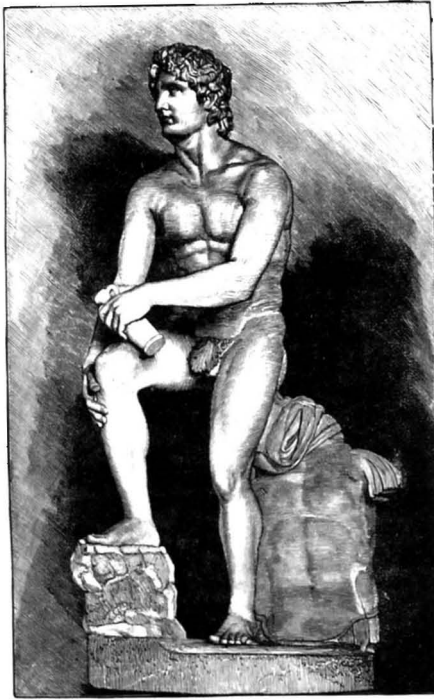
¹ The bearded Dionysos in a long robe, standing, holding in one hand the *thyrsos*, and in the other a *kantharos*; behind the god, an altar adorned with a garland, and upon the altar a mask. (Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France*. Topaz, height, 42 millim.; breadth, 20 millim. Chabouillet, *Catalogue*, No. 1,626.)

NOTE.—On the opposite page are represented fragments of the frieze of a monument known as the Monument of the Nereids, discovered at Xanthos in Lykia by Mr. Fellows, the English explorer, and now in the British Museum; from the *Monumenti dell' Instit. di corrisp. archeolog.*, vol. x., plates xv. (h, i, k) and xvi. (p, q, r, v, z). *First Scene*: Warriors ascending to the assault of a city near the gate. *Second Scene*: Engagement in front of the walls. The city is protected by a triple crenellated rampart, behind which are its defenders. *Third Scene*: Soldiers and peasants taking refuge in the city. The soldiers have already entered through the eastern gate, defended by a tower, and are asking admittance from the keeper of the tower, who leans towards them. A peasant, on his ass, is about to enter through the outer gate. *Fourth Scene*: Victors and vanquished. The city has been taken (seen in other fragments of the frieze not here represented), and the conqueror, seated, receives a deputation from the conquered. He is seated, wearing the Persian cap, and rests his right hand on a sceptre; a servant holds a parasol over his head. The deputies are old men in Greek dress; they present themselves humbly, making with the right hand the gesture of adoration. Behind them are the soldiers who have brought them.



SCENES OF A SIEGE.

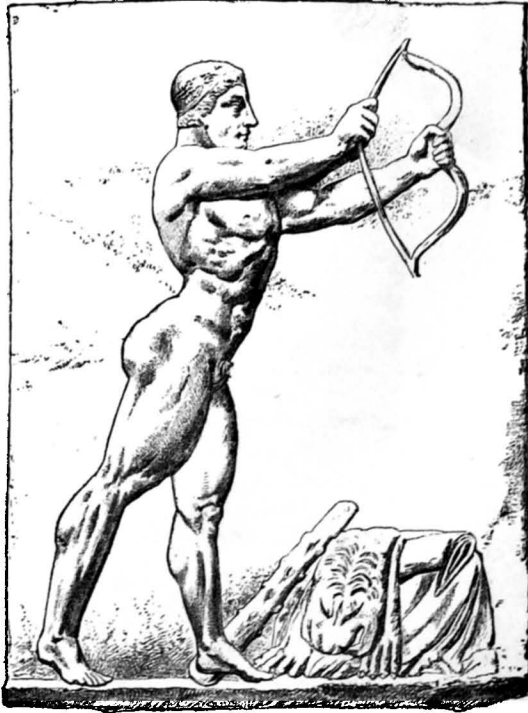
cold that he could scarcely direct his steps; the king arose, took the soldier's spear and shield, and made him sit down in his own place

ALEXANDER.¹

by the fire. As the veteran recovered himself and perceived that it was Alexander, he manifested anxiety; but the king, laughing, said to him: "My friend, among the Persians to sit down in the

¹ Statue of Parian marble in the Glyptothek at Munich (from a photograph. Cf. H. Brunn, *Beschreibung*, No. 153, p. 208). This statue, which has been much mutilated, has undergone numerous and very unsuccessful restorations. These are the two arms, which were broken, and the *aryballos*, which the figure holds in the left hand; the right leg, as far up as the place where the *aryballos* touches it, and half of the plinth; also the fore part of the left foot, and some parts of the cuirass. The head is doubtless a portrait.

king's seat is a cause of death, but in your case it is a cause of life, for the fire will save you." A little thing to do, kind words to say, — but often repeated they had immense weight. The Macedo-



HERAKLES FIGHTING.¹

nians, however, were indignant at the abandonment of national customs, and constantly jealous of the Persians, whom they regarded as unjustly favored. Clear-sighted and resolute as he was, Alex-

¹ Bas-relief, of unknown origin, in the Carapanos collection at Athens (from O. Rayet, *Monuments de l'Art antique*. The work is undoubtedly archaic, though its authenticity has been questioned.

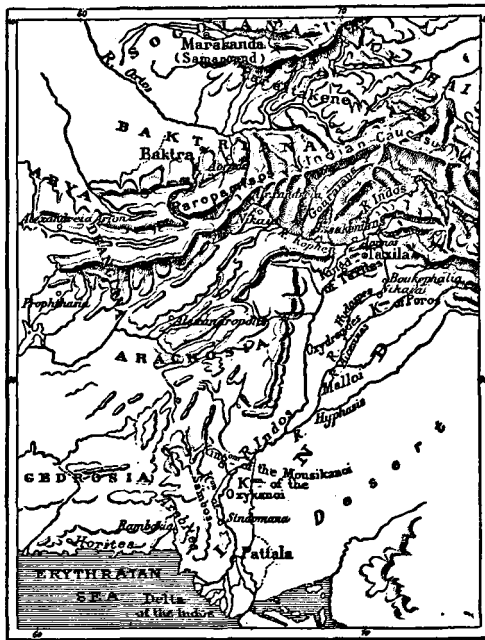
ander could not harmonize his rights as conqueror of Asia with the consideration that prudence counselled him to manifest for those who had made it possible for him to secure this dazzling fortune. It was difficult for him to play two parts at once, — to be at the same time the Great King to the Persians, and for his companions-in-arms the king of Macedon, and to close his ears to the unfriendly talk that was current in respect to him. No less difficult was it for some of those men, who had seen these Herakleids so poor in authority and fortune, to accept without a murmur the new situation imposed by an order of things they themselves had founded. The one abandoned himself to the arrogance and the fits of passion which characterize the Oriental despot; the others fell into a condition of insubordination and insolence. Already Alexander had begun to find traitors and conspirators among those nearest to him; he had caused Philotas to be put to death, and Parmenion to perish by the dagger of an assassin. A deplorable scene showed, in 328 B. C., the advance of this twofold evil.



At Marakanda, during a festival of the Dioskouroi, some of those unworthy flatterers who surrounded the king, after their custom were exalting Alexander to the point of ranking him above the divinities whose exploits were commemorated by the festival, and even above Herakles himself. Kleitos indignantly protested that Alexander alone had not won all these victories of which mention was made so boastfully, that they had been in great part accomplished by that indomitable Macedonian army which he had found ready made. And as the fame of Philip had been depreciated to enhance that of his son, the old general now declared that Philip was the equal or even the superior of his son. Stretching forth his right arm towards Alexander, he exclaimed: "Remember that you owe your life to me; this hand preserved you at the Granikos. Listen to the words of truth, or else cease to ask freemen to your table, and confine yourself to the society of barbaric slaves." Intoxicated with wine and with anger, Alexander no longer controlled himself. Those about him made every effort to restrain his fury, but he

¹ Head of Zeus Ammon, right profile, with milled border; as legend, ΚΥΡΑ[*αίας*]; the whole in an incused square. Reverse: branch of silphium. (Silver coin of Kyrenaika.)

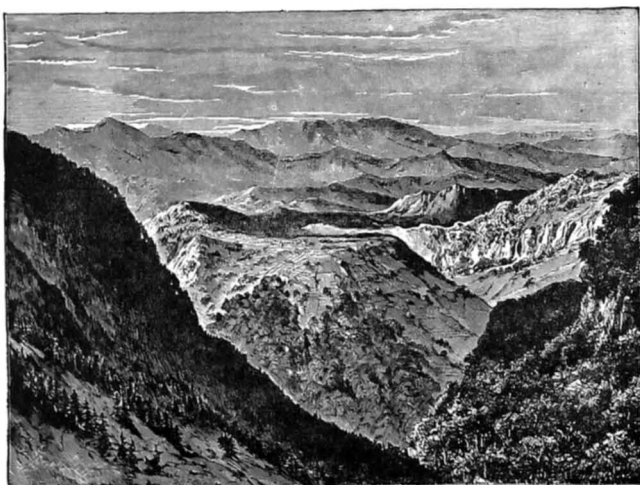
shook them off, and snatching a pike from one of the guards, he inflicted a fatal wound on his friend, the man who indeed had saved his life. In that generous nature, repentance followed close upon the act; it is said that he strove to kill himself with the same weapon, and was with difficulty prevented from doing so.



MAP OF THE VALLEY OF THE INDUS AND ITS AFFLUENTS.

He passed three days in his tent in an agony of grief, weeping and calling aloud upon Kleitos, cursing himself, and partaking of neither food nor drink. The Macedonian army made itself his accomplice, passing a vote that Kleitos had been justly slain. All about him made the utmost efforts to pluck the remorse from his conscience; the priests attributed the crime to the vengeance of Dionysos, whose altar he had neglected on the day of the banquet.

The sophist Anaxarchos reproached him for limiting the rights of a conqueror by the laws of every-day morals. "The right and just," said this philosopher, "is what kings wish and do; for this reason we see on Olympos Justice seated at the side of Zeus, because all the acts of Zeus are just and good."



VIEW OF THE MOUNTAINS OF MAHABAN (SITE OF AORNOS).¹

Blood had been shed, however, and Alexander was to sacrifice other lives besides that of Kleitos. The Persians, who in approaching the king prostrated themselves before the son of Ammon, or, indeed, after their national custom, before their sovereign, saw the Macedonians come up freely and speak to Alexander as to one of themselves. These different methods of conduct maintained between the two nations the barrier which it would have been necessary to destroy in order to efface among the Persians the memory of defeat, to diminish among the Macedonians the pride of victory, — two sentiments which made it impossible for the victor to consolidate

¹ From the *Tour du Monde*, 1868, 455th livraison, p. 206; *Voyage dans le Pendjab*, by G. Lejean. According to this author, the site of this old city of Aornos should be sought among the mountains of Mahaban.

his conquest. To subjugate Persia had been easy for him: to change the Persian customs was not so; and since it was an Oriental empire which he founded, the Greeks were the men called upon to sacrifice their usages to the general interest. By degrees the old officers, accustomed to yield to necessity, consented. A philosopher, or rather a Sophist, who accompanied the expedition for the purpose of writing its history, refused. Kallisthenes of Olynthos, a nephew and a disciple of Aristotle, argued against the royal policy, urging



TRIUMPH OF DIONYSOS IN INDIA.¹

reasons which, though excellent at Athens or Sparta, were out of place in the heart of Persia; these arguments, however, produced an impression on some of "the royal children"² to whom the care of the king's tent was intrusted. Hermolaos, one of these youths, having incurred the king's displeasure and being punished, plotted against Alexander with five of his companions. The plot was discovered, and the youths were stoned to death by the army. Kallisthenes, accused of sharing in the design, was hanged, or, according to Aristoboulos, put in chains and carried along with the army, dying seven months after in India. He was a man of

¹ Front of a marble sarcophagus, now in the Louvre. (Cf. W. Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique*, p. 243, No. 232.) In the opinion of Fröhner, this relief represents the triumph of Dionysos in India. Among the figures preceding the god are a bearded satyr and a menad. Behind Dionysos is an elephant, which "carries on his back two Indian prisoners clad in short *chitons*, their hands bound behind them." The last figure at the left is a winged goddess, doubtless a Victory.

² See above, p. 28.

ALEXANDER (336-323 B. C.).

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integrity, upright and honorable, of rigid virtue; but Aristotle while recognizing his ability as a speaker, says that he was lacking in judgment;¹ and if it be true, as Aristoboulos and Ptolemy assert in their Memoirs, that he knew of the conspiracy and encouraged it, he must be regarded as an accomplice and as legitimately punished (327 B. C.).

In Sogdiana, Alexander had received an embassy from Omphis, an Indian prince ruling over a region between the upper Indos and the Hydaspes, whose capital, Taxila, was near the modern city of Attock; he called upon Alexander to assist him against another Indian king in his neighborhood, Poros, and offered to open to him the gate of the Indies. Alexander left in Baktriana ten thousand foot, and three thousand five hundred horse, to keep the country in order as far as the Iaxartes, and at the head of an army consisting of a hundred and twenty thousand infantry and fifteen thousand cavalry, he once more traversed the Paropamisos, on his way to the valley of the Kophene (Cabul), where are the famous defiles known as the Khyber Pass. While Perdikkas and Hephaestion moved eastward along the river as far as the modern city of Peshawur and the junction of the Kophene with the Indos, he advanced northward up the valley of the Choaspes (an affluent of the Kophene at Jelalabad), to reduce the warlike tribes of the Asprians, Assakenians, and Gouriens. This expedition, where the Macedonians came upon almost inaccessible fortresses in every defile, occupied the remainder of the year 327 B. C. and the early part of 326. A second Aornos, before which Herakles, it was said, had failed, was taken after prodigies of valor, and after military works which prove that Alexander had, beside his incomparable soldiers, skilful engineers and formidable machines of war. At Nyssa he believed himself on the track of Dionysos, and availed himself of these mythological reminiscences to exalt the courage of his troops. He seemed, indeed, to follow in the footsteps of the gods or heroes, and to efface their glory by his own, in his battles, as of giants, with these bold mountaineers. The Choaspes has its sources in the mountains whose northern slope overlooks the river Oxos. Alexander therefore in the Indian Caucasus held the valleys which by the Indos descend to the ocean, and by the Oxos to the Caspian Sea. This

¹ . . . λόγῳ μὲν ἦν δυνατὸς καὶ μέγας, οὐδὲν δ' οὐκ εἶχεν (Plutarch, *Alexandros*, 54).

is the position which Russia covets, and probably will seize some day, to open her way to the southern seas.

In the spring of 326 B. C. Alexander at last crossed the Indos, traversed the dominions of the king of Taxila, where he saw with surprise the austerities practised by the Brahmins, and arrived on the banks of the Hydaspes, near the spot where stands the modern city of Jelalpoor. The melting of the snows had filled the great basin of this river with a rapid stream, and all the fords were deep under water. On the left bank Poros awaited him with a formidable army and two hundred war-elephants, whose size and trumpeting were well adapted to terrify troops who had never before encountered these living war-machines. Poros, a man of great personal courage, for some time held his adversary in check; and the victory was secured to Alexander only after a sanguinary conflict, in which the Indian king was wounded and taken prisoner.¹

[“From Taxila two roads diverge, one running nearly due south, past Jelalpoor, and crossing the Sutlej just below its junction with the Beas; the other running more to the eastward, and passing through a more fertile and populous district. Alexander, however, had no choice as to which of the two he should follow, as Poros had taken up his position just opposite Jelalpoor, on the eastern side of the Hydaspes, and posted scouts up and down the river to watch for his enemy’s coming. Having sent Koinos back to the Indos with orders to have the vessels which had formed the bridge sawn in pieces, and to bring them on wagons to the Hydaspes ready for use, the king himself marched onwards to that river, then fully a mile broad, where he came in sight of his enemy, who had thirty thousand infantry and two hundred elephants, with numerous chariots and cavalry, ready to dispute the passage. To force it in the face of such an army was clearly impossible. It was necessary to wait, to distract attention, to throw the enemy off his guard, to spread false intelligence; and then it might be possible to deliver a sudden and rapid blow. Accordingly he gave out that he was aware of the extraordinary difficulty of crossing so broad and rapid a river in the teeth of such an army, and had made up his mind to defer the attempt until the monsoon was over and the water lower. At the same time he kept Poros always on the alert, by constantly moving his boats, and showing deceptive intentions of crossing. At other times he would send off large divisions of troops up or down the river, as though searching for a ford, all of which movements were plainly visible from the other side. Then, for many nights

¹ [A more detailed account of the battle of the Hydaspes is here given, from Mr. Arthur M. Curteis’s *Rise of the Macedonian Empire*. — Ed.]

in succession, he posted on the banks squadrons of cavalry at intervals, who shouted to one another, and ever and anon raised the war-cry, as though preparing to try the passage; and at every such alarm Poros of course made instant preparations for battle.

“ At last, after many false alarms, and since they always ended in noise and shouting, Poros was thrown completely off his guard, and even ceased to take notice of such purposeless agitation. Then, and not till then, Alexander resolved that the time was come for action. About eighteen miles up the stream, on the right bank, there was a remarkable cliff, where the river takes a wide bend; opposite the cliff in mid-river was an island, which, as well as the bank, was densely covered with tamarasks. This was the point decided upon for the passage. . . . At last a night was fixed upon for the attempt; and Alexander set out in the afternoon with two divisions of the phalanx and the flower of the cavalry and light troops, striking somewhat inland, so as to be out of sight. Krateros was left in camp with the rest of the phalanx and some cavalry; and his orders were to remain quiet in case Poros detached only a part of his force against the king; but if he saw that all the elephants were withdrawn, which were the only real difficulty where horses were concerned, he was to cross without loss of time. Midway between the island and the camp were posted the mercenary foot and horse, with orders to make the passage whenever they saw that fighting had begun. Pontoons of skins had already been prepared, and the boats brought from the Indos had been put together. It was a night made for the occasion, dark and windy, with thunder and heavy rain; so that the words of command and the noise inseparable from the movement of large bodies of armed men were inaudible at a distance. Just before dawn the wind and rain ceased, and the passage began. The whole force was thrown across to the island, as silently and rapidly as possible, in the boats and pontoons. It would seem, however, from Arrian that they had all mistaken the island for a projection of the bank, and were taken aback at finding that a rapid though narrow channel of the river still separated them from the mainland. But there was no time to be lost in embarking the troops a second time. The scouts had already sighted them, and galloped off to raise the alarm. At last they found a ford; but so heavy had been the rainfall that it could hardly be called practicable, for the water was above the men's breasts as they waded, and up to the horses' necks. Nevertheless all got safely across; and Alexander at once made his arrangements for the battle, which he intended to bring on without delay. Pushing on himself at the head of the cavalry, five thousand in number, in case the enemy should be panic-stricken and attempt to flee without fighting, he ordered the archers and the six thousand heavy infantry to follow him as fast as they could.

“ As soon as Poros learned that the Macedonians were actually across

the river, he sent forward one of his sons, with two thousand cavalry and one hundred and twenty chariots, while he himself prepared to follow with the main body. These cavalry were presently met by Alexander; but recognizing him, and seeing his superior numbers, they faltered, broke, and fled, hardly waiting for his charge. All the chariots, which had stuck fast in the mud, remained in his hands, and four hundred of the horsemen, including their leader, lay dead upon the field. Meantime Poros had stationed a small force, with a few elephants, on the river-bank to hold Krateros in check; and having chosen his ground on sandy soil, where there was firmer footing and ample room, drew up his troops in order of battle. The elephants were the mainstay of his line, standing forwards, says Diodoros, 'like the bastions of a wall,' at intervals of a hundred feet apart, and the heavy-armed infantry were 'like the curtain,' ranged in line immediately behind the elephants. No horses, he thought, could be brought to face such a line; no troops could be so rash as to venture within the spaces between the elephants. On either flank was massed the cavalry; but his main reliance was clearly placed in the centre of the line, 'that seemed like a city to look at.' . . .

"The Indian cavalry on the left wing were still deploying from column into line, when the Macedonian mounted archers rode forward to the attack, supported by the king himself, with the Companion cavalry. The Indians moved forward to meet the attack; but so much superior were Alexander's numbers seen to be that the horsemen from every part of the field, including the right wing, were at once ordered up to reinforce the threatened left. . . . Scarcely had the cavalry on the Indian right galloped off along the front to join their overmatched comrades, than Koinos, on the left Macedonian wing, with about fifteen hundred cavalry, wheeled round and followed them, and one wing of each army was thus suddenly withdrawn to the other end of the line. The Indian cavalry, however, had a difficult manœuvre to perform, and that in the very face of the enemy; for, being well in advance of their own centre, they were threatened on two points at once,—by Alexander in front, and Koinos in the rear; and had therefore to face both rear and front. They were in the act of attempting this manœuvre when Alexander gave the word to charge. Unsteady and hesitating, they wavered for a moment, then broke, and rode for their lives towards the elephants as to a friendly rampart, passing between them and through the intervals between the divisions of the infantry.

"The mahouts, it would appear, had already begun to urge their animals on to the charge, and were supported by the infantry,—a movement which might have been dangerous, had it not been checked by the rapid advance of the phalanx. It was a fearful struggle, such as even these veterans had never before experienced. The huge animals trampled down their ranks

by sheer weight, or seized the men singly with their trunks, and raising them aloft, dashed them to the ground; while the soldiers in the howdahs plied them with arrows and javelins. The cavalry, moreover, had rallied, and presently advanced once more to the charge. But they were no match for Alexander's troopers either in steadiness or bodily strength, and were speedily repulsed and driven in upon the centre. By this time, too, the elephants—a force scarcely more dangerous to foes than friends—were becoming unmanageable. Some of them had been wounded, and many of the mahouts slain; and being hemmed in by the close press of horsemen and infantry, distracted by the confusion, and maddened by pain, they kept up an incessant trumpeting, and began to turn round, treading down the men of their own side, or to try and back out of the turmoil, 'like boats backing water.' Then the infantry also were thrown into confusion, foot and horse and elephants being hopelessly intermingled; whereupon Alexander, ordering the phalanx to push steadily onwards in front, drew a cordon of cavalry, as it were, round the flank and rear of the struggling, helpless mass, and completed the demoralization and ruin by repeated charges.

"The loss was prodigious, including all the chariots. Two of the sons of Poros were slain, and a great number of the superior officers. If a portion of the infantry and cavalry broke through and escaped, it was but to find themselves hotly pursued by a fresh and unspent enemy in the person of Krateros, who had forced the passage of the river during the battle; so that three thousand of the horse are said to have been slain, and twelve thousand of the infantry, while nine thousand prisoners were taken, and eighty elephants. The Macedonian loss was, as usual, trifling, amounting to no more than two hundred and eighty cavalry and seven hundred infantry, taking the highest estimate of the Macedonian and the lowest of the Indian losses."]

Quintus Curtius details the conversation between the conqueror and the captive in words which doubtless are without authority, but which it is pleasant to repeat. "How do you wish me to treat you?" asked Alexander of Poros. 'Like a king,' was the reply. 'That boon you shall have for my own sake, O Poros! But for your sake, ask what you will.'" Poros, however, refused to add to what he had already said, and Alexander so greatly admired his demeanor that he restored his kingdom, and even added more territory to it. It was a matter of policy as well as generosity to place in opposition to the king of Taxila a rival who would be able to hold him in check (May, 326 B. C.). In this region Alexander founded two cities,—Nikaia, in honor of his

victory, and Boukephalia, in memory of his old and faithful war-horse, whose death here, of age and fatigue, he deeply lamented.

In these two campaigns Alexander had shown his usual courage, and also military virtues more rare than those of his earlier years of conquest. The passage of the Hydaspes and the battle which followed are, in the opinion of competent judges,—the English generals who have fought in these regions,—the skilful manœuvres of an accomplished military leader.¹

V.—ALEXANDER'S RETURN (326 B. C.); HIS ARRIVAL AT
BABYLON (324); HIS DEATH (323).

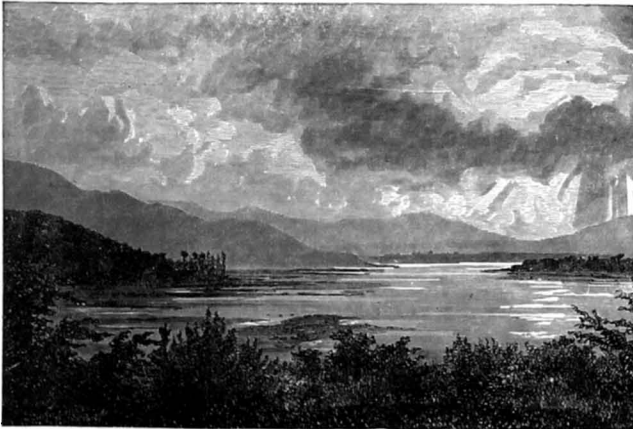
THE victory over Poros opened to Alexander the fertile country of the Five Rivers; he continued his march eastward, and having crossed the Hydaspes, he fought his way across the Akesines and the Hydraotes, and arrived on the bank of the Hyphasis, which was the extreme limit of his expedition. He stopped, not willingly, but, it is said, because his soldiers compelled him to it. Exhausted with fatigue, having endured seventy days of perpetual storm and rain,² their clothes in rags, their weapons badly worn, they recoiled with terror before the new enterprises into which their leader would have dragged them, across a vast desert, against those Gangaridai and Prasiai, who could bring into the field two hundred thousand foot, twenty thousand horse, and many hundred elephants. Reluctant to cross the broad, deep river on whose banks they were, they gathered in groups and murmured. Alexander called together his officers.

“We have not much farther now to march,” he said, “to the river Ganges, and the great Eastern Sea which surrounds the whole earth. The Hyrkanian Sea joins this Great Sea on one side, the Persian Gulf on the other; after we have subdued all those nations which lie before us eastward towards the Great Sea and northward towards the Hyrkanian Sea, we shall then go by

¹ Major-General Cunningham, appointed by the English Government to make an archeological inspection of India, believes that he has discovered the Aornos of Alexander. In respect to the search of English officers for traces of the Macedonian hero, see the *Campagnes d'Alexandre dans l'Inde*, by Admiral Jurien de la Gravière.

² The southwest monsoon begins in northern India about the close of June.

water, first to the Persian Gulf, next around Libya to the Pillars of Herakles; thence we shall march back all through Libya, and add it to all Asia as parts of our empire. . . . If I did not share in your fatigues and dangers, your discouragement would not be unreasonable. You might justly complain of an unequal fate, which would place on one side the difficulties, and on the other the rewards. But in dangers and labors we have all in common, and the prize awaits us all. This country is yours; its treasures are yours. When we have conquered Asia, I will fulfil, I will surpass, your expectations. Those who wish to return home shall go with me; those who wish to remain in Asia shall receive gifts of inestimable value."

VIEW OF THE HYDASPES.¹

This address was received in profound silence. "If any man disagrees with me, let him speak," the king said. But the silence remained unbroken, until finally Koinos, one of the oldest officers, ventured to express the common feeling. "Our numbers are reduced," he said; "we are longing to see our wives and children. Suffer us to return; and later, if thou wilt, lead other soldiers, younger and fresher than we are, to the Euxine, or to Carthage, or wherever thou wilt." Alexander was very angry, and dismissed the troops to their quarters.

¹ From G. Lejean, *Voyage dans le Pendjab (Tour du Monde, 1870-1871, vol. xxi. p. 351).*

On the following day he made a new appeal to them. "I will constrain no man to follow me," he said. "Your king will go forward; he will find faithful soldiers to follow him. Those of you who wish may return home, and tell the story in Greece that they have abandoned their leader in the midst of his enemies." Upon this he withdrew to his tent and shut himself up three days, admitting no one to his presence; he hoped that one of those revulsions of feeling, not uncommon with soldiers, might bring a change. But the army remained silent and reluctant. On the fourth day, however, he offered the usual sacrifices preparatory to crossing the river; but the auspices were unfavorable. Then he called together the oldest and most trusted of the Companions, and bade them make known to the army that he had decided to turn back.

"On news of this, the army breaks out into shoutings; they crowd around Alexander's tent, invoking blessings upon him for his generosity in yielding for the sake of his soldiers. He then divides his army into twelve divisions, and causes twelve immense altars to be built, as high as the tallest towers, for a monument of his victories and an expression of his gratitude to the gods. These being completed, he orders sacrifices to be offered, after the manner of the Greeks, with games and races; places all the country as far as the Hyphasis under the rule of Poros, and gives the signal for departure" (Arrian).

The scene is fine, and we have it from the truth-telling Arrian; nevertheless, there is reason to think it may have been rendered more dramatic than it really was. It is possible that Alexander would have liked to cross the Hyphasis, and see what there was beyond it; but many reasons would have prevented him from going much farther. Between the land of the Five Rivers (the Punjab), where he was encamped, and the valley of the Ganges, extends a vast desert, without grass or water, the crossing of which, he must have learned from Poros, would be extremely difficult. News from the West made known a disturbed condition of affairs, which rendered the return of the army very important; and certain facts give us the right to say that Alexander himself felt that he had reached the extreme limit of his conquest. As far as the Indos he had organized all the provinces as satrapies, with a native governor for civil affairs, a Macedonian military head, and a gar-



COINS OF ALEXANDER.¹

ri-son, partly of Greeks, partly of Barbarians. This he had just now done in the Paropamisos; and that satrapy of citerior India had

¹ 1. Beardless head of Alexander with the lion's skin, right profile. Reverse: AAEEAN-ΔPOY; Zeus Aetophoros (the eagle-bearer), seated to the left; under the throne three mint-

given his empire the formidable barrier of what is now Afghanistan. Between the Indos and the Hyphasis he had followed a different plan; leaving to the populations their national government, he had only required of the kings to be his allies and to pay him a moderate tribute. Lastly, immediately after his victory over Poros he had ordered to be cut down, in the mountains bordering the Hydaspes, whole forests, and the timber floated down the river to Boukephalia and Nikaia, where Krateros was ordered to construct two thousand boats. Why did Alexander require a fleet like this, except to transport his army to the mouths of the Indos, not those of the Ganges? He embarked with a part of his army upon the Hydaspes.

“Going on board his vessel, he takes a gold cup, goes forward to the prow, and pours libations into the river; he invokes its god and the god of the Akesines, which falls into the Hydaspes, the latter itself a branch of the Indos; and after libations in honor of Herakles, the father of his race, of Ammon and the other gods whom he adores, the trumpet sounds, the oars fall into the water, and the fleet begins to move” (Arrian).

The rest of the army marched along the shores (November, 326 B. C.).

He sailed slowly down the river until he reached its junction with the Indos, and as he moved along received the submission of the inhabitants occupying the adjacent regions. In some cases resistance was made, especially by the Mallians and Oxydrakians. In an attack on the chief town of the Mallians, the rash courage of Alexander nearly cost him his life. After the town itself had

marks. This decadrachm is extremely rare (*Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xiv., 1850, p. 71). 2. Beardless head of Alexander, with the lion's skin, right profile. Reverse: ΑΑΞΞΑΝΑΡΡΟΥ or ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΑΞΞΑΝΑΡΡΟΥ; Zeus Aetophoros, seated to the left; in the field, monograms and symbols. The cock is the mint-mark of Selymbria; the lyre, of Mytilene; on the third coin the monogram, which is composed of the letters ΟΔΗ, designates Odessos. 3. Beardless head of Alexander, with the lion's skin, right profile. Reverse: ΑΑΞΞΑΝΑΡΡΟΥ; Zeus Aetophoros seated to the left; under the throne, the letter Μ; in the field at the left the letter Φ, initial signifying the mint of Philomelion. 4. Beardless head of Alexander, with the lion's skin, right profile. Reverse: ΑΑΞΞΑΝΑΡΡΟΥ; Zeus Aetophoros, seated to the left; under the throne a monogram of a magistrate's name; in the field, at the left, a winged horse, symbol of the mint at Lampsakos. 5. Beardless head of Alexander, with the lion's skin, right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΙΑ ΑΑΞΞΑΝΑΡΡΟΥ; Zeus Aetophoros, seated to the left; under the throne, ΑΥ; in the field at the left, the letter Μ. 6. Beardless head of Alexander, with the lion's skin, right profile. Reverse: ΑΑΞΞΑΝΑΡΡΟΥ; Zeus Aetophoros seated to the left; in the field, at the left, the mint-mark Σ. 7. Diademed head of Alexander, right profile. Reverse: lion stepping to the right. (Silver.)

been entered, it was necessary to scale the walls of the citadel, where the Mallians were still making a resistance. Alexander, with three of his officers, led the attack, and from a lack of scaling-ladders at the moment, found themselves alone upon the wall, a conspicuous mark for every arrow. Upon this the king leaped down among the enemy, and, setting his back against the wall, defended himself as best he could. The three officers followed him: one was almost instantly killed; the king was wounded in the chest by an arrow, and grew faint from loss of blood. Then the Macedonians burst in; and while they seized the citadel and

DELTA OF THE INDUS.¹

massacred every man, woman, and child within its walls, Alexander was carried out, fainting, upon his shield. The rumor of his death spread to the camp, four days distant, lower down the river; and the soldiers gave way to such an excess of grief that it was necessary, as soon as he was able to be moved, to show him to them alive, on board a vessel which was floated down the current without the use of oars, to avoid all shock and noise; and when, after some time, he was able again to appear among them on horseback, they gave way to transports of joy, crowding about him to touch his hands or his clothes, and crowned him with garlands and fillets.

After a successful voyage upon the lower Indos, where again

¹ From G. Lejean, *Voyage dans le Pendjab (Tour du Monde, 1870-1871, 543^e livraison, p. 351).*

he had occasion to fight with some of the more courageous and high-spirited tribes along the banks, he reached the island of Pattala, which is in fact only the delta formed by the mouths of the great river, its apex (at Hyderabad) being one hundred and thirty miles from the ocean (end of July, 325 B. C.). From this point Alexander turned westward. He left in these countries, which the masters of Asia had not visited before his time, numerous traces of his passage and of his great views of civilization. All along the road, in all advantageous positions, he had founded cities, where he mingled his soldiers and the native population, and left a store of Greek civilization which many of these cities long preserved, outlasting, as they did, centuries and revolutions.



INDO-SCYTHIAN COINS.¹

His design was now to return by land, with the bulk of his army; but while he proposed to traverse provinces which his soldiers had not as yet seen, he wished to have his fleet, under the orders of Nearchos, explore the southern coasts of his empire, and return from the Indos to the mouths of the Tigris. As soon as the northeast monsoon, which blows during the winter, began to make itself felt in the first days of October, Nearchos embarked upon this ocean, whose tides—a new thing to the Greeks—had at first alarmed them. Alexander, who proposed to unite by a clearly designated route the mouths of the Euphrates with those of the Indos, selected along the coast places of shelter and supply-stations for commerce. Before leaving the island of Pattala, he built a fortress there, digging wells to secure a water-supply, and making a harbor, with storehouses and ship-yards. At the end of August,

¹ 1. Legend undecipherable. Indo-Scythian king standing, holding a sceptre and a bow; in the field, at the left, a small altar. Reverse: APOOACTHO (?). A bearded divinity, to the right, standing by a horse; he holds a wreath in the right hand; in the field an indeterminate symbol. 2. MIPO (?), Mithra, with radiate head, standing to the left, holding a bow in the right hand; in the field an indeterminate symbol. Reverse: NANA PAO (?). The goddess Nanaia standing to the right, a crescent on her head, and holding a sceptre (?); in the field, a symbol. Both these coins are of later date than the reign of Alexander.

325 B. C., or at the beginning of September, he began his march through the country of the Arabitai and the Oritai, where he built still another Alexandria, at Rambakia, and then entered the deserts of Gedrosia.

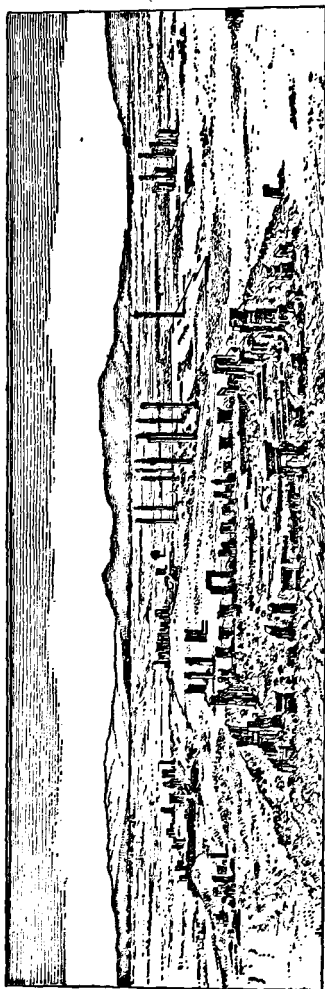


DRUNKEN FAUN.¹

In the burning and trackless sands of this region the troops experienced extreme sufferings from hunger and thirst and heat.² Many beasts of burden, vehicles, and even soldiers were left behind. "The army," says Strabo, "was saved by the date-palms which grew in great numbers in the beds of the torrents." Alex-

¹ Bronze discovered at Herculaneum in July, 1764, and now in the Museum of Naples (from a photograph).

² The accounts of modern travellers are more favorable to Gedrosia (Mekran). See especially Kinnear's *Memoir*. But in Kerman the Russian expedition of 1859 found the soil so burned and the air so dry that often they saw rain falling from a cloud evaporate in the atmosphere before coming to the ground. The voyage of Nearchos from the Indos to the Euphrates lasted a hundred and thirty days.

PANORAMA OF PERSEPOLIS.¹

ander shared in all these sufferings, and is greater in these circumstances of difficulty than when he shows on fields of battle the mere brute courage of the soldier. After two months they reached Karmania, where convoys of provisions from the neighboring satraps awaited them. Then, if we may believe Diodoros and Quintus Curtius, privations were followed by orgies, and a triumphal march of seven days, recalling the legend of Dionysos returning from the conquest of the Indos. Arrian treats these accounts as fabulous, because Ptolemy and Aristoboulos make no mention of them. These religious and military orgies are, however, quite in accordance with the taste of Alexander and of the soldiers of all times. Whether it was a triumphal march or merely a festival in honor of their return, the Macedonians and their chief certainly did honor to Dionysos by profuse libations; but they also celebrated the close of their immortal campaigns by sacrifices, religious hymns, and

the games usual to solemn occasions. The king, radiant with

¹ From Dienlafoy, *L'art antique de la Perse*.

happiness and genius, presided over the games and banquets. Another leader, however, for the moment attracted all eyes. Nearchos, reaching the port of Harmouza, at the mouth of the river Anamis, and learning that Alexander was five days distant in the interior, joined him there (end of December, 325 B. C.). At the king's command he related to the army the story of this marvellous voyage, in which his soldiers had endured so much fatigue, surmounted so many difficulties, and braved the fearful hurricanes of the Indian Sea. At the price of all these perils and hardships, they had opened to commerce new routes between the East and West, and all, soldiers and sailors alike, were proud of the leader who had caused them to accomplish this great thing.

BRONZE COIN.¹

At Pasargadai, Alexander ordered the restoration of the tomb of Cyrus, which had been plundered, and he proceeded to Susa, passing through Persepolis (spring of 324 B. C.). He inflicted the severest punishment upon many treacherous and extortionate satraps, who had doubtless counted on the probability that they should never see him again. Harpalos, the satrap of Babylon,

OBOLOS.²

dared not await the coming of Alexander, but fled to Greece, with five thousand talents and six thousand mercenaries. Many Greek soldiers were at this time scattered throughout Asia, selling their services to the highest bidder. Alexander forbade his satraps to take any of these mercenaries into their pay, and he endeavored to obtain control of this floating, undisciplined, and dangerous force by establishing these Greeks as colonists in Persia. This project, however, was only set on foot, and never fully carried out.

Notwithstanding his example and his efforts, the union between Greeks and Persians took effect but slowly. Alexander had already married Roxana, and he now took as his wife Barsine,³ the eldest daughter of Darius. He gave to Hephaestion the hand of her sister, Drypetis, and he married, with large dowries, the daugh-

¹ Beardless head of Alexander, with the lion's skin, right profile. Reverse: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ; bow and club.

² Bare head of Alexander, with the horn of Zeus Ammon, right profile. Reverse: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ; lion to the right. (Silver.)

³ Arrian mentions her by this name, but Plutarch calls her Stateira.

ters of the noblest Persian families to the officers of his army. Eighty of these marriages took place on the same day. He called upon all his soldiers to follow this example, and offered a wedding present to every Macedonian who gave in his name as having married a Persian woman; and ten thousand presented themselves.

A very singular occurrence followed these magnificent festivities. At Taxila the Macedonians had met certain Indian anchorites, who by ascetic practices made their lives a slow suicide, seeking to withdraw from this terrestrial existence so much despised by them. One of these men, Kalanos by name, had accompanied the king as far as Susa; and here, being oppressed with age and threatened with a fatal disease, he resolved to die.

BRONZE COIN.¹

A funeral pyre was prepared for him, and ascending it in the presence of the whole army, he was burned to death, thus losing a few more days of life indeed, but gratifying his vanity by the great notoriety of the act, and testifying to his doctrine of

renunciation in the presence of those who, passionately attached to life, saw in his voluntary death a sacrifice of wonderful merit.

These marriages between Greeks and Persians were an excellent method of blending the two nations. "As in a cup of love," says Plutarch, "were mingled the life and manners of the different races, and the populations, drinking therefrom, forgot their ancient hostility." Alexander attempted the same fusion in the organization of the army. The satraps sent him contingents of young native troops, amounting in all to thirty thousand men, whom he called his *epigonoï* (sons), and armed and trained like the Macedonians. The latter saw with jealous eye the arrival of these new troops. Unmindful of the king's benefits, who had lately paid off their debts, amounting to twenty thousand talents, with the generosity and delicacy of a personal friend,² when he

¹ ΑΑΞΞΑΝΑΡΟΥ. Helmeted head, right profile, the helmet ornamented with a griffin. Reverse: ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΝΕΟ[ύ] [scilicet]. Club, bow, and quiver filled with arrows. (Bronze coin struck under the name of Alexander during the Roman empire.)

² The debtors hesitated to give their names on the first order, and Alexander caused tables, covered with gold coins, to be brought into the camp; then each soldier came with his creditor and declared his debt, receiving the amount.

proposed now to send home the old and disabled veterans, the whole army broke out in murmurs, and clamored that he should dismiss them all, and make future conquests by aid of his father, Zeus Ammon. Incensed at this conduct, Alexander leaped down from the elevated platform where he had been speaking, and ordered his guards to seize those who were foremost in the mutinous crowd and put them instantly to death. Thirteen thus perished, and then Alexander resumed his speech; he recalled to their minds at some length all the benefits they owed to his father and to himself, and ended by bidding them go at once and tell the Greeks how they had abandoned their king, and how he henceforth trusted himself to the fidelity of the Barbarians whom he had conquered. He then withdrew hastily to the palace, and shut himself up for two days, seeing no one but his attendants. On the third day the army were informed that he had called together the Persian officers, invested them with the chief military commands, and composed for himself a new army, entirely Persian, from which the Macedonians were completely left out. This was unendurable for the comrades who



COIN OF OLBIA IN SCYTHIA.¹

¹ The Gorgon's head, front view, with disordered hair; she wears a necklace. Reverse: OLBIA; eagle with wings displayed, to the left, having a dolphin in its claws; in the exergue, the letter Γ, mint-mark. (Bronze coin struck about the time of Alexander the Great.)

had shared so many dangers and sufferings with their king; they rushed in crowds to the gates of the palace, implored him to come forth, and supplicated his pardon. At last he yielded, and at sight of their distress and tears wept also. A banquet, where Alexander entertained nine thousand Macedonians and Persians, sealed the reconciliation. He then discharged ten thousand Macedonians, who willingly accepted their dismissal, giving them, besides the money necessary for the journey, a talent apiece, and despatched Krateros to lead them into Greece.

About this time Alexander suffered a great loss in the death of Hephaistion, his favorite friend, who died at Ekbatana.¹ The king



DIDRACHM.²

made for him a more stately funeral than any man ever before had; and it is said the expense was ten thousand talents, and that he inquired of the oracle of Ammon whether Hephaistion should be worshipped as a hero or as a god.³ The cares of government, however, soon diverted him from his distress. Between Susiana and Media dwelt the Kossaioi, very nearly independent in their high and inaccessible mountains. It was unsafe for Alexander to leave, in the very heart of his empire, between Susa and Ekbatana, a people whose pride in their own liberty could not fail to be a dangerous example. A campaign of forty days, marked by engagements in which the Macedonians were successful, and the mountaineers everywhere driven back, resulted in the slaughter of the whole fighting population. Returning to Babylon in the spring of 323 B. C., he found ambassadors from every part of the known world awaiting him. From Italy there were Bruttians, Lucanians, and Etruscans; from Africa, Carthaginians, Ethiopians, and Libyans.

¹ Alexander had two most intimate friends, Hephaistion and Krateros, who shared the king's affection, and who more than once just escaped disputing for it with each other, sword in hand. He used to say of them: "Krateros is the friend of the king; Hephaistion of Alexander." Plutarch (*Alex.*, 30) depicts a graceful scene. On one occasion as Alexander was reading a letter from his mother, full of reproaches, which he did not wish made known to any one, Hephaistion, leaning on his shoulder, read with him. Upon which the king turned, and with his ring sealed his friend's lips.

² Plutarch even says that Alexander crucified the physician who could not save his friend; but Arrian does not credit this extravagance of the king's grief.

³ Horned head of the Libyan Dionysos, left profile. Reverse: KYP A; stalk of silphium; in the field a quiver, and the monogram of a magistrate's name. (Coin of Kyrene.)

There were Scythians from the north of Europe, and Kelts and Iberians from the extreme west.¹ The Macedonians heard names to them unknown, and saw themselves appealed to as arbiters by peoples of whose existence and dwelling-place they had never before heard.

In the midst of all this homage, and as if to justify it, Alexander's plans and dreams were on the grandest scale:—

“According to some authorities, he was at this time proposing to visit Arabia, to sail around Ethiopia, Libya, Numidia, and Mount Atlas, to pass through the Pillars of Hercules, to go as far as Gades, and then to return through the Mediterranean, after subjugating Carthage and the whole of Africa. . . . According to others, it was his intention to go by way of the Euxine and the Palus Maiotis into Scythia; while others still assert that he was thinking of an invasion of Sicily and the Iapygian promontory, attracted by the great name of the Romans” (Arrian).

But Arrian is mistaken here; there was as yet nothing great in that name. It is, however, certain that Alexander ordered the construction in Phœnicia of galleys which were to be transported to Thapsakos, whence he proposed to sail down the Euphrates as far as the Persian Gulf, and that he sent three expeditions to the coast of Arabia, for the purpose of marking out a maritime course between the mouths of the Indos and those of the Nile. The boldest of these explorers was Hieron of Kilikia, who seems to have explored nearly the whole eastern coast of the peninsula. Herakleides was despatched on a like errand into Hyrkania, on the shores of the Caspian Sea, and was ordered there to construct a fleet to determine the question of the communication of that sea with the Sea of Azof and the Northern Ocean.

Before departing for new conquests, Alexander occupied himself with local improvements. He ordered the excavation of a harbor at Babylon capable of accommodating a thousand galleys, with shelters for them; and he caused the dams to be removed which the kings of Persia had thrown across the lower Tigris for the purpose of impeding navigation. He examined Lake Pallakopas, into which

¹ In respect to an embassy from the Romans, Arrian (vii. 15, 6) finds no trace of this in Roman annals; and we have reason to believe that the senate was concerned with very different affairs from those which took place at Babylon. The deputation of Kelts, unless Kelts of the Danube, and of Iberians, unless those of the Caucasus, is also hardly credible.

the waters of the Euphrates are discharged at the time when the snows melt, and are lost, without being of any utility. To regulate this outflow, he caused ten thousand men to labor for three months.



THE DYING ALEXANDER.¹

On one occasion, as his boat was passing by some tombs of ancient Assyrian kings, the wind blew off his Macedonian *kausia*, and the diadem which surrounded it caught in some reeds growing out of one of the tombs. A sailor threw himself into the water to recover it, and in returning placed the diadem around his own head for

¹ Head of Greek marble, known as the dying Alexander, in the Museum of Florence; from a photograph. (Cf. Ditschke, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien*, iv. 164, and iii. 515). The name of Alexander does not seem appropriate, as has long been admitted, to this beautiful head, which seems, on the contrary, to present a striking resemblance to heads of dying giants lately discovered at Pergamon.

security. The Chaldæan soothsayers considered this so bad an omen that they urged the king to put the sailor to death. Arrian, however, tells us that the man was rewarded, — which is more probable. In respect to presages of evil, it happened, as always, that after the event had occurred, men believed they had before observed them. The conqueror of Asia could not disappear so early from the world without Nature and the gods being called upon to announce his approaching end. Alexander no doubt himself brought on his fate. In the joy of his victory, and after so much deprivation heroically endured, he gave himself up unreservedly to those pleasures of the table in which he and his father before him had so often abandoned all moderation. In the climate of Babylon this intemperance was a sentence of death. In the midst of these prolonged orgies, he was seized with a fever, whose germs may perhaps have been received into his system while in the miasma of Lake Pallakopas, and died, after an illness of eleven days, on the twenty-first of April, 323 B. C. But a few weeks before this the Greek deputies had come to call him a god and to worship him as such.

TESSERA.¹

Alexander had not completed his thirty-third year at the time of his death. The work of force was now nearly completed, and that of wisdom was about to begin. Would this second task have been too great for him? It is sometimes easy to destroy; it is never so to build up. The little we know of his plans shows us that he would have done great things; and his severity towards the satraps who had practised extortion foretells a vigilant administration in his wide domain.

We may sum up briefly the work of this conqueror, who had no enemies after the battle was over: —

Those whom he had conquered were won by his kindness and made sharers in his plans;²

¹ Leaden tessera in the University of Athens (from the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. viii., 1884, pl. iii. No. 73). Alexander, asleep under a plane-tree, sees in a dream, standing before him, the two Nemesses of Mount Pagos, who designate to him the place where he is to build Smyrna. The legend is related in Pausanias, vii. 5, 1.

² They lamented his death. Sisygambis, the mother of Darius, would not survive him (Diod., xvii. 118; Justin., xiii. 1). It has been said that his death was due to poison; but the royal Ephemerides show that his malady was one of those fevers so frequent in hot countries.

Commerce, that bond of nations, was developed into vast proportions, and saw before it routes, either new or for the first time made safe, which Alexander had opened, and harbors, ship-yards, havens, or stations for supply which he had prepared for it;

Industry was urged to production by the immense wealth long inactive and sterile in royal coffers, now thrown into circulation by the lavish hand of the conqueror;¹

Greek civilization was carried to many parts of the empire by colonies, of which one, Alexandria in Egypt, received and long poured out upon the world an inexhaustible, though turbid, flood of wealth and of thought;²

A new world was revealed to Greece, and populations, ideas, and religions were mingled and blended in a vast whole, whence a new civilization would have emerged, had the greatest of all means of action, time, been granted to him who already had so many.

All this Alexander accomplished, and hence it is that, for two thousand years, history lingers before this young conqueror and salutes him, forgetting, in her too great indulgence for youth and genius, what she contents herself with calling his faults.

But what would he have given to a conquered world? No man can say; probably a general servitude amidst great material prosperity. We see indeed in one hand of the conqueror the sword which nothing could resist; we do not see in the other the ideas which must be sown in the bloody furrow of war, to conceal it under a rich harvest. The acts of violence which he committed, his need of breaking down all obstacles, his enormous pride, promised a government imperious and harsh, useful to the conquered so long as Alexander lived, necessarily thrown into confusion at his death. What did this Hellenic civilization bring forth, transplanted by him into the heart of the East? Enfeebled by its extension, and deprived of the vivifying breath of liberty, the Greek mind never bore in its

¹ In consequence of the free circulation of gold, that metal decreased in value. In the time of Philip its relation to silver was that of 1 to 12.51; after Alexander's conquest it was 1 to 11.47 (Droysen, i. 688).

² Alexandria was not only the emporium of European and East Indian commerce, but also a great centre of learning, where translations and commentaries were produced in large numbers. The Septuagint version of the Old Testament was not the only important work translated there; for we know, on the authority of Strabo, that translations of all the great books of Egypt, of Chaldaea, and perhaps of India, were made by Alexandrian scholars. But nothing original or productive of influence came from this learning.

new country, for poetry and art, those good and wholesome fruits which, at once stimulated and restrained, it had so liberally produced at the foot of Hymettos or Parnassos. The Asiatics learned and spoke the language of the Hellenes,¹ but none borrowed from them the grand genius of their best days, — the energetic feeling of human dignity and of the citizen's rights which made their greatness. Like those pale lights which only render darkness more visible, Hellenism in the East only served to show more conspicuously the baseness, the weakness, and the crimes of Asiatic courts and peoples.

BRONZE COIN.²

And Greece, — with whose history we are specially concerned, — what did she gain from these conquests? The victory of Alexander did but rivet her chains, and with the independence of the cities ended that intellectual activity which liberty had produced. Greece saw the poles of the mental world displaced. Pergamon and Alexandria succeeded to Athens, — Ephesos and Smyrna to Corinth.

BRONZE COIN.³

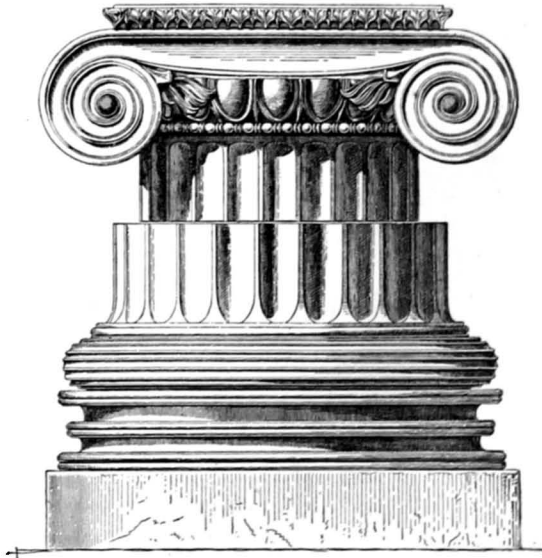
Not merely did she cease to be vivified by the arrival of poets, artists, and philosophers, who, a century earlier, came to her from all the shores of the Mediterranean, but she exhausted herself in furnishing generals and ministers, parasites and soldiers, to the new Oriental courts. Every man who could have become an honor to his country went into the foreign service. All sap, all generous blood, all ambition, all talent, went away from her. Life deserted her, only returning, enfeebled and exhausted, to her Asiatic and African colonies. The Muses will no longer sing in their accustomed places, but for once, and in an enfeebled voice, in Sicily

¹ A Greek dynasty long reigned in Baktriana. See, in the *History of Rome*, vol. iii. p. 380, n. 3; and facing p. 380, the beautiful coin of Eukratidas, one of these kings.

² ΑΑΞΑΝΑΠΟΥ; diademed and idealized head of Alexander, right profile. Reverse: ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ Β Ν [read *Β Ν*]. Pallas, seated to the left on a throne, holding a small Victory on the right hand; with the other she grasps her spear, and her shield is placed on the ground. (Coin struck under the Roman empire.)

³ Beardless head of Alexander, with the lion's skin, right profile. Reverse: ΑΑΞΑΝΑΠΟΥ; club, bow, and quiver; in the field, the letter Α and a bunch of grapes.

and at Kyrene;¹ and then follows silence. Art and eloquence will linger for a moment at Rhodes, philosophy on the banks of the Nile, and science everywhere,—the latter still powerful, but phi-



BASE AND CAPITAL FROM THE IONIC TEMPLE OF ATHENE POLIAS AT PRIENE.²

losophy turbid, uneasy, confused. Aristotle, who during a residence of almost thirteen years at Athens (335–323 B. C.), wrote there all his great works, now leaves the city, never to see it again. Lykourgos had just died there, and soon Demosthenes and Phokion

¹ Kallimachos and Eratosthenes were natives of Kyrene, Theokritos and Archimedes of Syracuse, Hipparchos of Nikaia, Aristarchos, the astronomer, of Samos, etc.

² From O. Rayet and A. Thomas, *Milet et le golfe Latmique*, pl. 14 (cf. vol. ii. part ii. p. 5, and p. 15 *et seq.*). The temple of Athene Polias at Priene was dedicated by Alexander himself, as is shown by an inscription now in the British Museum (*Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, part iii. No. 399). It was built, about the middle of the fourth century B. C., by the architect Pythios, and gave him great celebrity. Excavated by Popplewell Pullan in 1869, it has been studied by MM. Rayet and Thomas, who have published a restoration, from which is taken the engraving here given.

will die,—men whose place was never filled. All, even to the gods, take a second place. Alexander, extending his rights of conqueror to Olympos itself, has placed the temple of Ammon and its divinity below Olympia indeed, but above Delphi.

PSYCHOSTASIA.¹

And even Macedon,— what profit had she for having drained her own blood for the sake of shedding Asia's? Fifty years after the conqueror's death the Barbarians pillaged Aigai, her ancient capital, and scattered to the winds the dust of her kings.²

It has been proposed to use the words, "the Age of Alexander," as we speak of the Age of Perikles. The conqueror who in his campaigns followed the *Iliad*, and kept that book always

¹ Engraving on an Etruscan mirror, from Gerhard, *Etruscische Spiegel*, ii. 235, 1. Hermes, seated at the left, is weighing in a balance the *ἔδαια* of Achilleus and Memnon. Apollo, at the right, seems to show him how to hold the balance. Cf. Vol. I. p. 351.

² We must hold, if not Alexander, at least his expedition, responsible for the turbulent and evil ambitions that it exerted. Every military and political leader dreamed of obtaining, like Antiochos, the East; like Pyrrhos, the West. Hence all those wars, ruins, and overthrows which, in their turn, facilitated the Roman conquest.

with him in a casket of gold,— he who was the pupil and remained the friend of Aristotle,— he who spread Hellenism over half of Asia, seems to deserve that his reign should be regarded as marking one of the great epochs of civilization. But nowhere is there any outburst of the Greek genius. The writers and artists of his time were only men who continued the work of their predecessors. The last orators have disappeared with Athenian liberty; and how much the art of Apelles and Lysippos owes to that of Zeuxis and of Skopas! The Ionic order of architecture has its most brilliant development at Priene, at Magnesia, and at Miletos, whose temple of the Didymaean Apollo is the largest known to Strabo.¹ But this order was not a creation of Alexander's time. As to the philosophic movement of the fourth century, it is known to have originated with Sokrates and Plato. Of the three most conspicuous schools, those of Epikouros, Arkesilas, and Zeno,—or pleasure, doubt, and duty,— the first two taught to the Greeks that convenient philosophy which in those days was best suited to them, and it was at Rome that the third formed noble characters.

¹ Its columns were sixty-five feet in height, its decastyle façade one hundred and sixty-four, and its *naos* about three hundred and twenty.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER TO THAT OF EUMENES AND OLYMPIAS; OR, THE DOWNFALL OF THE ROYAL CAUSE (323-316 B. C.).¹

I.—DIVISION OF THE WESTERN SATRAPIES AMONG THE GENERALS.

ALEXANDER had conquered much, but he had founded nothing, for he had not had the time to do this. Asia, seized in his rapid course, as an immense booty, lay there awaiting from his powerful hand a new form, a new organization, a new civilization; but that hand was now cold in death. Like some great painter making a hasty sketch of the picture which later he will finish in all its details, Alexander had done no more than here and there to manifest his genius in a few strong lines, whose suggestions the ablest of his successors might follow; but the work was everywhere incomplete.

Who could expect that this god should perish, and so young, in the strength of his age and mental vigor? His death struck the world with stupor. During the night which followed, the whole army remained under arms, as if in the presence of enemies. The inhabitants of Babylon closed their doors, remained without lights, motionless, anxious, listening to every noise, and in terror lest the army, restrained only by the living master, might at once break out into acts of violence and pillage.

When day appeared, the king's guards, who were only seven in number since the death of Hephaestion, met and called together the other officers; but the soldiers, who proposed to share in the

¹ For this chapter and the following, the authorities are Arrian (*The Successors of Alexander*), Diodoros, Justin, Plutarch (*Lives of Eumenes, Demetrios, and Pyrrhos*), and also Quintus Curtius, who must be read, as has been already remarked, with much discretion; also a few passages of Appian and Athenæus.

deliberations, crowded about the council-hall. At sight of the vacant throne, on which lay the conqueror's diadem, his royal mantle, and his armor, outcries of grief broke forth, which were only restrained on the entrance of Perdikkas. This general brought with him Alexander's signet-ring, which the king had given him on his death-bed; and he now laid it upon the throne, as if placing it also at the assembly's disposal.

The question of the succession was at once taken up. There was at the moment no undisputed heir to the throne, for Alexander Aigos, the son of Roxana, the king's only legitimate child, was not born till a few months after his father's death. While awaiting the birth of this infant, Perdikkas proposed that a temporary leader should be chosen, whom all should obey in the interest of all. Perdikkas cherished the hope that his modest words would at once recommend him as the candidate for the regency.¹



GREEK RING.²

His expectations, however, were deceived. Nearchos declared it his opinion that there was no need of waiting for any other heir, since Herakles, the son of Alexander and Barsine,³ had a right to the throne. But the soldiers tumultuously rejected this proposal. Ptolemy then expressed his views; namely, that the Macedonians could not yield obedience to a son of either Roxana or Barsine, and that the throne must be left vacant, the supreme authority being given to the generals who had composed the royal council. This proposal was favorably received by the officers, but the army manifested a distinct preference for the posterity of Alexander. It was finally determined to await the birth of Roxana's child, who, if a son, would be the legitimate heir, and in the mean time to commit the government to Perdikkas and Leonnatos for Asia, and to Antipatros and Krateros for Europe.

¹ Perdikkas was a descendant of the kings of Orestis, and prided himself much on his royal lineage.

² Ring of massive gold, with intaglio in cornelian, discovered in the neighborhood of Kertsch (from the *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, pl. xv. no. 11). Three warriors are represented drawing lots; behind them, on a column, is a sphinx.

³ This Barsine was not the daughter of Darius whom Alexander had married (see above, p. 203), but the widow of Memnon of Rhodes, whom he had taken prisoner at Damascus and made his concubine. Nearchos was the son-in-law of this Barsine, having married one of the three daughters of Memnon.

During this scene an enemy of Perdikkas, Meleagros, had addressed the infantry, who, jealous of the cavalry, which was the aristocratic portion of the army, were now proposing to bring forward another claimant. His candidate was Arrhidaios, son of Philip and the Thessalian dancing-woman Philinna; he at least had no Barbarian blood in his veins, and this made him acceptable, notwithstanding the obscurity in which he had been kept by Alexander, as being a person below the average of intelligence. Meleagros now brought him to the troops, and he was conducted by them to the hall where the generals were deliberating. They refused to sanction this choice; but the soldiers were threatening, and Arrhidaios sat down upon the throne. Six hundred picked men, posted



DRACHMA.¹



TETRADRACHM.²

TETRADRACHM.³

by Perdikkas, guarded the doors of the room where lay the body of Alexander. The crowd attempted to force an entrance, and a struggle followed; weapons were drawn, and only the intervention of the other chiefs saved the life of Perdikkas. Upon this the cavalry, in displeasure, withdrew from Babylon; Perdikkas also quitted the city; and for several days there was danger of a sanguinary collision. The peril of the situation finally brought about a reconciliation. Perdikkas and the cavalry returned; and it was agreed that Arrhidaios should share the throne with Roxana's child, if a son; that Antipatros should command the European armies;

¹ Coin of Philip Arrhidaios. Beardless head of Herakles (Alexander), right profile, wearing the lion's skin. Reverse: Φ IAHPHIOY; Zeus Aetophoros, seated to the left; in the field a monogram and a lighted torch, mint-mark of Amphipolis.

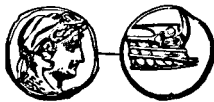
² Idealized head of Alexander, right profile, wearing an elephant's skin. Reverse: AAEXANAPOY. Zeus Aetophoros seated to the left; in the field, a Pegasus and a monogram, mint-marks. (Coin struck in Egypt shortly after the death of Alexander.)

³ Coin of Philip Arrhidaios. Beardless head of Herakles, right profile, with the lion's skin (type of Alexander). Reverse: Φ IAHPHIOY; Zeus Aetophoros, seated to the left.

that Krateros should direct affairs under the authority of Arrhidaios and that Perdikkas should be chief of the Companion cavalry, — a position equivalent to that of grand vizier in the Persian court, — Meleagros being second in command to him.

Not long after, the whole army being assembled on pretext of a general review and lustration, Arrhidaios, at the instigation of Perdikkas, demanded the surrender and punishment of the leaders in the late insubordination; the infantry, taken by surprise, made no resistance, and three hundred were singled out as mutineers and trodden to death by elephants. Meleagros, warned by this of his own danger, took shelter in a temple, but was pursued and slain.

Such were the scenes of disorder which followed Alexander's death. Thus began the "bloody funeral rites" of which he had himself made mention. There were the claims of the generals, the feelings of the soldiers, especially the immense void left by Alexander's death, and the uncertainty into which the lack of an heir of any positive value threw all things. An expected infant, who was to be the young Alexander, an illegitimate child of very tender age, and an imbecile brother, — such were the male representatives of this unfortunate family. The women were Olympias, the



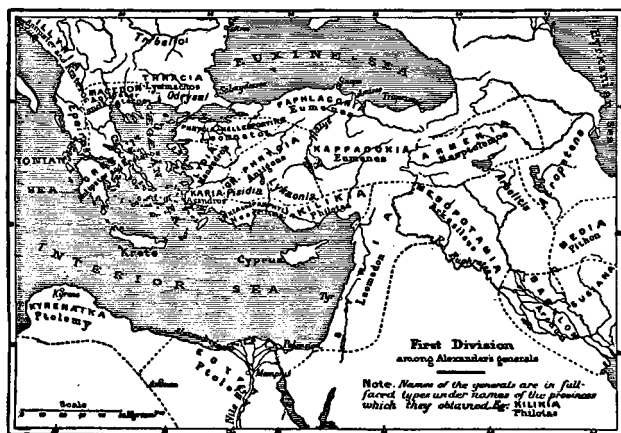
GOLD STATER.¹

conqueror's mother; Kleopatra, his sister; Kynane and Thessalonike, his half-sisters by different mothers; Eurydike, the daughter of his sister Kynane; lastly, his concubine, Barsine, the mother of Herakles, and his two wives, Roxana and Stateira. Of all these persons, most of whom were very insignificant, Olympias alone possessed energy of character, and she showed it only in intrigue and crime.

Much more important are the military leaders, whose talents had been developed and whose ambition had been increased by thirteen years of war. In the first rank was Perdikkas, who had succeeded in establishing his authority as regent by one bold stroke; behind him the generals, of whom the ablest will later hew out for

¹ Idealized head of Alexander, right profile, wearing the elephant's skin. Reverse: vessel's prow. Gold stater, probably coined after Alexander's death, in a mint of Cyprus or of the Syrian coast.

themselves kingdoms from this immense empire, but who for the moment content themselves with the provinces assigned them, in which, according to the Asiatic custom, they will exercise both civil and military authority. Only the territory in Europe and Western Asia will be thus distributed; in Upper Asia, less desired because so remote, nearly all the satrapies established by Alexander will remain as they were.



MAP FOR THE FIRST DIVISION AMONG ALEXANDER'S GENERALS.

Thirty-four generals shared in this division. Of these the most important were Ptolemy, son of Lagos, who received Egypt and Kyrenaïka; Laomedon of Mytilene, Syria; Philotas, Kilikia; Pithon, Media; Eumenes, Paphlagonia, Kappadokia, and the Pontic coast as far as Trapezous, which Alexander, pressed for time, had not yet been able to visit and subjugate; Nearchos, Pamphylia and Lykia, which he perhaps left under the orders of Antigonos, in order to retain the command of the fleet; Antigonos, Greater Phrygia, where he maintained his sway for ten years; Asandras, Karia; Menandros, Lydia; Leonnatos, Hellespontic Phrygia, through which lay the great route from Europe into Asia; Lysimachos, Thrace and the nations on the shores of the Euxine; Antipatros and Krateros; Macedon and

Greece, with the Adriatic provinces. Seleukos, who was soon to play an important part, had now the command of the Companion cavalry; and Perdikkas, to distinguish himself from the crowd of generals, accepted no province, but reserved to himself the command of the Asiatic armies, the guardianship of the kings, and the unlimited powers conferred upon him by the possession of the royal signet.

Upon this first agreement Roxana placed a mark of blood, by causing the death of Stateira, Alexander's second wife, and of her sister Drypetis, the widow of Hephaestion; and every new treaty was sealed in like manner.

The chaos being thus cleared up according to the wishes of those concerned, and a sort of organization and plan of government established, the question now arose, what should next be done? Would it be possible to carry out the plans which Alexander had left behind him in writing? They were gigantic. A thousand vessels were to be built; it was then intended to attack the Carthaginians and the other States of Libya, to carry the Macedonian arms as far as the Atlantic Ocean, and to lay out a highway along the African coast. It was also designed to effect numerous migrations from Europe into Asia, and reciprocally, in order to mingle the two populations. Finally, six magnificent temples were to be built in different places; and, for a tomb to Philip, a pyramid, equal in height to the largest of the Egyptian pyramids. These projects, on being made known to the soldiers, were unanimously rejected. Enough fatigue had been endured, it was now time to rest; the generals themselves were eager to take possession of their provinces, which they already began to regard as independent kingdoms.

For the next fifty years Greece was to be but a point in the immensity of this ephemeral empire. When our attention is again recalled to it we shall find a trace of life remaining, after the destruction of the colossus which has crushed it. The recital of the struggles which will take place from the very first among the successors of Alexander is a story almost entirely foreign to Greece,—it is one of unbridled ambitions and conspicuous crimes. Men fight for gold, for power, or for the shreds of royalty; not one noble, generous idea shows itself; not one lasting dynasty is founded, except in Egypt; not one city carries on the work of Greece, except

it be Alexandria and Pergamon,—one a fruitful centre for letters and philosophy, the other for art and science; and yet how far behind Athens both these cities are! That which might have been a great work, had the conqueror lived,—namely, the Hellenizing of Asia, and the suppression of all its barbaric elements,—now was only a wide field for pillage and devastation. The Greek language, it is true, will take possession of this country as far as the Euphrates, but less by way of marking the frontiers of civilization than the limits of the Western influence. The true heirs of Alexander will be the Roman Cæsars.

We must, however, relate this story, although it belongs more truly to the East than to Hellas; but it shall at least be told as rapidly as possible.

II.—REVOLTS AGAINST THE MACEDONIAN SUPREMACY; DEATH OF DEMOSTHENES (NOV. 10, 322 B. C.).

It was inevitable that after the conqueror's death some protests against the Macedonian supremacy should arise; of these there were five, and one alone—that of Greece—concerns us here.

In Upper Asia twenty-three thousand Greek mercenaries, stationed in the colonies which Alexander had founded, took up arms and prepared to return to their native land. Pithon, governor of Media, marched against them, and, in obedience to the orders of Perdikkas, exterminated them.

In Kappadokia, King Ariarathes refused to deliver up his kingdom to Eumenes; he was conquered, and crucified with many of his kindred.

The Pisidians having put to death their Macedonian governor, Perdikkas decided that their principal cities, Laranda and Isaura, should be destroyed, and the inhabitants massacred. Isaura sus-



COIN OF ARIARATHES.¹

¹ The Baal of Gaziours (Gazor) seated, his left hand resting on a sceptre, and holding in the right an eagle, an ear of wheat, and a bunch of grapes; behind, the Aramaic legend *בַּעַל גַּזוֹר* (*Baal-Gazor*); in the field, a Greek monogram. Reverse: a winged griffin devouring a stag; underneath, the legend: *ΑΡΙΑΡΑΤΗΣ* (*Ariarathes*). (Silver.)

tained three assaults, and then the inhabitants set fire to it and perished in the flames.

The satrap of Armenia, Neoptolemos, assumed a position of independence, and was attacked and subdued by Eumenes.

But the most serious revolt was that which broke out in Greece, and has been known as the Lamian war.

All the Greek States except Sparta had accepted the Macedonian supremacy. Athens, conquered, but compensated for her defeat by the flatteries of her conqueror, had lent him her assistance. At the same time, while bending her head to this yoke, she did not conceal from herself the truth that the Macedonian conquests would change her dependence into servitude. The patriot party had lost its military chiefs,—Ephialtes, who fell at the siege of Halikarnassos, in arms against Alexander, and Charidemus, whom Darius had put to death for offering what the Persian king deemed insulting advice.



BRONZE COIN.¹

There remained at Athens two men who, without being able to save the city, at least did honor to her last days. Demosthenes comprehended that Asia would regain by her influence what she had lost by arms, that the conquerors would become Orientalized, and that Hellas would soon have for master, not a Greek king, but an Eastern despot. During the reign of Alexander the great orator's policy had received solemn consecration by the issue of the famous suit concerning the Crown, in which had been heard a last and splendid echo of that eloquence which had been the glory of the Athenian platform a century earlier, when Perikles was the orator (330 B. C.).

“What should the commonwealth have done, when she saw Philip establishing an empire and dominion over Greece? What should I have advised,—I, who knew that from the earliest day, until I myself entered upon public life, our country had ever striven for precedency and honor and renown, and expended more blood and treasure for the sake of glory and the general weal than the rest of the Greeks had expended on their several interests?—I, who saw that Philip himself, with whom we were contending, had, in the

¹ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΙΚΑΥΡΩΝ; view of the fortifications of the city of Isaura. Under the gate, a seated divinity, holding wheat-ears and a cornucopia. (Reverse of a bronze coin with the effigy of Septimius Severus. This coin, not before published, is a recent acquisition of the *Cabinet de France*.)

strife for power and empire, lost an eye and had a collar-bone fractured, and his hand and leg mutilated, and was ready and willing to sacrifice any part of his body that fortune chose to take, provided that he could live with the remainder in honor and glory? Hardly will any one venture to say that it became a man bred at Pella, an obscure and unimportant place, to possess such inborn grandeur of mind as to aspire to the mastery of Greece, and form this project in his mind, while you—who were Athenians, day after day in speeches and in dramas reminded of the valor of your ancestors—should have been so naturally base as of your own free will and accord to surrender to Philip the liberty of Greece! No man will say this. The only course, then, that remained was a fitting resistance to all his attacks upon you. Such course you took from the beginning, properly and becomingly; and I assisted by motions during the whole period of my political life.”

It required courage to speak like this when Darius was a fugitive or dead, and Alexander was master of Asia.

After this debate, in which the Athenian people had applauded the eloquent patriotism of Demosthenes, notwithstanding battles had decided otherwise, Aischines, condemned to a fine of a thousand drachmas because he had not succeeded in his accusation, went into exile (330 B. C.); and the following year Demosthenes obtained at the Dionysiac festival the wreath of gold asked for him after the battle of Chaironeia.

Not long after this another suit had agitated the city. The accuser was Lykourgos, whose integrity and good administration have already been mentioned.¹ Leokrates, one of those unworthy Athenians who had fled from Athens with their possessions after the battle of Chaironeia because they thought, with the Latin poet Pacuvius, that a man's country is where he lives most at ease, had the effrontery to return after seven years. Lykourgos instituted against him a capital accusation, and obtained his condemnation.

¹ See p. 52; and also Vol. III. p. 106. It was during the administration of Lykourgos that the choregos Lysikrates erected the building which bears his name, on occasion of a victory gained by him at the Dionysiac festival of the year 335-334 B. C. The victors as a rule set up, in the Athenian Street of the Tripods, the bronze tripod which they had received as a prize. (See p. 225, the restoration of the summit of the monument of Lysikrates.) This little building was long known at Athens as the “Lantern of Demosthenes,” and it is to this day called the “Lantern of Diogenes.” No one has ever been able to conjecture what gave rise to the absurd supposition that the great orator was accustomed to withdraw into this building to prepare his orations.

This same man, so formidable to the unworthy, prepared for a benefactor of Athens this noble decree:

“Inasmuch as Eudemos of Plataia has promised to the people that he will furnish two thousand drachmas if it should be needed for the expenses of the war, and has furthermore put at their service a thousand days’ work of teams for the construction of the Stadion, the people, in order to honor Eudemos, decree to him a wreath, permission to hold property in Attika, to pay taxes in Athens, and to fight in the Athenian armies.”¹



DEMOSTHENES.²

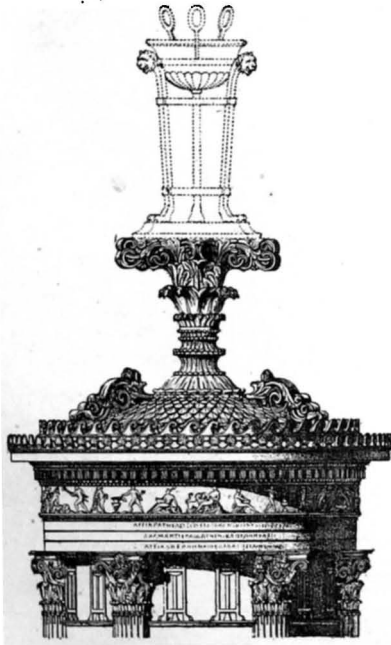
We cannot but wonder that, with sentiments like these, the city did not, like Sparta, take up arms about the time of the battle of Arbela. But Demades and Phokion, at that time her favorite counsellors, found no difficulty in proving that in presence of a Macedon now grown so strong, good judgment imposed prudence. She therefore remained non-committal, awaiting the issue of the bold, and perhaps rash, expedition of Alexander. When the conqueror sought to impose on the Greeks an acknowledgment of his title as son of Ammon, and the Asiatic etiquette of prostration in his presence, *προσκύνησις*, they did not even object, as did the Macedonians.

What mattered it to them, after all? “Alexander wishes to be a god,” said the Spartans; “let him be one.” At Athens there was

¹ This decree was found near the Parthenon in 1859, and is published in the *Corp. inscr. Attic.*, vol. ii. No. 176. The wreath was of laurel, *βαλλοῦ στέφανος*, of a value of one thousand drachmas.

² Marble bust in the British Museum (from a photograph. Cf. *Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*, vol. xi. pl. 20). The expression of the eyes and mouth is very different from that of the busts and statues represented in the earlier part of this volume; we therefore see that the bust of the British Museum is a replica of a different original.

much more vigorous language. "What kind of a god do they propose to give us?" Lykourgos said; "we should need to be purified after entering his temple;" and Demosthenes called upon



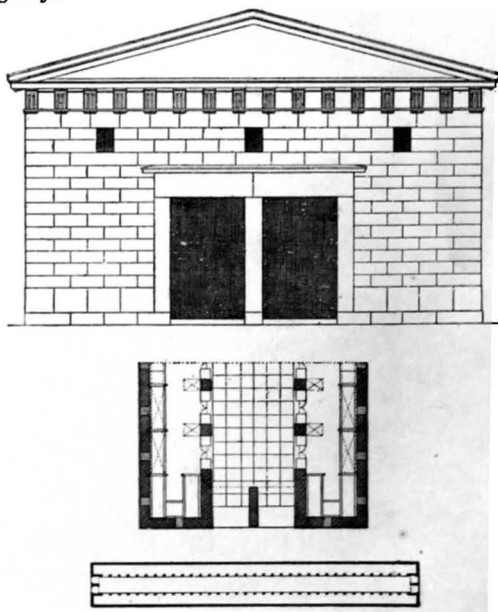
SUMMIT OF THE MONUMENT OF LYSIKRATES.¹

the people to recognize none besides their ancestral gods.² But Demades advised the Athenians not to lose this world on account of a dispute as to the other. The question remained undecided. Meanwhile preparation was made silently for a new struggle:

¹ From the restoration by E. Laviot, formerly "grand prix de Rome." Cf. *Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie des beaux-arts*, at the word *Couronnement*.

² Dinarchos, 94. Later, when the question as to the exiles came up, Demosthenes advised yielding in regard to the matter of divine honors, which, after all, was not of serious importance, but a resistance to the decree concerning the exiles, which would have thrown the State into confusion (Hyperides, *Against Demosthenes*, 25).

about 330 B. C. Athens had collected at Peiræus—where the architect Pilon was finishing a new arsenal—a considerable number of galleys.¹



RESTORED ELEVATION AND PLAN OF THE ARSENAL OF PHILON AT PEIRÆUS.²

Another question, that of the exiles, was more exciting to the Greeks. In these petty States, torn as they were by factions, there was always one part of the population proscribed by the other. There were at this time more than twenty thousand exiles. Alexander had perceived that to restore their rights and

¹ This we learn from inscriptions found at Peiræus. The arsenal was built from 347-329 B. C., being completed under the administration of Lykourgos.

² From A. Choisy, *L'Arsenal du Pirée, d'après le devis original des travaux. Études sur l'architecture grecque*, vol. i. Paris, 1883. The estimate of the work, engraved on a marble tablet, was found at Peiræus in 1882 (*Corp. inscr. Attic.*, ii. 1054). We give, from M. Choisy: 1, the plan of the building; 2, the detail of the doors and the front rooms; 3, the restoration of the façade.



CHORAGIC MONUMENT OF LYSIKRATES AT ATHENS.

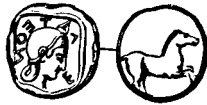
Present state; from a photograph.

property to these persons would be to secure for himself adherents in every city, and he had sent Nikanor of Stagairos, the Olympic Games of 324 B. C. to read there a letter decreeing their recall. This proposal was very ill received, as being a violation of the agreement made at Corinth, whereby their autonomy was secured to the individual States; and it was felt that Alexander, in affecting to be generous, was doing so at the expense of others. Everywhere banishments had been accompanied by confiscation of property. But this property had not remained in the hands of the State; it had been distributed or sold to other citizens, who in their turn had in many cases alienated it, given it as a dowry, or used it in payment of debts. The exiles would, on their return, reclaim their own, and then, what disturbances in the cities! The Aiolians, and especially the Athenians, menaced with the return of a large number of the proscribed, were much alarmed. The former had expelled the powerful family of the Oiniades and confiscated their possessions; the latter had divided among their colonists the territory of Samos, and were not disposed to give it up. They dared not respond by taking up arms against Alexander, but they sent deputies to induce him to reconsider his decision. The affair was not readily settled; then came the adventure of Harpalos, that satrap of Babylon who had fled to Greece with five thousand talents, which he had stolen from Alexander. At Cape Tainaron he left his mercenaries—six thousand in number—and also his treasure, taking with him to Athens only a small portion of it (stated variously at three hundred and fifty, and at seven hundred and twenty talents), with which to gain an asylum by buying men's consciences. Demosthenes was always the soul of the party opposed to Macedon, and fomented sentiments of independence. His political enemies accused him of having accepted the satrap's money, and he was condemned to a fine of fifty talents. Not being able to pay it, he went into voluntary exile. It is improbable that he received money from Harpalos, for he objected to the reception of the fugitive at Athens, and proposed, after he had arrived, to imprison him and sequester his possessions in the interest of Alexander. Hyperides in his oration against Demosthenes, of which fragments were discovered a few years ago, reproaches

him with his hostility to the designs of Harpalos. A fact which seems conclusive is that after the death of this schemer one of his intimates, having fallen into the hands of the Macedonians, and being compelled to name the persons whom Harpalos had corrupted, made no mention of Demosthenes. The orator himself in his oration *On the Peace* proudly speaks of his own integrity. "No one can show that any lucre is attached to my politics or my speeches."¹

Such was the situation at the time of Alexander's death. Antipatros prepared to enforce the decree concerning the exiles.

But confidence was now returning to Athens; the national party again resumed the ascendancy; Demades was fined ten talents for having proposed to render divine honors to Alexander; the king's friends were banished, and deputies sent throughout Greece to form a league against the Macedonians and the exiles. Demosthenes, then at Megara, united with them, kindled men's ardor, and gained by that service a recall to Athens. The only States remaining neutral were Arkadia, Achaia (notwithstanding the fact that Alexander had abolished the general assembly of that country), and Sparta, — sometimes heroic to but little purpose, as in 330 B. C.; more often selfish. Moreover, there were in Macedon fifty Lacedæmonian hostages, all belonging to noble families, who in case war should be declared would be in peril of their lives. The Boiotians supported the side of Macedon, fearing to be despoiled of the Theban territory which Alexander had given them. The Thessalians manifested the same

BRONZE COIN.²SILVER COIN.³

¹ In the affair of Harpalos, a strict examination of many houses was ordered; one of these being inhabited by a young couple lately married, was not thus inspected, *μὴν τὴν τοῦ γεγαμηκότος νεωστὶ παρήλθον* (Plutarch, *Political Precepts*, 17, 9). This was a refinement of feeling not often shown in antiquity. Harpalos was sent away from Athens, and first going to Cape Tainaron after his mercenaries, he crossed over with them into Krete, where he was assassinated by one of his officers.

² Coin of Megara, with the effigy of Caracalla. Reverse: Artemis Agrotera, wearing a long chiton, holding her bow in the left hand, and with the right drawing an arrow from her quiver. Legend: ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ. (Imhoof-Blumer and Percy Gardner, *Numism. Commentary of Pausanias*, fasc. i. p. 4.)

³ Coin of Elateia (Thessaly). ΕΛΑΤΕΩΝ. Head of nymph, right profile; incused square. Reverse: horse galloping to the right.

preference, but as soon as the war began, went over to the Greeks. All the rest of Greece and many Thracians and Illyrians joined the confederation. The supreme command was given to the Athenian Leosthenes, who had served under Alexander and had brought home from Asia eight thousand mercenaries, the tried veterans of long campaigns. Athens displayed an energy like that of her best days. She enrolled all the citizens under forty years of age who were able to bear arms, and sent into the field five thousand hoplites, five hundred horse, and two thousand mercenaries, supported by a fleet of forty triremes and two hundred vessels with four banks of oars. A decree of the people was sent throughout Greece: "The Athenians are resolved to fight once more for Greek liberty; they will aid any city which may wish to drive out its Macedonian garrison." The rich, with Phokion at their head, had in vain opposed this heroic temerity.

Many States entered into the league, and the opening campaign was brilliant. Leosthenes defeated the Boiotians, then advanced rapidly to Thermopylai, and into Thessaly to meet the Macedonians. The latter were but thirteen thousand foot and six hundred horse; this was all the troops that Antipatros had been able to collect in this exhausted kingdom. He had

promptly summoned to his aid Leonnatos from Phrygia and Krateros from Kilikia; but who could tell if the state of affairs in Asia

BRONZE.¹

¹ Bronze of the *Cabinet de France*, with incrustations of silver on the eyes, the belt, breast, and edges of the peplos. (*Catalogue*, No. 3,066. Cf. *Gazette archéolog.*, vol. viii. 1883, p. 260, and pl. xxxi. Article by M. Chabouillet.) The top of the head is open, which seems to justify the name given to the statue (the Athenian *kanephoros*). But by traces of arms now missing, it would appear that the name *karpatid* better suits this calm and serious girl.

would permit these generals to arrive in time? Already Rhodes had recaptured her liberty, driving out her Macedonian garrison; other cities were likely to imitate her, and there were many divisions among the heirs of the conqueror. The attempt of the Athenians was therefore not so mad a scheme as the peace party declared. The skill of Leosthenes, the superiority of his troops, thirty thousand in number, above all, the defection of Menon of Pharsalos, commander of the Thessalian cavalry, who went over to the



1. COINS OF LAMIA.¹ 2.

Greeks, secured to them the victory of Lamia. Antipatros took refuge within the walls of the city near which the battle was fought, and saw himself so closely besieged there

that he sent to ask for peace. The Athenians, in the intoxication of success, had the imprudence to require him to surrender at discretion. It is just to add that this peace, doubtless disavowed by Leonatos and Krateros, would have been but a truce, which would have destroyed the ardor of the league and disarmed the Athenians.

The siege continued, or rather the blockade, for the besiegers had no machines with which to batter down the walls. Unfortunately, Leosthenes in repulsing a sortie was killed. Hyperides pronounced the funeral eulogy of this general and of the citizens who fell with him; it is a noble effort of eloquence, although but a faint copy of the oration of Perikles.²

“Never in any past days have men fought for a cause more noble, against adversaries more powerful, or with smaller resources of their own; they felt that valor created strength, and that the great army is the one which has, not the largest number of soldiers, but the greatest courage. What would have happened had they not succeeded? The world would have belonged to a master; his caprice would have been law, and, Macedonian insolence being supreme over justice, no one—women, maidens, boys—would have escaped outrages! . . . The more terrible, then, were the woes we should have endured, the greater should be the honors we pay to those who have died for us,—to him especially, Leosthenes, who

¹ 1. Head of Dionysos, crowned with ivy, left profile. Reverse: AAMIEQN; *kantaros*; in the field, at the right, an oinochoë. (Silver.) 2. Head of the nymph Lamia, right profile. Reverse: AAMIEQN; Herakles, nude, kneeling to the right and shooting at the birds of Stymphalos; behind him his quiver. (Bronze.)

² See Vol. III. p. 230.

induced his fellow-citizens to undergo such perils. These men, who have shown themselves the worthy companions of such a general, are they not happy to have sacrificed a mortal body for a glory which shall be endless, and by their courage to have secured liberty to all the Greeks? Free men will no longer have to fear being accused, but only being convicted; and each man's security will no longer be at the mercy of those who flatter the master and calumniate their fellow-citizens, it will be placed under the protection of the laws. For the sake of advantages like these, the men of whom we speak have enfranchised forever from fears in respect to the future both their native State and Greece itself; they have given their lives that we might live with honor."

Such was the enthusiasm of the time that a Greek girl, betrothed to Leosthenes, died by her own hand, saying: "A maiden yet, and still a widow, I will never belong to any other."

It was a beautiful day, but it had no morrow; the oration of Hyperides was the last free word that Athens was ever to hear.



Meanwhile Demosthenes was again in Athens. He had not been able during his exile to go very far away. He wandered on the shore of Troizen, or over the hills of Aigina, his eyes always turned towards Attika; or, nearer still, sought shelter at Megara. His return was a triumph.

"A trireme was sent to bring him from Aigina. When he landed at Peiraius the magistrates and priests, followed by all the city, went out to meet him, and received him with the liveliest demonstrations of rejoicing. . . . However, the sentence condemning him to pay a fine still remained, and could not legally be annulled by the people. A means of evading the law was devised. It was the custom, in the sacrifice which was made annually to Zeus Soter, to give a certain sum to the person whose duty it was to prepare and adorn the altar of the god. This duty for the year was given to Demosthenes, and there was paid him the fifty talents to which his fine amounted." (Plutarch.)

Demosthenes rejoiced in the happiness of seeing Athens once more; but this happiness was to cost him his life. With Leosthenes the Greeks had lost a good general; moreover, the return

¹ Coin of Krannon. Bust of a Thessalian, wearing the *kauasia*, right profile. Reverse: *KPANNO*; Thessalian horseman, galloping to the right.

home of the Aitolian contingent, recalled for the moment, had reduced their army to twenty-two thousand men. The Macedonians, whom the war, if it had been begun a few months later, would have found armed against one another, now saw arriving from Asia, at the urgent entreaty of him who had been defeated at Lamia, Leonnatos at the head of twenty thousand foot and twenty-five hundred horse. To prevent the junction of this army with that



COAST OF TROIZENIA AND THE ISLAND OF KALAURA.¹

of Antipatros, Antiphilos, the successor of Leosthenes, raised the siege of Lamia and hastened to meet Leonnatos, who lost his life in a cavalry engagement. But Antipatros united his forces with the defeated troops, and when Krateros also arrived, the Macedonian army amounted to nearly fifty thousand men. The Greeks had but half as many; they were defeated at Krannon (322 B. C.). Those writers who have always good reasons to place at the service of success have condemned this last effort of Greece; but we applaud it. It was to make a noble end.

The defeat of Krannon was decisive, not on account of the number slain, which on the side of the vanquished was not large,

¹ From Stackelberg, *La Grèce*. The small town on the mainland is Poros.

but because it completed their discouragement. Moreover, fortune was equally unpropitious to them upon the sea; Kleitos, commander of the royal fleet, had just destroyed the maritime force of Athens. Negotiations followed; and Antipatros, having craftily made known that he would treat only individually with the members of the league, the cities vied with each other in making their submission, and the confederation perished.



BAS-RELIEF FROM ERANNON.¹

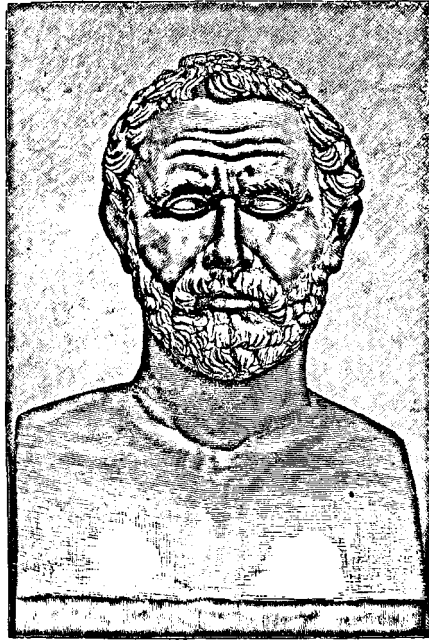
At Athens the war-party soon saw clearly that there was nothing to do but negotiate. Demosthenes and some others went away, and the Macedonian party was allowed to resume its supremacy and serve as mediator. This party had at the time two men of importance among its leaders, Demades and Phokion; the latter, who has been called the Cato of Athens, was upright and wise, but narrow in his wisdom, without illusions and without enthusiasm. In the midst of the outburst of joy not long before called forth by the prosperity of the Greek arms, not one ray of the general delight was seen to illuminate his cold and anxious face; and only iron-

¹ Now in the British Museum; from Millingen, *Ancient Unedited Monuments*, vol. ii. pl. 16. In the centre a goddess, perhaps Artemis, standing; she has a torch in the left hand, and lays her right on a horse's head. Behind her is a dog.

ical and disheartening words escaped his lips. "You are fortunate," he was accustomed to say scornfully to the Athenians, "in having a leader who knows you?" He was no seeker after popularity, which indeed always gives strength, but has ruined so many ambitious men. "What folly have I uttered?" he asked, when the people applauded him. Nor did he flatter the troops who were given him to command. "Too many captains," he said, "and not soldiers enough." Nevertheless Phokion was a good citizen. He was elected general forty-five times, without solicitation on his part; and he served his country loyally, at the same time incessantly complaining of her. On occasion even he defeated his friends the Macedonians, as lately, at Marathon, where he had roughly driven back to their vessels a band which were ravaging the plain. Recourse was had to him to propitiate Antipatros, with whom he was on friendly terms. He did not refuse his mediation, saying, however, which was not generous, that if the Athenians had followed his advice they would not now be compelled to solicit his services. During the lifetime of Alexander he had refused a hundred talents offered him by the king, and had asked instead the lives of four Greeks who had been taken prisoners at Sardis.

Demades was a man of a very different order. Here was talent in corruption. Rich with ill-gotten gains, he accepted from every hand, and avowed it shamelessly; but his eloquence almost equalled that of Demosthenes, and in the judgment of some he surpassed him in rapidity and animation. He was heard proposing illegal measures one after another, laughing at the rigor of the laws with the impudent audacity of a man who knows his ascendancy over the people and uses it. He had gone so far, however, that he had finally incurred a fine,—the trivial one of ten talents, which was merely nominal, if we take into account his wealth. It is true that the deprivation of civil rights, *atimia*, was added to this; but, careless of the disgrace, he remained in Athens, no longer taking part in public affairs, but living in shameless luxury, of which Macedonian gold defrayed the expense. In the present danger his civil rights were restored, and the first use he made of his rehabilitation was to propose a decree of death against Demosthenes in an assembly where there were present on that day only Macedonian sympathizers. He then went with Phokion to seek Antipatros.

The conqueror treated the Athenians as, not long before, they had treated him. He demanded as the basis of negotiation entire submission on their part, and imposed three principal conditions. The Athenians must give up their orators, including Hyperides and



DEMOSTHENES.¹

Demosthenes, reconstruct their political organization on a plan marked out by the conqueror, and receive a Macedonian garrison into Mounychia. Moreover, they were to pay the expenses of the war.

These conditions were accepted. They were a sentence of death, not to Demosthenes only, but also to Athens. By receiving a Macedonian garrison, the Athenians lost that liberty of action which

¹ Marble bust in the Glyptothek of Munich; from a photograph (H. Brunn, *Beschreibung*, No. 149).

they had often abused, it is true, but which, even with a degenerate people, is the sole hope left to them of a better future, the only chance for reforms which may at some time restore the State. They habituated themselves to bow the head and to bend the knee to masters; more unfortunate than in the time of the Thirty Tyrants, they were obliged to obey, not now their fellow-citizens,



ATHENE.¹

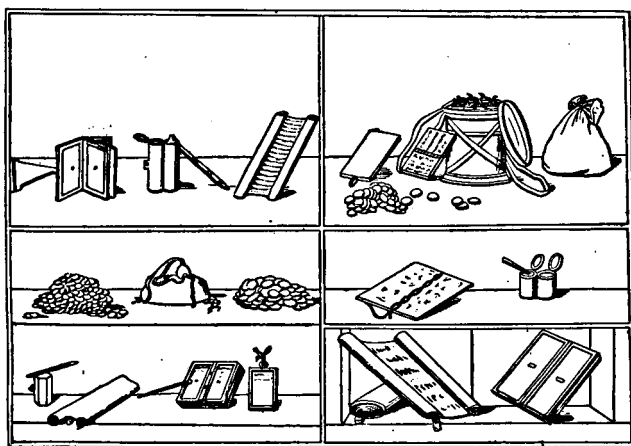
but foreigners. It was especially the political changes made which altered forever the character of the Athenians, by depriving of political rights much the larger part of the community. The line was drawn at those who possessed less than two thousand drachmas; and there proved to be but nine thousand citizens whose fortunes equalled or exceeded that amount. This two thousand drachmas probably meant landed property, so that artisans and traders, living by their handicraft or their traffic, remained outside of the nine thousand, without forming at all a starving crowd. To

the citizens thus degraded from their rights, Antipatros offered lands in Thrace, Illyria, on the Italian coast, and even in Africa; many consented to accept,—that is to say, they were banished from Attika and removed to a foreign country. “The nine thousand remained masters of the city and of its territory, and adopted a mode of government in conformity with the laws of Solon.”² This conformity to the laws of Solon was a mere pretence. The democracy was crushed at one blow; Antipatros well knew what he was doing in depop-

¹ Fragment of a vase-painting, from Lenormant and De Witte, *Élite des Monuments céramographiques*, vol. i. pl. 77. The goddess, standing, holds in the left hand a triptych, and carries, with the right hand, the stylus to her lips.

² The Athenian colonists established at Samos were at this time driven out, and the last of its foreign possessions was taken away from the State. Diodoros (xviii. 18) represents the number of emigrants at twenty-two thousand. This statement is probably an exaggeration, for the census of Demetrios Phalerens gave twenty-one thousand citizens in all (Athenæus, vi. 103), and under Demetrios Poliorketes there were said to be thirty thousand (Diod., xx. 46); variations of population like this in the space of so few years are, however, incredible.

ulating a city which had had so many heroic follies, in giving up all things to a rich minority, which, through hatred to national institutions, had so often favored a foreign rule. Athens fell from the rank of a sovereign State to the condition of a humble community ruling itself by its own laws.



INKSTANDS, SCROLLS, ETC.¹

It remained to execute the clause by which the orators were to be delivered over into the hands of the victor; after having disarmed the people who had applauded their eloquent words, it was necessary now to stifle those dangerous voices. The proscribed had scattered in various directions. Antipatros sent, to take them, soldiers under the command of one Archias, who had been a tragic

¹ From the *Museo Borbonico*, vol. I. pl. 12. Different fragments from antique paintings are put together, representing writing materials of various kinds. In the upper left section are, in the centre, an inkstand (*μελοδοχείων*), double and with a lid, and at its side a reed (*κάλamus*) cut for a pen. At the left of the inkstand is a polyptych (*πολύπτυχων γραμματείων*). Upon these tablets coated with wax the person writing scratched with a stylus. The circular projection (*ἀμφαλόε*) in the centre of the tablets was to keep them from sticking together; at the right of the inkstand is a roll of papyrus. In the upper right section, in the centre, is a case of written rolls, similar to that seen at the feet of Demosthenes in the statue of the Vatican (see p. 69). In the lower section at the left is an inkstand and a pen, a roll from which hangs its title, a polyptych and stylus (*γλυφεῖων*). In the lower left section a diptych, etc.

actor. The orator Hyperides was found at Aigina, Aristonikos at Marathon, and Eukrates and Himereos, the brother of Demetrius of Phaleros, in the temple of Aiakos, whence he took them and sent them to Antipatros at Kleones, who ordered them to be put to death,—Hyperides with circumstances of special cruelty.

Archias, informed that Demosthenes had taken refuge in the temple of Poseidon at Kalauria, went thither; he endeavored to persuade the orator to quit his asylum and go to Antipatros, assuring him that no harm should be done him.

“But it happened,” says Plutarch, “that Demosthenes had seen a strange vision the night before. He thought that he was contending with Archias which could play the tragedian the best; that he succeeded in his acting, had the audience on his side, and would certainly have obtained the prize, had not Archias outdone him in the dresses and decorations of the theatre. Therefore, when Archias had addressed him with great appearance of humanity, he fixed his eyes upon him and said, without rising from his seat, ‘Neither your acting moved me formerly, nor do your promises move me now.’ Archias then began to threaten him; upon which he said: ‘Before, you acted a part; now you speak as from the Macedonian tripod. Only wait awhile till I have sent my last orders to my family.’ So saying, he retired into the inner part of the temple; and taking his tablet, as if he meant to write, he put the stylus in his mouth and bit it a considerable time, as he used to do when thoughtful about his composition; after which he covered his head and placed himself in a reclining posture. The soldiers, who stood at the door, supposing that he took these methods to put off the fatal stroke, laughed at him and called him a coward. Archias then approaching him, desired him to rise, and began to repeat the promises about making his peace with Antipatros. Demosthenes, who by this time felt the operation of the poison he had taken strong upon him, uncovered his face, and looking upon Archias, ‘Now,’ he said, ‘you may act the part of Kreon in the play as soon as you please, and cast my body out unburied. For my part, O gracious Poseidon, I quit thy temple still alive. But Antipatros and the Macedonians would not have scrupled to profane it with murder.’ By this time he could scarcely stand, and therefore desired them to support him. But in attempting to walk out, he fell by the altar and expired with a groan.

“Ariston says that he sucked the poison from a stylus as we have related it. One Poppos reports that when he fell by the altar, there was found on his tablets the beginning of a letter, Demosthenes to Antipatros, and nothing more. He adds that people being surprised that he died so quickly, the Thracians who stood at the door assured them that he took the poison in his hand out of a piece of cloth and put it to his mouth. To them it had

the appearance of gold. Upon inquiry made by Archias, a young maid who served Demosthenes said that he had long worn that piece of cloth by way of amulet. Eratosthenes tells us that he kept the poison in the hollow of a bracelet clasp which he wore upon his arm. Many others have written upon the subject; but it is not necessary to give all these different accounts. We shall only add that Democharis, a servant of Demosthenes, asserts that



MARBLE LION FOUND ON THE NORTHERN SLOPE OF HYMETTOS.¹

he did not think his death owing to poison, but to the favor of the gods and a happy providence, which snatched him from the cruelty of the Macedonians by a speedy and easy death. He died on the 16th of the month Pyanepsion, which is the most mournful day in the Ceremonies of the Thesmophoria." (Nov. 10, 322. B. C.)

Shortly after, the Athenian people, paying deserved honors to his memory, erected to him a bronze statue, and ordered by a decree that the eldest of his family should forever be supported in the Prytaneion at the public expense. This decree, the original of which is believed to be still extant, is as follows:—

"In public misfortunes, or in times of scarcity, he gave the State thirteen talents and three triremes. He ransomed citizens who had been made prisoners by the enemy, furnished weapons to poor citizens, and aided by his money in repairing the walls and broadening the moats. He gained numer-

¹ From Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece*, i. 522.

ous allies for Athens, and defeated by his eloquence and his gifts of money the hostile designs of the Peloponnesians. He defended the national independence better than any of his contemporaries, and being banished by the oligarchy when the people lost their rights, he died without doing anything unworthy of Athens."

On the pedestal of the statue was engraved an epitaph, of which the following is the substance: "Demosthenes, if thy power had



AITOLIAN TETRADRACHM.¹

equalled thy eloquence, Greece would not to-day wear chains." So long as Greece retained the memory of the past, Demosthenes was honored almost like one of the ancient heroes.

A monument was erected to him at Kalauria, and near the village of

Paianeia, his birthplace, may still be seen a part of a marble lion, with this fragment of an inscription set into the wall of the church:

οὐνεκα πιστὸς ἔφους, "Because thou hast been faithful." He describes himself at the close of his oration *On the Crown* when he says:

"Two things, men of Athens, are characteristic of a well-disposed citizen,—in authority, his constant aim should be the dignity and pre-eminence of the commonwealth; in all times and circumstances his spirit should be loyal." We Frenchmen, who have also known the bitterness of defeat, do honor to this great patriot. For thirty years he fought for his country's liberty, and after having given her his life he gave her his death, as if he wished to say yet once more that for one's native land a man should be willing to make the very greatest of all sacrifices.³



AITOLIAN DRACHMA.²

Demades did not long enjoy his wretched victory; during his absence in Macedon, in 320 B. C., for the purpose of negotiating the withdrawal of the Macedonian garrison from Mounychia, a letter was discovered in which he invited Perdikkas to deliver

¹ Beardless head of Herakles, right profile, with the lion's skin. Reverse: ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ; Aitolos, wearing the *kausia*, seated to the right on shields; he leans with the right hand on a long lance, and rests his left on his sword; in the field, two monograms.

² Head of Hermes, with the petasos, right profile. Reverse: ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ; the wild boar of Kalydon, to the right.

³ See the *Eulogy on Demosthenes* in the works of Lucian.

Greece, which held only "by a half-worn thread," — so he designated Antipatros. Kassandros put him to death, and with him his son. Lykourgos had died some years earlier; Phokion survived his country's downfall only to meet also a miserable end; Aischines grew old in exile, and never again returned to Athens. Thus perished by violence this generation of men, some of them of austere virtue, others infected by the general corruption, all of them men of distinguished genius, who carried eloquence to the greatest splendor that it has ever attained, and marked in their century a place not far remote from the Age of Perikles. With them — with Demosthenes especially — perished not only the independence but the dignity of Athens; we shall see this city, humble henceforth and servile, welcome with equal docility all conquerors and all masters. At this price she obtained peace, and exchanged for material advantages the dazzling glory of past ages.

The States of Central Greece and of the Peloponnesos were all submissive to the decree of arms. In the cities where it seemed needful, institutions were modified at the will of the Macedonians, and all public offices were given to their partisans. Only a people in the north, ruder and more youthful, having held aloof from surrounding civilization, pursued a different line of conduct. Sheltered among their mountains, and in the strongholds which crowned their heights, the Aitolians resisted, during a severe winter, the largely superior forces which Krateros, the son-in-law of Antipatros, brought against them. Events in Asia set them free, and they were rewarded for their courage by the preservation of their independence.

III. — EFFORTS OF THE REGENTS TO MAINTAIN UNITY IN THE EMPIRE; OVERTHROW OF THE OLIGARCHY IN GREECE.

ALL rebels, whether in Asia or Europe, had been brought to obedience, but the rival ambitions of the generals began a conflict. Hence arose a twofold fact, which for forty years was constantly repeated: on the one side, the efforts of some one general to make himself the heir of Alexander; on the other side, the resistance

of all the rest, and the leagues formed among them with the aim of keeping themselves free from a master. These leagues were in every case victorious, and the empire was thus broken into fragments. So long as Alexander's family lasted, the claimant to universal empire placed himself with them and took advantage of their ascendancy over the Macedonians; that is to say, the successive regents transmitted this claim, together with the guardianship of the infant king. But when this family had perished, then it was simply the most powerful, without other recommendation than his power, who inherited this rôle.

Perdikkas was the first to pursue these ambitious designs. It was not without uneasiness that he saw his former colleagues pro-



ceed to lay firm foundations in their respective provinces. Thus Ptolemy made himself strong in Egypt. This general, whose great talents and mild character made him a fit person for such an enterprise, drew around him those who sought a less imperious master than Perdikkas. Eight thousand talents, which he found in the possession of the treasurer Kleomenes, had given him the means of acquiring a numerous army of mercenaries. He had very soon made an important conquest westward, by restoring to Egypt the Kyrenaika, where a faction had appealed to him against Thibron, the Spartan, who, having assassinated Harpalos, and inherited his mercenaries, and especially his stolen wealth, had sought for himself a kingdom in the Kyrenaika. Lastly, Ptolemy had placed his

¹ Idealized head of Alexander, right profile, wearing the elephant's skin. Reverse: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ. Athene Alkis, standing, to the right: at her feet, an eagle on a thunderbolt; in the field, the mint-mark ΔΙ. The word 'Αλεξανδρείον' is the name given to this coin minted in Egypt by Ptolemy.

² Idealized head of Alexander, right profile, wearing the elephant's skin. Reverse: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. The figure of Athene Alkis, in imitation of the archaic style, fighting with the lance and shield, to the right. In the field, two monograms and an eagle on a thunderbolt. (Coin struck in Egypt shortly after the death of Alexander.)

government under the protection of the Manes of Alexander, by keeping in Alexandria the conqueror's body, which Perdikkas had sent on its way to the temple of Zeus Ammon.

On the other hand, Antipatros and Krateros, conquerors of the Greeks, and united by a marriage which made one the father-in-law of the other, were establishing in Europe a formidable power. Perdikkas, up to this time on friendly terms with Antipatros, whose daughter he was to marry, resolved to rely still more upon the family of Alexander, even to introduce himself into it in the fur-



COINS OF KYRENE.¹

therance of his designs. He had just experienced to his own loss how much influence over the army was wielded by any of the conqueror's near kindred. One of the three sisters of Alexander, Kynaue, was, on the mother's side, of Illyrian ancestry, and intrepid like that race of hardy mountaineers. The clash of arms, the sight of wounds and blood, did not alarm her; in an action against a hostile tribe she led a furious charge, and killed with her own hand the queen, who also was leading her people in battle. No less ambitious than Olympias, she resolved to marry her daughter Eurydike, who was also of a warlike disposition, to the king Arrhidaios, and she set out for Asia, passing through the armies of Antipatros and of Perdikkas, who sought to detain her. She reached the

¹ 1. Head of Dionysos, crowned with ivy, right profile; behind, a thyrsos; before, ΘΕΥΦΕΙΔΕΥΣ, a magistrate's name. Reverse: ΚΥΡΑ[*μαίω*]. Stalk of silphium. (Didrachm.) 2. ΘΕΥΦΕΙΔΕΥΣ, a magistrate's name. Zeus Ammon, seated to the left, on a throne, and holding a sceptre in the right hand; behind him, an eagle perched on a vine-stock. Reverse: ΚΥΡΑΝΑΙΟΝ; the nymph Kyrene in a quadriga, the horses galloping to the right, above, a star. (Gold.) 3. Horseman galloping to the right; underneath ΚΥ[*μαίω*]. Reverse: a large wheel with four spokes; in the field, a stalk of silphium. (Bronze.)

camp of the Macedonians, and was received with enthusiastic acclamations as the daughter of Alexander's father. The regent, rendered more uneasy than ever, had no scruples about shedding royal blood, and he caused her to be put to death. Upon this the army,



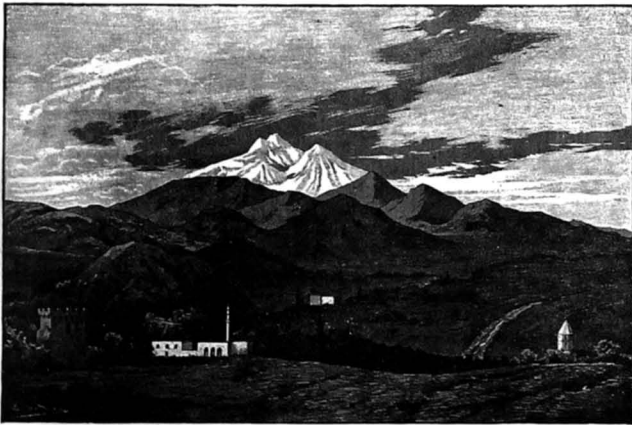
BRONZE COINS.¹

making the memory of its kings and a respect for their race a part of its own most glorious history, broke out into insurrection, and were only pacified on condition that Eurydike should be given in marriage to Arrhidaios. Perdikkas was obliged to consent to this, and henceforth found enemies in the new queen and her husband. To repair this defeat he secretly put himself in communication with Olympias, — who had long been the enemy of Antipatros, and had taken shelter in Epeiros, — and promised to marry her daughter Kleopatra, the sister of Alexander.

This intrigue being set on foot, he took measures to form another. He wished to rid himself of his rivals one by one, and first of the governor of Phrygia, whom he suspected of having secret relations with Antipatros, in the design of forming a coalition against the regent. He accused Antigonos in the presence of the army, and summoned him to appear before an impartial tribunal, there to render account of his disobedient conduct. Instead of appearing, Antigonos fled into Greece, where he raised the first cry of alarm and instigated the forming of the first league. The chiefs of this were Antipatros, Ptolemy, Antigonos, and also Krateros, who abandoned his expedition into Aitolia. This was war; Perdikkas recognized it as such by sending away the daughter of Antipatros. The marriage with Kleopatra did not, however, take place. It would have been very advantageous to Perdikkas, for a Macedonian, of royal blood and of great renown, would have acquired, by becoming the conqueror's brother-in-law, rights to the crown which balanced those of the child of a foreign woman. But all the generals were opposed to him, with the exception of one man, whose career merits

¹ Coins of Philip Arrhidaios. 1. Diademed head, right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ; horseman galloping to the right, wearing the lion's skin; in the field a monogram and a bipenna. 2. Beardless head of Herakles, right profile, wearing the lion's skin. Reverse: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ; club, bow, quiver, and caduceus.

attention, — Eumenes, of Kardia in Thrace. Philip had early recognized in him qualities resembling his own. Entering Alexander's service, Eumenes became his secretary, and quietly had obtained considerable influence. He had not made his way by brilliant actions; he was considered better suited to affairs of diplomacy than to those which are decided by the sword. He was cool, and in character the reverse of prodigal. His regular, delicate features well expressed his mental traits. At the death of Alexander he

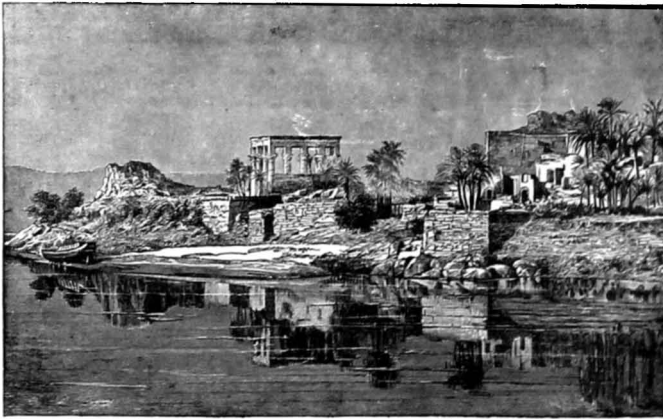


VIEW OF KAPPADOKIA: MOUNT ARGAIOS.¹

understood the extreme reserve which his foreign origin imposed upon him, and held himself aloof. However, a province was assigned him, Paphlagonia and Kappadokia; but his policy could not be the same with that of generals whom their birth or their exploits had rendered conspicuous. This *parvenu* must attach himself to the royal family and to the regents. In the conflict now beginning, he sided with Perdikkas, and was intrusted by him with the defence of Asia Minor against Krateros, who was on his way from Macedon, and against the satrap of Armenia, Neoptolemos, who had united with the enemies of the regent.

¹ From Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, pl. 35.

When the two armies met, Eumenes exercised much ingenuity to keep at a distance from Krateros the Macedonians, who were all ready to let themselves be gained over by this favorite friend of Alexander. He caused an attack to be made by a Barbarian detachment, who surprised Krateros, and not knowing who he was, slew him; on the other wing, Eumenes personally engaged with Neoptolemos, threw him from his horse, and ran him through twice with his sword.



VIEW OF THE NILE.¹

But while the regent's cause was victorious in Asia, he himself perished on the banks of the Nile. He had found there an adversary well prepared for resistance, and whom the Macedonians attacked with reluctance. Repulsed before the little fortress called "the Camels' Wall," Perdikkas turned southward, and proposed to cross the Nile by a ford where the water was so deep that it came to the soldiers' shoulders. The ford proving treacherous under the feet of the men and horses, two thousand men and officers perished, swept away by the flood or devoured by crocodiles, which came in crowds to the spot. The army at sight of this disaster was exasperated

¹ From a photograph. This view is taken opposite the island of Philæ.

against Perdikkas, with whom the troops had already been displeased. Pithon, Antigonos, Seleukos, and about a hundred others conspired against him, surprised him in his tent, and murdered him (321 B. C.).

The soldiers of Perdikkas were, on the other hand, so pleased with Ptolemy, their foe, who had just piously sent them the bones of their dead rescued from the river and the crocodiles, that they offered him the regency. Too prudent to exchange for the perils of this supreme position the safer and sufficiently important lot that



had fallen to his share, he refused, and caused it to be accepted by Pithon, satrap of Media, and by Arrhidaios, one of the generals. Not long after, these also in their turn, hampered at every step by the intrigues of Eurydike, gave in their resignation, and the army made choice of Antipatros (321 B. C.).

Thus one claimant had been put out of the way and a new regent established.

Not only had Perdikkas been overthrown, but the empire had perished with him. The idea of a vast sway, extending from the Indos to the Adriatic, and wielded by a single will in the interest of the Macedonians, was by no means lost; the army, which was still supreme, continued to cherish it, and sought for the chief who

¹ Idealized head of Alexander, right profile, wearing the elephant's skin. Reverse: a Victory, standing to the left, holding a wreath and the staff of a trophy; in the field, the head of Boukephalos, and the letters ΔΙ, mint-marks. This gold coin seems to have been struck at Tarsos, shortly after Alexander's death, by the generals Seleukos and Ptolemy.

² Reverse of a coin of Anazarbos in Kilikia, with the effigy of the Emperor Claudian. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ [ΤΩ ΑΝΑΖΑΡΒΩ]. ΕΤΟΥΣ ΖΞ (year 67-68 A. D.). Bust of Zeus (?), right profile, in front of a mass of rocks which represent the akropolis of Anazarbos; above the rocks are seen the walls of a fortress.

³ Coin of Kassandros. Head of Herakles, right profile, wearing the lion's skin. Reverse: ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ; crouching lion to the right; in the field, ΕΥ, mint-mark. (Probably coined before Kassandros assumed the title of king.)

should distribute among his soldiers the spoils of the world.¹ But the recent struggle had increased in the minds of the governors the hope of soon becoming the masters of their provinces; and this feeling was inevitable in presence of a royalty which, represented as it was by children, had not the power to restrain the ambition of the generals. Antipatros was destined to repeat the story of Perdikkas, to aim like him at supreme authority, and to die before having consolidated it.

After the events in Egypt it was necessary to restore everywhere that appearance of order whose superficial character had just been made apparent. At Triparadeisos, a city of Coele-Syria, a new distribution of the provinces took place, which, however, made no very great change in the order originally established. Antipatros, Ptolemy, Lysimachos, and Antigonos all retained their provinces; but Babylon was given to Seleukos, who proceeded to found there a powerful State. Besides this, Antipatros gave the command of the troops of Perdikkas to Antigonos, with the order to pursue Eumenes; but as, in these civil wars—and this is one of their most deplorable results—no reliance can be placed on any man's good faith or gratitude, Antipatros even now regarded Antigonos with suspicion, keeping watch upon him by means of his son Kassandros, to whom he intrusted the command of the cavalry.

Antigonos set off immediately in pursuit of Eumenes, who in this war displayed great ability. Defeated through the treason of several of his generals, deprived of the support of the last partisans of Perdikkas, whom Antigonos had crushed, reduced at last to a mere handful of soldiers exhausted by this war of tactics and of rapid movements, Eumenes decided to shut himself up with seven hundred men in Nora, a little Kappadokian fortress situated upon an inaccessible rock. He there for a year held out against a besieging army, refusing to negotiate except on condition that his province should be restored to him. By ingenious stratagems he maintained the vigor of his men and horses in that contracted space, and his activity encouraged the whole garrison.

¹ At Triparadeisos, Antipatros just escaped with his life in a military tumult which had broken out because he did not distribute to the troops the royal treasures; the same thing occurred when he led the Macedonians back to Europe.

Affairs being in this situation, Antipatros died (319 B. C.), before having time to alarm the generals and occasion the forming of a new league. It was then seen, and not without surprise, that Antipatros had considered the regency as his property, and had bequeathed it to his friend Polysperchon, a descendant of the kings of a little region in the eastern part of Macedon. It was also a singular fact that all the generals except one agreed to this disposal of the regency,—the one who objected being Kassandros, the son of Antipatros. This young man objected because he considered himself despoiled of an hereditary right, although in appointing him chiliarch, or lieutenant to the regent, his father had given him the second place in the government. He concealed his vexation at first, and feigned to think only of his amusements; but his hunting-parties were conspiracies, where he schemed with his friends for the overthrow of the new regent. He secretly established relations with Ptolemy, who had married his sister, and asked him to send to the Hellespont those maritime forces which the conquest of Syria and of Phœnicia from Laomedon had now given to Egypt. He was also in correspondence with Antigonos, and had laid the foundations of a second league.

Antigonos was well disposed to profit by the feebleness of Polysperchon. It was his aim to unite all Asia Minor under his authority. But this enterprise required prompt execution, in order to anticipate the moment when Polysperchon should be able to oppose it. Antigonos resolved to avail himself, in executing his design, of the assistance of Eumenes, whose ability had lately become apparent, and he sent to him an envoy, Hieronymos of Kardia, to offer the restoration of the provinces which had originally been his.¹ The agreement made only a formal mention of Alexander's family, and called for fidelity on the part of Eumenes towards Antigonos. Eumenes feigned to regard this provision as an inadvertence, and changed the terms of the agreement so that he pledged himself, not to Antigonos, but to the royal family. The Macedonians who were besieging him, always devoted to the house of Alexander, at once permitted him to come forth from his fortress. As soon as Antigonos became aware of the fraud

¹ This Hieronymos of Kardia wrote a work on the successors of Alexander, of *διαδόχων*, in which he showed much partiality for Antigonos and his son Demetrios.

he sent an order to invest the place still more closely; but it was too late, for Eumenes was already scouring the country with two thousand horse assembled from all sides. He had, in fact, everything to lose by an alliance with a schemer; and as he had been devoted to the regent Perdikkas, so now he was devoted to the regent Polysperchon, attaching himself to the office, and not to the man who held it,—to legitimate royalty, which had given him a brilliant position, and not to usurpers, whose first care would be to rid themselves of him or relegate

SILVER COIN.¹

him to an obscure station.

To combat the new league, Polysperchon took three methods: he conciliated Greece, by restoring the democracy which Antipatros had abolished, which now, through gratitude, would be the enemy of Kassandros; he supported Eumenes in his war against Antigonos; and, lastly, he recalled Olympias from Epeiros, and gathered all the family of Alexander in Macedon, for the purpose of uniting them all in one policy and availing himself of their combined influence to crush his ambitious rivals.

GOLD COIN.²

He began by formally addressing to Greece, in the name of the two kings, an edict ordering the recall of the democratic exiles and the re-establishment of the political forms which existed in the time of Philip and of Alexander; he even restored Samos to Athens. This manifesto had the effect of producing against the partisans of Antipatros, now those of his son Kassandros, an immediate reaction, and particularly at Athens against the Nine Thousand and Phokion. These citizens, excluded since 322 B.C. from all participation in the government, entered into it now with sentiments of revenge rather than of patriotism, and

¹ Coin of Pelinna in Thessaly. Thessalian horseman galloping to the left, with lance in rest. Reverse: ΠΕΛΙΝΝΑ[ιστ]. Hoplite advancing to the left with reverted head; he wears the *kausia* and a short *chlamys*, and is armed with sword, spear, and shield.

² Stater of Philip Arrhidaios. Head of Pallas, right profile, with a helmet adorned with a serpent. Reverse: ΑΜΠΙΠΟΛΙΣ. A Victory standing to the left, holding with the right hand a wreath, and in the left the staff of a trophy; in the field a monogram and a torch, mint-mark of Amphipolis.

the silence which had for many years prevailed in the cities was changed into an outburst of furious harangues and clamorous voices, among which none recalled those of Lykourgos or of Demosthenes. Phokion, whose conduct of late had been at least imprudent, had the duty, as acting strategos, of defending Peiræus, the arsenals, and the fleet against the attacks of his friend Nikanor, who commanded the garrison of Mounychia. This officer of Kassandros succeeded in capturing the Athenian port-town, which he immediately isolated from the city by a wall. For the Athenians this was the heaviest blow that could be struck, and there was great anger against Phokion, who had foreseen nothing, and perhaps had not cared to foresee. The reviving democracy inspired him with fears, and he did not feel himself safe in a city which no doubt would soon call him strictly to account for his conduct. He fled, with many of his partisans, to the camp of Alexander, son of Polysperchon, who sent him to his father. The orator Agonides and some other Athenians followed him thither, as accusers in the city's name.

Polysperchon had placed Arrhidaios, surrounded by his courtiers, under a gilded canopy. Before this tribunal the Athenians were authorized to plead their cause. As they all spoke at once with mutual accusations, "O king!" exclaimed Agonides, "give orders that we be all shut up in a cage and sent home to Athens to give an account of our conduct." Upon this, silence was restored, and each man spoke in his turn. But Polysperchon manifested a shameless hostility towards Phokion; he interrupted him incessantly, and, striking violently on the ground with his staff, compelled him at last to be silent. Hegemones, another of the accused persons, ventured to call Polysperchon himself to bear witness to his affection for the people, upon which the regent became angry, as if this had been an insult to him. Arrhidaios, the poor puppet-king, rose up at his guardian's voice, and sought to transfix the offender with his spear. This incident broke up the assembly, and the accused were sent back to Athens, under the charge of Kleitos, the former admiral of Antipatros, "in appearance to be judged there, in reality to be put to death."

Plutarch, who loves to tell an impressive story, and does not love the common multitude, says that in the assembly which was

to decide on the fate of these men there were slaves and foreigners and persons branded with infamy.¹ No one dared to

speaking in favor of Phokion, and it was with difficulty that he could make himself heard in his own defence. "Athenians," he said, "is it justly, or unjustly, that you now seek to put us to death?" "It is justly," some voices cried out. "How can you be sure of that," he rejoined, "if you do not listen to us?" But as he saw that they were unwilling to hear, he then said: "I confess to you that I have done things that were wrong during my administration, and to expiate those offences I condemn myself to death. But these who are with me have done you no wrong, why should you also take their lives?" "Because they are your friends," the populace answered. Agonides read the decree which he had prepared; its purport was that the assembly should vote whether the accused were guilty, and if they were so



STATUE OF PHOKION (?).²

declared, they should be put to death immediately. Some were desirous that Phokion should be put to the torture before he

¹ That is to say, those who were deprived, by *atimia*, of a part of their political rights.

² Marble statue in the Vatican (from a photograph). It has been wished, very naturally, to recognize a portrait in this statue, of which the face has so much individuality, and its great simplicity has led to the selection of the name of Phokion. But the head, although antique, does not belong to the figure, it is the portrait of an Athenian statesman, of a kind which has been frequently represented here (Vol. II. pp. 503, 563, 593; Vol. III. pp. 241, 398), and of which the name is always uncertain. (See Friederichs-Wolters, *Die Gypsabgüsse antiker Bildwerke*, No. 479, p. 211.)

was executed, and the wheel had been brought when the executioners arrived. But Agonides, seeing that this proposal caused indignation to Kleitos, opposed it. "When we have occasion to punish a scoundrel like Kallimedon, we employ torture, but in the case of Phokion I ask nothing of the kind." Then an honest



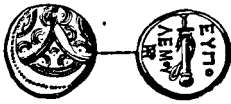
PROCESSION OF ATHENIAN HORSEMEN.¹

man in the assembly cried out: "You are right, for if we put Phokion to the torture, to what shall we sentence you?" The decree was adopted, and the vote was unanimous that the accused should be executed (318 B. C.).

The assembly was dismissed, and the accused were led back to prison. At sight of the grief of their kindred and friends who had come to bid them farewell they wept and deplored their fate; Phokion only preserving the same countenance with

¹ Fragment of frieze from the Parthenon (from a photograph).

which he had gone forth from the assembly to take command of the army, with the honor and confidence of his fellow-citizens. All who saw him were forced to admire his greatness of soul and his complete tranquillity. A crowd of his enemies followed him with insulting language: one of them going so far as to spit in his face, Phokion turned to the magistrates, saying calmly, "Will no one repress this man's unseemly conduct?" When they were in the prison Thoudippos, at sight of the hemlock which the jailer was preparing, broke out in bitter complaints, saying it was a great wrong that he should be made to die with Phokion. "Is it not enough of a consolation for you to die with Phokion?" the great man said to him. When asked if he had any message for his son Phokos, Phokion replied: "I have indeed: say to him that he must preserve no resentment against the Athenians for this act of injustice." Nikokles, his most faithful friend, begged to be allowed to drink the hemlock first. "What you ask is hard for me to grant," Phokion replied; "but since I have denied you nothing in my life, I will give you this last satisfaction at my death." When all the others had taken the poison there was none left for Phokion; and the jailer declared that he would prepare no more unless he were paid the twelve drachmas which was the cost of the potion. This

BRONZE COIN.¹

difficulty caused some delay, and Phokion called a friend to him. "Since one cannot die without cost," he said, "I beg you will give this man the money for which he asks."

It was the 19th of the month Mounychion. On that day there was a cavalcade in honor of Zeus. When the riders passed by the prison, some took off the wreaths they wore; others, looking towards the door, could not restrain their tears; the most indifferent regarded it as impious that on a festival so solemn the city should be polluted by violent deaths. The enemies of Phokion had obtained a decree that his body should be carried outside Attic territory, and that no Athenian should furnish fire for his

¹ Coin bearing the name of Eupolemos, one of the generals of Kassandros. Three Macedonian shields, superposed. Reverse: ΕΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ; sword in its scabbard; in the field a monogram.

funeral rites. No one of his friends dared touch the body; a certain Konopion, accustomed to obtain a livelihood by these services, carried it beyond Eleusis, and burned it there with fire obtained from Megara. A woman of the country, who with her servants chanced to be present at these funeral rites, erected a cenotaph to Phokion on the spot where his body had been burned, made the usual libations, and gathering up in her mantle the bones that



NICHES FOR EX-VOTOS ON THE ROAD FROM ATHENS TO ELEUSIS.¹

remained, she carried them home by night and interred them under her own hearth-stone; saying: "O hearth, I deposit with thee these precious remains of a just man! Keep them with care, that they may be given back to the tomb of his ancestors when the Athenians shall have recovered their reason." That time came, with the return to power of the oligarchical party, after the occupation of the city by Kassandros. The bones of Phokion were brought back to Athens, a bronze statue was erected in his honor, and a decree of the people sentenced to death his accuser, Agonides. Two others who had had a share in his death were killed by his sons.

¹ From Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique: Itinéraire*, pl. 8. These niches, hewn in the rock, received ex-votos to Aphrodite, whose temple was near.
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Plutarch, whose story has been thus abridged, is more favorable to his hero than is just. Phokion, hostile to the democracy, was so unfortunate as to be the friend of all the enemies of Athens,—in turn, of Philip, Alexander, Antipatros, Nikanor, who had just before surprised Peiræus, and of the son of Polysperchon, who had sent him to his father as one of their most devoted partisans. He was perhaps a great man, but not a great citizen. His end makes us forget his harsh virtue and that despairing policy which must ruin any cause. He knew how to die, and this is the noblest part of his fame; but Sokrates and Demosthenes share this glory with him.

In most of the cities similar scenes took place. The oligarchy restored by Antipatros was everywhere overthrown and proscribed. The weakness of Polysperchon was as cruel as the ambition of Kassandros or of Antigonos.

IV. — RUIN OF THE ROYAL PARTY AND OF ALEXANDER'S FAMILY.

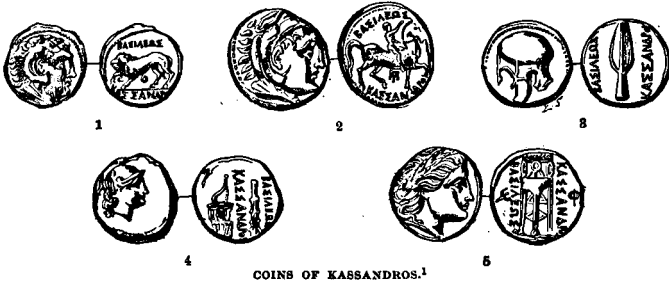
WHILE the democratic party for a moment had the ascendancy, restrained as it was by Polysperchon, a fleet with Kassandros and the troops furnished by Antigonos arrived at Peiræus. The regent hastened to Athens, to aid her resistance, with twenty-five thousand men and sixty-five elephants. But provisions being insufficient for this multitude in such a sterile country, he left in Attika a detachment under the orders of his son Alexander, and advanced into the Peloponnesos, where Megalopolis refused to acknowledge his authority.

This city, devoted to Philip and Alexander, who had been its protectors against Sparta, had clung also to the regents, the predecessors of Polysperchon; but the city had received from Antipatros an aristocratic government which was strong enough, and also national enough, not to fall at the moment of the general democratic outbreak in Greece. The inhabitants of the adjacent



¹ Beardless head of Hermes, wearing the *petasos*, left profile. Reverse: elephant bearing on its back a crenellated tower; in the *exergue* two points. This coin, of uncertain origin, belongs to the time of Pyrrhos, and must have been struck in some city of Southern Italy (Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 458).

country hastened to enter it, and the number of its defenders, including foreigners and slaves, amounted to fifteen thousand. Damis, who had been an officer under Alexander, had charge of the defence. He employed all the means at that time used by besieged towns. He had balistas and catapults on the walls, to attack the high towers filled with archers which the enemy pushed forward against the city; he scattered over the glacis caltrops, hidden under a little covering of earth; and when the wall, undermined by the Macedonians, fell down at one point, he

COINS OF KASSANDROS.¹

built up behind the breach a new wall in the space of a single night. In vain did the regent twice urge his troops to the assault; in the second attempt the elephants, who were in advance, wounded by the iron points upon which they trod, howled with pain, and turning round, forced their way back through the army, causing such disorder that the siege was abandoned.

Meanwhile new reinforcements arrived from Asia to assist Kassandros; Kleitos, who was sent to intercept them, gained a naval victory in the Hellespont. But while he gave himself up to the confidence which this victory inspired, Antigonos, suddenly making for himself a new fleet out of his transports, fell upon him and

¹ 1. Beardless head of Herakles wearing the lion's skin, right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ; lion to the left, with lifted paw; in the field a mint-mark. (Bronze.) 2. Beardless head of Herakles with the lion's skin, right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ; borseman stepping to the right, with right hand lifted; in the field a monogram. (Bronze.) 3. Helmet. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ; spear-head. (Bronze.) 4. Helmeted head, beardless, right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ; club, and bow in its case. (Bronze.) 5. Laurelled head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ; tripod; in the field two monograms. (Bronze.)

completely destroyed the royal fleet, Kleitos alone escaping, to perish not long after in Thrace (October, 318 B. C.).

This disaster, added to the defeat experienced at Megalopolis, ruined the cause of Polysperchon in Greece. The Athenians without harbor or fleet were like a bee without its sting,—they could not

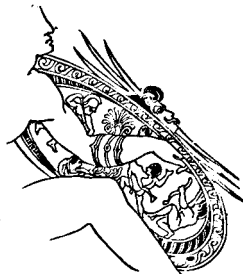


COIN OF ANTIGONOS.¹

defend themselves; and a treaty with Kassandros gave them their city and territory, their revenues, fleet, and some of their possessions. The basis of the government was the same as that established by Antipatros; but it was broadened by the reduction of

the property qualification from two thousand to one thousand drachmas. Kassandros besides kept a garrison in Mounychia, which was now transformed into a strong fortress, and he was authorized to designate a citizen of Athens to whom the government of the city should be intrusted. His choice fell upon Demetrios of Phaleron, a wise and modest man, a friend of letters and the arts, who ruled the Athenians for eleven years, which were the most peaceful, though not the most honorable, of their stormy existence.

Conquered in Greece, Polysperchon was scarcely more fortunate in Asia, although his lieutenant in that country was the able Eumenes. An order had been sent in the name of the kings to the royal treasurers in Kilikia to pay him five hundred talents as personal indemnity, besides all the money that he might require for public affairs; and the three thousand troops "of the silver shields," in garrison in Asia, were also placed under his command. At the same time Olympias wrote to him, as to the chief support of the



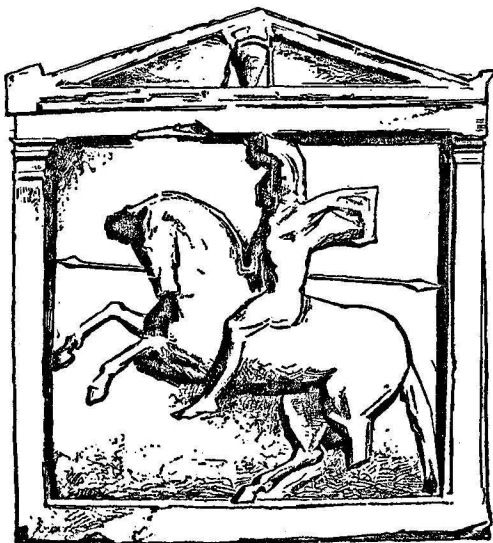
ORNAMENTED SHIELD.²

¹ Head of Herakles, beardless, wearing the lion's skin, right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ; Zeus Aetophoros, seated to the left; in the field a monogram. (Tetradrachm resembling those of Alexander.)

² Fragment of a vase-painting, from the *Monumenti dell' Instit.*, vol. ix. pl. 6. The reverse of the shield is no less richly decorated than the obverse.

royal family, asking him if she should return into Macedonia, which he advised her to remain in Epeiros.

Upon Eumenes, then, seemed to depend the future of the royal house. But the great importance which he had acquired did not lead astray this cold and prudent mind. He showed himself more reserved and modest than ever. He refused the five hundred talents that were



HORSEMAN, ON A BAS-RELIEF FROM EPEIROS.¹

offered him, and addressed the soldiers in a manner calculated to disarm all resistance against his authority. He admitted that he was only a foreigner, and that, as such, he had no right to any power. He had not, he said, solicited the burden which the kings had laid upon him, only accepting it through obedience to their will, notwithstanding his feeble health, worn by laborious campaigns. He took great care not to wound the susceptibilities of the Macedo-

¹ Stela discovered at Apollonia in Epeiros (from Heuzey and Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*, pl. 81).

nian officers; he even caused a gilded throne to be set up in the council hall, on which he placed the diadem, the sceptre, and the other royal ornaments, as if to give to the shade of Alexander the perpetual presidency, — an eloquent reproach to all those generals who were eager to take the place of him whom no man equalled; a symbol also of concord, and a rallying point to all Macedonians.

Eumenes had soon under his orders an army of fifteen thousand men, whom he employed in the conquest of Phœnicia. There he found a great number of vessels, which formed a fleet, putting him in communication with Polysperchon. But at this moment the regent was experiencing nothing but reverses in Europe, and Eumenes saw himself left to pursue his own course in Asia. Antigonos and Ptolemy, rendered uneasy by the growing strength of Eumenes, sent orators with many promises to the troops and their officers.

This veteran corps “with the silver shields,” the *élite*, and, so to speak, the nucleus of the army of Eumenes, was one of the most admirable ever formed. Of great experience in war, they feared neither sickness nor dangers; and to the coolness given by age and long military service, they united the confident ardor of the youngest troops, for they had never been defeated. Their importance was great in an age when, by reason of the powerlessness of civil institutions, the decision as to public affairs usually rested with the army. But the *Argyraspides*, courted on all sides, were ready to sell their courage to the highest bidder, and to regard the most brilliant offers as the best. They were about to yield to the persuasions and threats of Philotas, the agent of Antigonos, when Eumenes showed himself. All his skill was necessary to maintain their fidelity to the royal cause; and it was so great that he succeeded in inspiring them, at least for some time, with devotion to himself.



BRONZE COIN.¹

¹ Phœnician galley, with nine oarsmen. On the deck is seen Astarte, standing, her right hand extended, and the *akrostolion* in her left; before her is the pilot, bent over the rudder; behind her, a warrior, standing, armed with spear and shield, and raising his right hand. The galley ends with the *akrostolion*, on which is hung a shield; in the waves, a murex and a palm. Legend: TVRIORVM. (Reverse of a bronze coin, with the effigy of the Empress Aquilia Severa.)

Hopeless of succor from Europe, and threatened on the shores of the Mediterranean by the superior forces of Antigonos and Ptolemy, Eumenes resolved to go in search of soldiers and treasures eastward in Asia. He entered Mesopotamia, and invited Pithon, governor of Media, and Seleukos, governor of Babylon, to rally with him to the defence of the kings. These two generals dared not declare openly against the lieutenant of the regent, but they did what was very nearly the same thing, they announced that they should not obey Eumenes, lately proscribed by the council of the Macedonians. Detained a short time by them at the passage of the Tigris, he forced his way across the river, and found in Susiana most of the Asiatic satraps leagued against Pithon, who had put to death one of them and endeavored to impose upon the rest his supremacy. Peukestas, governor of Persis, and the ablest of the Eastern satraps, was at the head of this league, with three thousand foot, trained after the Macedonian methods, a thousand horse, and, in his province, ten thousand archers, whom he called to his aid. The other satraps had not as many troops; but one of them, Eudemos, had brought from India a hundred and twenty-five war-elephants (317 B. C.).



It was again necessary for Eumenes to act with extreme prudence, in order to suppress the discords ready to break out among the satraps, and to make them forget his own origin, which enfeebled in his person the authority of office. Peukestas claimed for himself the supreme command. Antigenes, chief of the Argyraspides, replied that the choice of the leader belonged to the Macedonians only, as the former comrades of Alexander. Eumenes induced the generals to agree that there should be no chief, that all the satraps should deliberate together, a majority ruling, in the presence of Alexander's throne, "as in a city with a democratic form of government."

Antigonos had pursued Eumenes; Pithon and Seleukos having declared for him, he crossed the Tigris and arrived at Susa. The

¹ Helmeted head of Pallas, right profile. Reverse: ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ; a Victory standing to the left, holding a wreath and the staff of a trophy; in the field two monograms. This gold piece, of the type of Alexander's staters, seems to have been coined by Seleukos before that general assumed the title of king.

authority of the royal letters, even in the hands of a foreigner, was still so great that the guardian of the citadel and the treasure refused to open the gates to Antigonos because Eumenes, in the name of the kings, had forbidden him to do so. Antigonos still advancing into Persis, Eumenes killed four thousand of his men in an engagement, and drove him back into Media. But to defend himself against the intrigues of his allies, especially Peukestas, he was obliged to feign letters announcing the death of Kassandros, the victory of Olympias, and the passage of Polysperchon into Asia; and he took advantage of the alarm caused by this false news to take energetic measures for the suppression of ambitious claims.

Meantime Antigonos returned from Media with new troops. Eumenes advanced to meet him in the Paratakenos, and a first indecisive battle was fought. In the following spring another engagement took place (316 B. C.). The victory was long in dis-



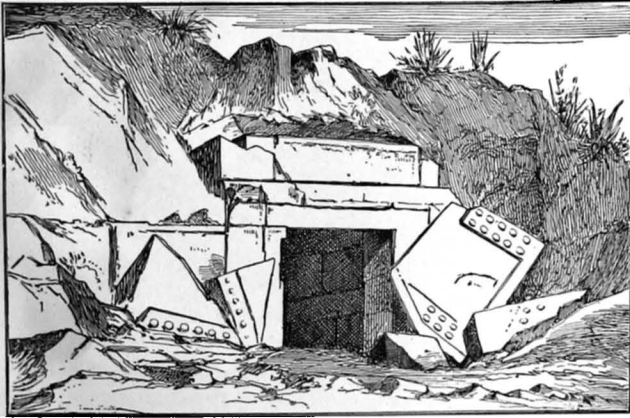
BRONZE COIN.¹

pute: the treason of Peukestas, who withdrew from the field, had at first brought Eumenes into great danger, but the Argyraspides did him good service; they put to flight the infantry of Antigonos, and, according to Diodoros, slew five thousand enemies, without themselves losing one man. But during the battle Antigonos, taking advantage of the cloud of dust surrounding the combatants, had sent a body of Median cavalry round to the enemy's rear, where they took the camp. When the Argyraspides became aware that their wives and children and their booty had fallen into the hands of the enemy, they went over into the camp of the powerful satrap of Phrygia and delivered up to him Eumenes. Antigonos put to death this faithful friend of the family of Alexander and the principal officers of his army, and burned Antigenes, the chief of the Argyraspides, at the stake; then ridding himself of this turbulent corps, he wore them out in little expeditions against the tribes of the Oriental provinces.

In Europe and in Asia the cause of the kings was now lost; and as if to accelerate their downfall, the family of Alexander destroyed one another with their own hands.

¹ Beardless head of Herakles, with the lion's skin, right profile. Reverse: ΠΥΔΝΑΙΩΝ; eagle devouring a serpent, to the right. (Coin of Pydna.)

In the party of the kings there were two hostile factions, that of Arrhidaïos, whose head was really the king's wife, Eurydike, and that of the young Alexander, Roxana's son, to which Olympias attached herself. Arrhidaïos was in the hands of Polysperchon; but Eurydike, seeing the credit and power of the old general diminishing, who moreover at this moment was making over-



SEPULCHRAL CHAMBER AT FYDNA.¹

tures to Olympias, herself entered into relations with Kassandros, at that time victorious.² She called him into Macedon, and in the name of her husband gave him command of the royal troops. Polysperchon, directly menaced, went to seek Olympias in Epeiros: at sight of the mother of Alexander, the soldiers of Eurydike went over to her side. For many years Olympias had been the bitter enemy of her husband's illegitimate son, the offspring of a Thessalian dancing-woman, and of his wife, the woman of Illyrian blood who aspired to reign over Macedon. She now immured them in a cell so small that it could hardly contain the two captives, and with but a single opening, through which food was

¹ From Heuzey and Daumet, *Mission archéol. de Macédoine*, pl. 17. This tomb is attributed by M. Heuzey to the Macedonian epoch.

² See p. 260.

thrown in. As this prolonged torture began to excite the compassion of the Macedonians, Olympias caused Arrhidaïos to be killed by the arrows of the Thracian bowmen, and then offered the queen a sword, a rope, and a cup of hemlock, that she might choose by which means she would die. Having called down the vengeance of the gods upon her savage enemy, and washed, as well as she could, her husband's wounds, Eurydike hanged herself with her own girdle (317 B. C.). Shortly after, a son of Antipatros and a hundred of the friends of Kassandros were also sacrificed.

On news of these events, Kassandros quitted the Peloponnesos, where he was holding in check the son of Polysperchon, and hastened into Macedon. Olympias, who had no army, shut her-

DRACHMA.¹BRONZE COIN.²BRONZE COIN.³

self up in Pydna with Roxana and her son, Thessalonike, Alexander's sister, and a numerous court. She depended upon Polysperchon and upon Aiakides, king of Epeiros, who came to her aid. But the troops of Polysperchon went over to Kassandros, and the Epeirots, disloyal for the first time to the descendants of Achilles, who, it was believed, had reigned for centuries over the Molossians, dethroned their king and his son Pyrrhos, at that time two years of age. Shut in by sea and land, without hope of deliverance, Olympias made a vigorous resistance until the time when the garrison, reduced by famine and disease, extorted from her a permission to surrender. Kassandros promised to save her life, but he instigated against her the kindred of her victims, who accused her of various assassinations. He caused her to be secretly informed of this, and urgently advised her to make her escape by sea, in the intention of occasioning her to

¹ Laurelled head of Apollo, three quarters front, to the right. Reverse: AMΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΕΩΝ; lighted torch in a central square; the whole in an incused square. (Coin of Amphipolis.)

² Reverse of a coin of Thebes. Protesilaos, armed, and just landing from a galley, prepared for battle. Legend: ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ. On the obverse is the head of Demeter.

³ Coin of Kassandreia (known also as Eurydikeia). Veiled head of Demeter, right profile. Reverse: ΕΥΡΥΔΙΚΕΙΑ; tripod.

be drowned on the voyage and of himself escaping any blame in the matter. She declared haughtily that she would not flee, and that she was ready to accept the decision of the Macedonians. Kassandros dared not risk this experiment, and he sent two hundred soldiers to kill her. When they arrived she appeared before them so majestic, clad in her royal robe and standing, supported by two of her women, that, overcome with respect,



RHYTON IN THE FORM OF A MULE'S HEAD.¹

they withdrew. But the relatives of those whom she had destroyed had no such scruples; they took her life, but were not able to wring from her one expression of weakness (316 B. C.).

Kassandros would have been very glad to rid himself at the same time of Roxana and her son. He at first removed them from the sight of the Macedonians, and shut them up, securely guarded, in the citadel of Amphipolis. To make his way to the throne more clear, he married Thessalonike, Alexander's sister; and, with an assumption of royal privileges, he built, on the Thermaic Gulf, a new city, Kassandreia, which quickly became important.

During these tragedies Polysperchon had withdrawn to the Aitolians, who sent a detachment to guard the pass of Ther-

¹ Drinking-cup, in the British Museum (from a photograph). Cf. a rhyton in the form of an eagle's head represented Vol. III. p. 653.

mopylai. Kassandros forced the passage, and, arriving in Boiotia, rebuilt Thebes, to gain a reputation for clemency. All Greece contributed to the restoration of this city; money was even sent from Sicily and Italy. At Athens the populace crowned themselves with flowers at news that this ancient rival was to arise from her ruins. Impulses like these make us forgive much to the Greek people, for nowhere else than in Greece do we find anything of the kind. Kassandros then landed in the Peloponnesos, and compelled Argos and Hermione to become his partisans, though he failed in an attack on Ithome in Messenia. There were now left to Polysperchon and his son Alexandros only Achaia, Sikyon, and Corinth. Sparta, Aitolia, and Arkadia were the only free States remaining in Greece (316 B. C.); and Sparta, feeling that the time of her proud disdain of danger was passed, had just surrounded herself with walls.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

FORMATION OF THREE MACEDONIAN KINGDOMS; GREECE AGAIN INDEPENDENT (315-272 B. C.).

I. — WAR AMONG THE CLAIMANTS. (315-312 B. C.); PEACE OF 311.

IN 315 B. C. the state of the empire was as follows: Antigonos held almost all of Macedonian Asia; Kassandros, almost all of Greece and Macedon. The family of Alexander, after the death of Olympias, Arrhidaios, and Eurydike, was reduced to four persons,—the conqueror's son, seven years of age and very nearly a captive in Macedon, his other son, Herakles, who seemed to have no rights whatever, and his two sisters, Kleopatra, widow of the king of Epeiros, and Thessalonike, wife of Kassandros. This family, which had lost in Eumenes its principal defender, was threatened with approaching ruin; with it would disappear all plans in relation to the unity of the empire, which till now the governors had seemed to wish to maintain. Henceforth the satraps will not regard with alarm him who is the possessor of the useless title of regent; no more leagues will be formed against him; the object of their jealousy will be that man of their own number who aspires to the supremacy. Kassandros secretly hopes to lay his hand upon the sceptre; but Antigonos has been able to form a vastly more menacing power with seventy thousand soldiers and the treasures of Ekbatana, Susa, and Quinda in Kilikia, which he has coined for his soldiers' pay. Since the defeat of Eumenes he seems to be master in Upper Asia as well as in Asia Minor, and he acts as king—as Asiatic king especially, who regards the suppression, by force or fraud, of his adversaries, even of those but slightly suspected to be so, as the sum of statesmanship. The year before he had called to

himself, by a deceitful message, Pithon, who had caused him anxiety. This satrap of Media had been one of Alexander's officers; he was a man respected for his talents and his long military service, but he had formed the idea of making himself master of Upper Asia. Antigonos had caused him to be condemned by a council of war, and to be executed. He had also driven Peukestas out of Persis, and called the governor of Babylon to account for the revenues of his province. Seleukos had replied that, being appointed by the Macedonians to the government of



SIDON: HARBOR OF THE EGYPTIANS.¹

the province, he owed no obedience to Antigonos; then, mindful of the fate of Pithon, he had escaped into Egypt to Ptolemy.

Antigonos had cause to remember that he himself, once a fugitive and proscribed, had been the first to form a league, and that by means of it Perdikkas had been overthrown. Seleukos had no difficulty in inducing Ptolemy to join him, and the Egyptian governor brought in Lysimachos, the master of Thrace, and also Kassandros of Macedon and Kassandros the governor of Karia. We shall pass rapidly over the details of this struggle, of which only the results are interesting to us.

Antigonos, however, filled too many important positions in the course of his long life for us not to pause a moment before this man who remained Greek in the midst of Asia; who esteemed adulation at its true value; and who had on his lips noble sentiments, while, still more readily, in his hands were sentences of death; who, finally, was ambitious without failing to remember

¹ From Dr. Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, p. 102.

that ambition, even when successful, costs many cares. "If a man knew," he said, pointing to the diadem, "how many woes are attached to this silken rag, he would not pick it up from the sweepings of the street."

War broke out in 315 B. C., after useless negotiations with the satraps of the western provinces. This time it is Asia trying unsuccessfully to make the conquest of Greece. Antigonos had the advantage of separating his enemies one from another by a



SILVER COIN.¹

sandros in Greece by an alliance with the Aitolians, and by sending into that country, with a thousand talents, Alexandros, the son of Polysperchon, who had come into Asia for the purpose of exciting the indignation of the Macedonians by showing them the conduct of the new-master of Macedon: the murder of Olympias,



BRONZE COINS.²

and the rebuilding of Thebes, — a double outrage to the memory of Alexander; the establishment of the Olynthians in the city of Kassandria, — an insult to the memory of Philip; and lastly, Roxana, the conqueror's son, Alexander Aigos, detained in captivity. Furthermore, Antigonos held out to the Greeks the usual lure, — a promise of liberty. Lysimachos he attacked in the rear, sending troops to Seuthes, king of Thrace, who had taken up arms against him.

¹ Coin of an unknown king of Golgoi (Cyprus). Lion couchant to the right, with open mouth; above, an eagle, flying; in the exergue, traces of a Cypriot legend. Reverse: forepart of a lion, with open mouth, to the right; before him, letters of the Cypriot alphabet, perhaps *ΑΡΧ* *ΑΒ* (?). The king who coined this piece doubtless lived at the beginning of the fourth century B. C. (Six, *Classement des séries cypriotes*, in the *Revue numis.*, 1883, p. 309.)

² Coins struck in the island of Cyprus, probably at Paphos, bearing the name of Ptolemy, but not his title of king. 1. Head of the Paphian Aphrodite, right profile, head surmounted by a crown (*stephanos*). Reverse: *ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ*; an eagle standing to the left. 2. Diademed head of Aphrodite (?), right profile. Reverse: *ΠΤΟΛΕ[ΜΑΙΟΥ]*; an eagle standing upon a thunderbolt, to the left.

This bold policy of attack was not at first extremely successful. The beginning of the war, 315 B. C., was marked by a naval defeat of Antigonos, by the loss of Cyprus, which went over to the side of Ptolemy, and by many acts of violence in the Peloponnesos, for which territory the two parties disputed. Kassandros entered it with an army to drive thence or capture Polysperchon, who had shut himself up in Messene. The attempt was unsuccessful; but at Argos a lieutenant of Kassandros burned alive five hundred of the principal men in the prytaneion; another, having seized Orchomenos, massacred all those of the contrary party who had taken refuge in the temple of Artemis. An event which took place about this time casts a

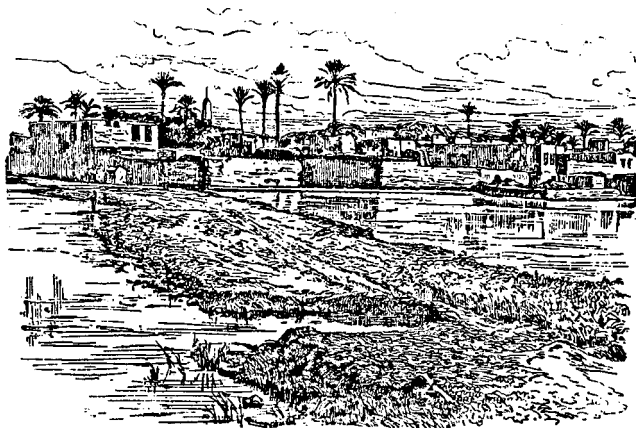
COINS OF SIKYON.¹

strong light upon the morality of the period, — the defection of Alexandros, son of Polysperchon, who accepted from Kassandros a generalship in the Peloponnesos, which placed him in armed hostility to his own father.

In 314 B. C. the thousand talents intrusted by Antigonos to Aristodemos for the purchase of mercenaries at Cape Tainaron accomplished marvels. Cities were taken, and the inhabitants put to the sword. Alexandros having been killed by the Sikyonians, his wife, who, following the example of the princesses of her time, delighted in military exploits, led her husband's troops against Sikyon, took the city, and crucified thirty of the principal citizens. Asia Minor had also its battles, and everywhere cities were laid in ruins, without the quarrel drawing nearer to its end by a single step. The taking of Tyre by Antigonos, after a siege of fifteen months, had no more serious influence.

¹ 1. ΣΙ. Dove flying to the left. Reverse: dove flying to the left; in the field the letter Z; the whole in a laurel-wreath. (Silver.) 2. The Chimaira, to the left; under it a little Genius, kneeling, and drawing a bow, to the left. Reverse: dove flying to the left; in the field ΠΑ, initials of a magistrate's name; the whole in a laurel-wreath. (Silver.) 3. Dove flying to the right. Reverse: ΟΑΥΜΗΙΑΑΑΖ and the letter Z; the whole in a square. (Silver.)

In the following year there were the same fruitless conflicts in Greece, Thrace, and Asia Minor; but in 312 B. C. the young Demetrios, son of Antigonos, sent by his father to keep the Egyptians out of Syria, was defeated near Gaza by Ptolemy and by Seleukos, to whom this victory re-opened the road to Babylon, and who eagerly made his way back into his own province. At news of his son's



EGYPT DURING AN INUNDATION.¹

defeat, Antigonos had hastened from Asia Minor with a large force, and Ptolemy, not daring to meet him, fell back upon Egypt, which an inundation of the Nile rendered inaccessible. The victory of Gaza therefore remained without result. Successes, easily gained, by a lieutenant of Antigonos in Euboea, Attika, and Boiotia, had no more favorable results. These countries were declared free, but without giving to the master of Western Asia a man or a coin, or even a point of support whence to act against Kassandros and Polyspherchon, established, the one in Macedon, the other in the Peloponnesos.

Thus war had been carried on for four years; the people had been horribly oppressed, and almost all the money that they derived from traffic and handicrafts had gone to the mercenaries, old soldiers

¹ From Ferrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'antiquité*, i. 3.

who felt allegiance towards no man, of a kind that these wars naturally produce; and no one of the adversaries had succeeded in his aims. From very weariness men laid down their weapons, and a treaty of peace was made (311 B. C.). The conqueror in the end was Antigonos, who had succeeded in maintaining himself, notwithstanding the league, who had even gained Syria, Judæa, Phœnicia, and believed that he could retain also Babylon. The government of Macedon was left to Kassandros during the minority of Alexander Aigos; Lysimachos was confirmed in the possession of Thrace; Ptolemy in that of Egypt and the countries adjacent, with Cyprus

COINS OF CYPRIOT KINGS.¹

and Rhodes, recently conquered by him. There was nothing said about Seleukos, believed to be a fugitive somewhere in the Oriental provinces. While his father was fighting in Syria, Demetrios had made a dash upon Babylon, whence Seleukos, still without an army, had escaped; and he had been thought to be a ruined man, while he was preparing for himself a triumphant return, which was soon after to take place. He was destined to unite in his own hands all the satrapies eastward of the Euphrates; and Antigonos, detained by the alliance of Lysimachos, Kassandros, and Ptolemy, whose fleet was supreme in the Ægæan, had neither time nor ability to dispute Asia with Seleukos.

The conqueror of Eumenes, returning apparently to the policy of his great enemy, had stipulated, in the treaty of 311 B. C., on the one hand for the independence of the Hellenic cities of the mainland, the islands, and the Asiatic coast, and on the other for the liberty of the widow and son of Alexander. This was offering pro-

¹ 1. Head of Apollo, left profile; monogram, IK. Reverse: the Cypriot letters BA (*Βασιλεύς*). Head of Aphrodite, right profile. (Gold coin of Nikokreon.) 2. The Tyrian Herakles fighting, to the right; he wears the lion's skin, holds the bow in his left hand, and with the right brandishes his club; in the field the ansate cross. Reverse: כְּלֶרַךְ פְּנִיָּהר (the King Puniaton); lion devouring a stag, to the right; the whole in a square bordered with a beading. (Gold coin of Puniaton, king of Kiton.) 3. Laurelled head of Aphrodite, to the left, with a necklace and ear-rings; behind: ΠΡΑΞΙΠΠΩΝ. Reverse: a *krater*; BA (*Βασιλεύς*). Praxippos, king at Lapithos, was dethroned by Ptolemy Soter in 312 B. C. (Bronze.)

tection both to the Greeks and to the Macedonians. But the promise was destined to be fatal, or at least unprofitable, to those whom Antigonos seemed to wish to protect. For Roxana and her son it was a sentence of death; to the Greeks it was a vain pledge. Once again liberty of Hellas was to be proclaimed; but when Flamininus announced it at Corinth, Greece had passed finally under the Roman dominion.

II. — FOUR YEARS OF PEACE (311–308 B. C.); EXTERMINATION OF ALEXANDER'S FAMILY. — THE KINGS (306).

THE generals having preserved their authority, the war had not attained its end, and the ambition of the claimants necessarily would occasion it to be resumed. We must therefore consider as merely a truce the space of four years which elapsed (311–308 B. C.) between the peace just now concluded and the resumption of hostilities.

In that interval the family of Alexander was still further reduced in number, to clear the way for the generals to the thrones which they were soon to sit upon. The stipulation in favor of Roxana and her son turned against them. Kassandros, dreading what they might attempt if once at liberty, and possibly in the hands of a rival, caused them to perish by poison or the assassin's dagger (311 B. C.). This Kassandros was, however, a scholar. According to Athenæus,¹ he had copied the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* with his own hand, and he knew Homer almost by heart; but the divine old poet had not softened this heart, made stern by ambition.

After the death of the son of Roxana there remained one last heir of Alexander, the boy Herakles, who lived at Pergamon with his mother, Barsine. The death of the two kings, his uncle and his half-brother, gave to him an importance which he had not before had. Kassandros, therefore, had been injudicious in making this prince's turn come, being, as he was, in unfriendly hands. Polysperchon, perhaps with the consent, or even at the instigation, of Antigonos, attracted into Greece Barsine and Her-

¹ xiv. 12.

akles, and made himself their champion to introduce them into Macedon. From the movements of the Macedonians in favor of this last scion of the royal race, Kassandros perceived his danger, and hastened to avert it. He offered Polysperchon the restoration of his former domains in Macedon, promised him a share in the government, and moreover agreed to furnish him troops with which to take possession of the Peloponnesos, if he would destroy Herakles. Polysperchon agreed to this bargain, and at



COIN OF NIKOKLES.¹

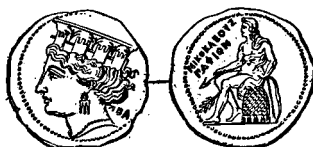
a banquet caused the young prince to be either poisoned or strangled (309 B. C.). Then, with a small army and a hundred talents given him by Kassandros, he undertook the conquest of the Peloponnesos. But he failed, and ended in oblivion a dishonored existence.

Ptolemy was more successful in his administration of Egypt, but he was no more scrupulous than the other, as was proved by the scene that took place in Cyprus in 310 B. C. The prince of Paphos, Nikokles, had formed secret relations with Antigonos; this was made known to Ptolemy; he sent two emissaries into the island, who, surrounding with their troops the palace of Nikokles, commanded him to rid their master of a cause of anxiety. He was allowed to choose his method of dying, and hanged himself. His brothers, who felt themselves condemned also, made a like end; his wife killed her daughters, and before killing herself induced her sisters-in-law to follow her example. They also put their children to death, then set fire to the palace, and threw themselves into the flames. Thus in one day a whole family became extinct; Ptolemy might well have been a worshipper of the Phœnician Moloch adored in Cyprus.

A nephew of Antigonos, whom his uncle had made strategos, went over, by a first treason, to the service of Kassandros, and later, by a second, to that of Ptolemy. Perhaps he had the secret intention of finding an opportunity to take the place of the governor of Egypt. Ptolemy suspected this, or at least he set himself free, by a cup of hemlock, from a man who might be burdensome, and he derived from this crime the further advantage of inheriting the victim's treasure and his troops.

¹ Head of the Paphian Aphrodite, front face, with a *stephanos* ornamented with a laurel-wreath. Reverse: an eagle, to the left; before it, a bunch of grapes. (Gold.)

There remained two members of the family of Alexander,—his two sisters, Thessalonike, wife of Kassandros, and Kleopatra, the widow of the king of Epeiros, who had been living at Sardis for fifteen years. Ptolemy, to give himself equal rights with those possessed by the ruler of Macedon, asked the hand of Kleopatra. He was already the husband of Berenike, to whom he was much attached. But Alexander had had two wives; and if this was less than an Eastern harem, it was more than the Greek *gynaikonitis*. The successors of the conqueror justified themselves by his example, and the Egyptian satrap thought it advisable to secure the advantages which public opinion would give him as the hero's brother-in-law. The unfortunate woman was assassinated, however, by order of Antigonos before she could make her escape from Sardis; after which he ordered for her a stately funeral (308 B. C.). Thus peace was as fruitful in crime as war had been.

COIN OF NIKOKLES.¹

These are the facts of principal importance in general history which can be drawn from the scanty narrative of Diodoros. They suffice, however, to characterize these men and this period. For the empire of Alexander, it was a time of dismemberment; for Greece, of dissolution; for kings, of depravity.

One of the clauses of the treaty of 311 B. C. promised independence to the Hellenes,—a declaration skillfully introduced by Antigonos to enfeeble his adversaries' hold upon their possessions in European Greece. Kassandros still maintained the garrisons which he had there, and sought even to extend his grasp farther; and Ptolemy had just seized, through treason, the cities of Corinth and Sikyon (308 B. C.). Antigonos, assuming the part of defender of Hellenic liberty, in the hope of deriving advantage from it, summoned Kassandros to withdraw from Greece, and on his failure to do so, sent an army, under the command of his son Demetrios, to compel the execution of the treaty (307 B. C.).

¹ Head of the Paphian Artemis, left profile, the head crowned with a high crenellated *stephanos* and ornamented with palms; behind, ΒΑ[βασιλεύς]. Reverse: ΝΙΚΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΠΑΦΙΩΝ; Apollo seated to the left, on the *omphalos*; he holds his bow and an arrow; in the field, a branch of laurel.

Demetrios turned his attention first to Athens, which a Macedonian garrison in Mounychia, and Demetrios of Phaleron in the city, as archon, held submissive to Kassandros. The son of Antigonos loved all that men had ever loved in Athens, — art, science, and especially pleasure. He belonged to that class of Macedonians who admired the men whom they had conquered. He may be placed with the first Ptolemy and his immediate successors, — an enlightened dynasty, who caused Greek genius to put forth a splendid scion, — and he would be mentioned as the most skilful engineer of his time, had he not been one of its chief statesmen. By nature ardent and sympathetic, he divided his time between serious occupations and festivities; it was his desire to govern the Athenians with their own free consent.

They were at the moment in a strange position; their last effort, under Demosthenes, had been fatal to them. Thirty years had passed since the day when Greek liberty perished, and the new



TETRADRACHM STRUCK AT SARDIS.¹

generation, born under foreign rule, was capable of recalling only by vain words, and no longer by deeds, the noble achievements of their fathers. Their ancestors had heaped so much glory upon the Athenian name that the

men of the present day felt that they could live on that inheritance, without having any occasion to add to it; and they were gently lulled in that enervating thought by the consideration their very conquerors showed to them. Philip, and Alexander even more than Philip, had respected in its decay the city beloved of Athene. Flattered by them, Athens flattered them in return, and gave back in adulation much more than she received, because in those who flattered her she was always conscious of her masters. She had enjoyed ten years of peace under the administration of Demetrios of Phaleron, another enlightened man, a disciple of Theophrastos, — himself also a philosopher, — who enriched

¹ Youthful head of Herakles, with the lion's skin. Reverse: ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ; Zeus Laodikeios standing to the right, holding an eagle and leaning on a wand; in the field a monogram of a magistrate's name. (Coin minted after the time of Alexander.)

the city with useful buildings, administered her finances admirably,¹ and gave to her new laws, of which Cicero speaks with high praise. Among these laws one limited the number of guests at festivals, and the display to be made at funerals. Athens, in fact, was no longer a great city, but she was a very refined city; the arts, eloquence, and poetry had no longer the vigor and the splendor of the great days of Athens, but subtle philosophers, rhetoricians skilled in the use of words, dainty poets, abounded there, and luxury displayed its utmost refinements. Such a tone in manners and in morals does not maintain dignity of character; this community, degraded, although still extremely clever, exercised all its ingenuity in pleasures or in vices, as once it had been ardently devoted to all things noble. In accordance with this spirit, Demetrios of Phaleron enriched the city with three hundred and sixty bronze statues, to correspond with the days of

QUADRUPLE STATER.²

the year. Spoiled by these flatteries, affected by the general influence, Demetrios abandoned his simple manners for an effeminate style of life. Much was said of the rich paintings of his wainscots, the exquisite arrangement of his banquets, the skill of his cook, who became rich and famous. This heir of Perikles taught the Athenians one thing only, — how to live in luxury; and his patron, Kassandros of Macedon, was well pleased with his administration. Read the fragments that we have of Menander, the most famous comic poet of the time, with his rival Poseidippos;³ reduce by half, or more than that, his exaggerations; and

¹ The census made by him, probably in 309 B. C., indicated, according to Athenæus, twenty-one thousand citizens, ten thousand aliens, and four hundred thousand slaves. These are very large figures, but are explained perhaps by the great material prosperity of Athens at this time.

² ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ. Heads *accolé* of Ptolemy II. Philadelphos, and Arsinoë, his wife. Reverse: ΘΕΩΝ; heads *accolé* of Ptolemy I. Soter and his wife, Berenike. Gold, coined in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphos.

³ Poseidippos began to write only three years after the death of Menander, and was, like his predecessor, much enjoyed by the Athenians. We have but a few fragments from his forty plays, but it is enough to show the licentious character of the New Comedy. Aulus Gellius (ii. 23) mentions him among the poets whom the Latin authors have imitated, and his statue in the Vatican (cf. later, p. 281) shows the favor shown him at Rome. See Vol. III. p. 649, the statue of Menander.

there will still remain enough to make a very sad picture of the moral life of the descendants of Sophokles and Aischylos. But here we have reason to remember the saying of Isokrates, more true at this moment than when it was first uttered, "At Athens there are no longer Athenians."¹

The enormous mass of precious metals, accumulated during centuries by the Great Kings in their citadels, and thrown into circulation by Alexander and his successors, had developed needs and means of enjoyment till then unknown. While the armies were hurled against each other in Europe, Asia, and Africa, a few Greek cities, contented with the shadow of liberty which their masters left



DEMETRIOS POLIOREKTES.²

them, grew rich by furnishing to the kings and to their mercenaries all those things which could tempt men who were accustomed to fling their gold away as easily as they had won it. Better than any other city, Athens knew how to profit by this economic revolution; her industry, her commerce, filled her hands full with wealth which made her population rich merchants, but no longer citizens devoted to the State, far less soldiers ready for any sacrifice. Under Demetrios of Phaleron she had a revenue of twelve hundred talents, as in the days when she had ruled a thousand cities.

Such was Athens when the son of Antigonos unexpectedly entered Peiraieus. A few Athenians, in alarm, ran to arms; he reassured them by the voice of a herald, and they passed from terror to transports of joy when he announced that he came to

¹ See Vol. III. p. 651.

² Head of a bronze statuette discovered at Herculaneum, from Visconti, *Iconographie grecque*, pl. 40, 3. Visconti proposes for this statuette the name of Demetrios Poliorektes. It is the same type with that on the reverse of a tetradrachm bearing the name of this king (Poseidon, armed with a trident, standing, his foot on a rock), and the artist has evidently given to the god the king's features. The tetradrachm was struck on occasion of a naval victory gained by Antigonos and his son off Cyprus over the Egyptian fleet in 307 B. C.

NOTE.—On the opposite page is represented a marble statue discovered in the same place where was found that of Menander (see Vol. III. 649), and now in the Vatican. From a photograph. The name Poseidippos is engraved on the plinth.



POSEIDIPPUS.

deliver them from the Macedonian garrison, to set them at liberty, and to give them food, — in proof of which he at once made a distribution of a hundred and fifty thousand *medimnoi* of wheat. The new Demetrios was welcomed with acclamations, and the other abandoned.¹ A decree destroyed his three hundred and sixty statues, with the exception of one, which was spared at the request of the new master. His friends the philosophers were exiled; the comic poet Menander avoided a like fate only by the protection of Telesphoros, the nephew of Antigonos. At once men set themselves at work to discover new forms of adulation. While Thebes built a temple to Aphrodite-Lamia, the favorite *hetaira* of Demetrios, at Athens two new tribes, Antigonis and Demetrias, were added to the other ten;² one month in the year and one day of the month were named for the new master; men saluted Antigonos and his son as kings, — they even went further, adoring the two as “saving divinities,” whose words and acts were declared in advance, by decree, just and sacred; altars and a priest were assigned them, and in their honor were instituted solemn processions, sacrifices, games, — *panem et circenses!* (307 B. C.)

ATHENE.³

This, then, is Athens! This is what foreign rule and the loss of liberty have made of her! And yet men still lived who had heard the orations of Demosthenes! One man alone stood upright amid the kneeling multitude, and made a free voice heard in the Agora; this was Demochares, a nephew of the great patriot, and he was sent into exile.

As in the sad days when the Thirty essayed to condemn Sokrates to silence, a law prohibited opening a school without special permission of the senate and the assembly. All schools were at once closed, and the philosophers, accused of turning away citizens from their patriotic duties, — which was not without reason, but was

¹ Demetrios of Phaleron took refuge in Thebes, later in Macedon, and after the death of Kassandros with Ptolemy in Egypt, who intrusted to him the superintendence of the Alexandrian Library.

² This increased the senate to six hundred members.

³ Head of Athene wearing a helmet adorned with an aigrette and richly ornamented; upon it may be distinguished a griffin, and a wheel, the symbol of Nemesis. (Cameo in sardonyx, *Cabinet de France*, broken. Height, 33 millim.; breadth, 22 millim. Chabouillet, *Catalogue*, No. 31.)

without danger, there being no longer a country, — quitted the city, grown so inhospitable to ideas. Thus the Athenians were obliged to renounce their last dignity, and they so understood it; at the end of a year the law was repealed, and the fugitives returned with the numerous disciples who had followed them into exile.¹ The political and military life of Athens was ended, but for centuries she still remained the city of philosophers, and as such merited the esteem of the great men of Rome.

The garrison of Mounychia, besieged by Kassandros, had made no prolonged resistance; that of Megara had also been driven out. This success had its consequences on the other coast of Greece among the peoples of the Adriatic shore. The Epeirots killed their king, Alketas, an ally, almost a subject, of Kassandros, and recalled from Illyria, where he had taken refuge, a relative of Olympias, a young man named Pyrrhos, who claimed descent from the first Epeirot king of that name, — the son of Achilleus. In the neighborhood of Phokis the Aitolians had remained in their mountains, the enemies of Macedon. Having made himself master of Athens, and, by Megara, of the gates of the Peloponnesos (where he attempted, upon Sikyon and Corinth, occupied by Egyptian troops, a surprise which was not successful), Demetrios had then prepared for himself points of support in Central Greece for a direct attack upon Kassandros. But he was recalled by his father to arrest the threatening advances of Ptolemy, whose naval power and alliances rendered Antigonos uneasy. After a vain attempt to attract to his party the Rhodians, whom their commercial interests attached to Egypt, Demetrios went to Cyprus with fifteen thousand men and a hundred and seventy galleys, and attacked Salamis, pushing the siege with great vigor. Here he gained the surname of Poliorketes, from the number and size of the engines which he constructed to batter down the walls. The principal one of these, the *helepolis* ("taker of cities"), was a tower seventy feet square at its base, and a hundred and fifty feet high. War had now changed its character, the use of these engines becoming an important part of it. The *helepolis* made a breach in the wall; but in one night the besieged heaped up so much dry wood near the works, and threw at them so many lighted torches, that

¹ *Fragmenta Hist. Græc.*, ii. 445, Didot. For the law of the Thirty, see Vol. III. of this work, p. 399.



THE VICTORY OF SAMOTHRACE.¹

they burned them to ashes. Demetrios had not time to take the city before Ptolemy arrived, bringing a hundred and forty "long

¹ Statue of Parian marble discovered at Samothrace in 1863 by the French consul Champoiseau, and now in the Louvre. The base, discovered later, also by the consul, was placed with it in 1879. The coins of Demetrios Poliorketes here represented leave no doubt

ships" (war-galleys) and more than two hundred transports (306 B. C.).

Then took place, off Salamis, one of the greatest sea-fights of antiquity. Demetrios distinguished himself by his skill, and gained a victory so complete that Ptolemy lost more than a hundred transports, which were taken, with the eight thousand soldiers on board, and a hundred and twenty war-galleys. The conqueror, who had

VICTORY.¹SILVER COIN.²

had but twenty vessels injured, seized without difficulty all the cities in the island, and incorporated their garrisons into his army. This battle of Salamis is commemorated by a magnificent statue, the Victory of Samothrace, which was discovered by a French consul and brought to the Louvre, where it has been set upon a vessel's prow as it originally stood.

VICTORY.³

On news of his son's victory Antigonos abandoned all hypocritical reserve; he assumed the diadem and the title of king, and gave it to Demetrios also. The other chiefs, Ptolemy, Lysimachos, Seleukos, and Kassandros followed his example without delay; from the royal fillet of Alexander were made six diadems.

as to the origin and restoration of this very beautiful figure. It was on the occasion of a naval victory, gained in 306 B. C. by Demetrios and his father Antigonos over the Egyptian fleet, that Demetrios caused this figure to be erected in Samothrace. He had as a result of this victory assumed the title of king, and his coins after this date bear on the obverse a copy of the Victory. The winged figure, standing on a vessel's prow, holds in the right hand the trumpet which she is blowing, and in the left the staff of a trophy. (See also p. 287.)

¹ A Victory standing on a vessel's prow; she blows the trumpet, and holds the staff of a trophy. Reverse: ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; Poseidon, nude, standing to the left, and fighting with his trident; in the field, two monograms.

² Head of Seleukos, right profile, wearing a helmet ornamented with horns, and furnished with cheek-pieces. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ; a Victory standing to the right, and placing a wreath upon a trophy. In the field, mint-marks. (Tetradrachm of Seleukos I. Nikator.)

³ The Victory of Samothrace. (Tetradrachm of the type described in note 1.)



THE VICTORY OF SAMOTHRACE.

This title of king, taken by the generals, was not a new revolution, but the declaration that one had taken place. They had the power, and they desired to have the name, and to fill the throne which the extinction of Alexander's family had left vacant. The regal power was subdivided, and rested in several hands, — a proof that the unity of the empire was destroyed forever. Antigonos in assuming the title of king had hoped to place himself above his enemies; but as they did the same, and manifested equal arrogance, all were again upon a level. The dispute, therefore, was not ended, and the war, which had begun among the governors of the provinces, went on among the kings.



GOLD STATER.¹

III. — SIEGE OF RHODES (304 B. C.); BATTLE OF IPSOS (301).

We know but little concerning the return of Seleukos into Babylon from his great expedition for the definitive subjection of the eastern satrapies, or concerning the methods by which he extended and strengthened his power

as far eastward as the Indos, and on the north to the Iaxartes. Antigonos, who as his nearest neighbor was naturally his relentless foe, was obliged to keep his own attention fixed upon Macedon and upon Egypt.



TETRADRACHM.²

On this side the question was, for him, one of life and death; but on the side of the Euphrates merely one of ambition: the latter, consequently, was subordinated to the former. It was in Egypt that Antigonos and his son now sought what was to be to them the most profitable result of their victory at Salamis.

Hoping that Ptolemy after his defeat would not have time to

¹ Diademed head of Seleukos, ornamented with the bull's horn. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ. Bridled head of Boukephalos, horned, to the right; in the field, two monograms.

² Horned and diademed head of Demetrios Poliorketes, right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ; Poseidon, standing to the left, nude, resting on his trident and placing his right foot on a rock; in the field, two monograms.

make preparations to defend his kingdom, they attacked Egypt on two sides,—the one by land, the other by sea. But their adversary was ready for them, and they had not taken into account the tempests of the winter season, nor the still unabated inundation of the Nile. Protected by the military posts of the coast and of the left bank of the Pelusiatic branch, Ptolemy was invulnerable. Thus for the second time the river, guarded by a skilful general, saved Egypt from invasion (305 B. C.).

The building of Alexandria had changed the old commercial routes; thither were now brought the commodities of India and Africa, and thence they were carried by Rhodian vessels to all points along the coasts of Asia Minor and Greece. This commerce, which was extremely profitable to Rhodes, united her closely to Egypt, whence also she obtained her supply of cereals. Antigonos proposed to take revenge upon the island for his defeat on the banks of the Nile, and Demetrios laid siege to the city.

The siege of Rhodes is famous for the courage and skill displayed on both sides, as also for the number and importance of the engines employed in the attack and defence. In the twentieth book of Diodoros may be read the long story that he tells of this memorable enterprise, and to what a height the Greek engineers had carried the art of taking or defending a fortified place. The generals had already modified the soldier's equipment, the order of battle, and the ancient tactics; and now there was no city sure, as formerly, of being able to make a prolonged resistance. The Romans had only to copy this portion of military science from the Greeks.

All the inhabitants of Rhodes—six thousand citizens and a thousand aliens—were armed, and even the slaves were enrolled, with the promise of liberty and citizenship to those who should distinguish themselves. All who should be slain would have public funerals, their daughters a dowry, their sons education at the expense of the State, with the gift of a suit of armor on becoming of age, which was presented in the theatre at the Dionysiac festival, under the eyes of all the people. The rich gave



GOLD STATERS.¹

¹ Diademed head of Ptolemy I. Soter, right profile. Reverse: $\text{ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ}$; Ptolemy standing in a car drawn by four elephants; to the left, in the exergue, two monograms.

their fortunes; women cut off their hair for bowstrings; in all ranks was felt a patriotic ardor.

Against this people, resolved to make an heroic defence, Demetrios brought an army of forty thousand men, on board two hundred war galleys and a hundred and seventy transports. Among other machines he had caused to be constructed a new *helepolis*,—a huge structure of wood, nine stories high, which three thousand four hundred men set in motion, and by which a breach was made in the city walls. But the Rhodians had built another wall inside the first one, with the material of their theatre and temples, torn down for the purpose.

They were, moreover, aided by Kassandros and Lysimachos, and especially by Ptolemy, whom they recompensed by calling him Soter (the Preserver). Victorious many times in partial engagements at sea, they also gained on land an



SILVER TETRADRACHM.¹

advantage, burning the machines and destroying a storming-party which had made its entrance into the city. These successes prepared the way for the conclusion of a peace to which, moreover, most of the Greeks, and especially the Athenians, urged Demetrios. By the treaty, Rhodes preserved her laws, her independence, her revenues, and was subjected to no tribute; she renewed her alliance with Antigonos, promising to support him in all wars except against Ptolemy; and she gave a hundred hostages (304 B. C.). Before departing, Demetrios presented to the brave city the engines of war which he had employed against her. It is said that the Rhodians obtained by the sale of these the sum of three hundred talents, which they employed in the erection of the statue of Apollo, or the Sun, known as the Colossos of Rhodes.²

¹ Diademed head of Ptolemy I. Soter, right profile. Reverse: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ; eagle standing on a thunderbolt, to the left; in the field the monogram of a mint.

² This statue was of brass, about a hundred and five feet in height. Pliny says that few could embrace its thumb; the fingers were larger than most statues; the hollows within it resembled caves; and inside of it huge stones were inserted to make it firm. It was said that the statue stood with one foot on each of the two moles marking the entrance to the harbor of Rhodes, so that vessels in entering must pass under it, as a sort of triumphal arch; but this is purely fictitious. In 224 B. C., about fifty years after the erection of the colossos, an earth-

During these operations, Kassandros had had the opportunity to arrest in Hellas the movement of liberation begun by Demetrios. He had invaded Boiotia and Euboia, and was besieging



DANCING-WOMAN.¹

Athens, when Demetrios, after the siege of Rhodes, arrived with a large army. He quickly drove Kassandros from Attika, and

quake almost completely destroyed the city and threw down the statue. The Rhodians derived advantage from this disaster. They besought aid from all the kings and cities to re-erect the statue, and all were eager to assist in this homage to the god. But when the money had been collected, they employed it in profane uses, and reported that an oracle had forbidden them to erect a second statue. The city emerged from its ruins, but the divinity lay prostrate; Apollo apparently did not take it amiss, for Rhodes grew more and more prosperous: in the Roman period there was no navy more powerful than the Rhodian.

¹ Relief in marble discovered in the theatre of Dionysos in Athens at the same time with the figure represented above, p. 253 (from a photograph). These two types are often repeated by ancient sculptors.

following him, defeated him at Thermopylai. Six thousand Macedonians deserted to Demetrios. During the winter of 304 B. C. he remained at Athens, in the midst of ever-increasing flatteries. The citizens went so far as to assign to him a residence in the Parthenon itself,—that temple of the Maiden goddess,—which he profaned by shameless profligacy.¹

In the following spring, 303 B. C., he again took the field, and made capture of Sikyon, Corinth, and Argos; in this last city

GOLD STATERS.²

he married a sister of Pyrrhos, whom the Illyrian Glaukos had lately re-established on the throne of Epeiros. He for a moment entertained an idea of cutting the isthmus of Corinth; but his engineers dis-

suaded him by the assertion that the waters of the two seas were not of the same level, and if a canal were cut, those from the gulf would inundate Aigina and the adjacent islands.³

A congress held at Corinth proclaimed him general-in-chief, as Philip and Alexander had been; but this time it was no longer against the Persians, but against the Macedonians and Kassandros. Before entering upon this campaign Demetrios

TETRADRACHMS.⁴

returned to Athens. He had had so much experience of the patience and the weakness of the Athenians that he dared to bring forward a caprice as whimsical as it was impious. He wished to be initiated at the same time into the Lesser and Greater Mysteries: the former were celebrated in the month cor-

¹ It is probable that he occupied only the *opisthodomos*, or public treasury, in the rear of the *naos*.

² Helmeted head of Pallas, right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΕΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ; a Victory standing to the left, holding a wreath and the staff of a trophy; in the field, mint-marks. This stater, which retains the types of Alexander's coins, dates from the beginning of the reign of Lysimachos.

³ Strabo, i. 3, ii. It is known that the line of the canal lately made across the isthmus corresponds almost exactly with that of Nero's proposed canal. See in Vol. I. p. 139, the plan of the isthmus.

⁴ Divinized head of Alexander with the horn of Ammon, right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΕΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ; Pallas Nikephoros, seated to the left, holding a little Victory on her right hand; her shield is at the left, resting against her; in the field, two mint-marks. (Coin of Lysimachos.)

responding to February–March, the latter in September–October. It was at the time the month of May, and it was decided to call the month March and celebrate the Lesser Mysteries; then to call it October, and celebrate the Greater. It was agreed that the letter of the law was thus respected; and the conduct was not unworthy of this people who came out to receive Demetrios with garlands and incense, with dances and songs like this: “The other gods are deaf or too far distant; they do not exist, or they take no care for us. Thee we look upon; thou art not a figure of stone or wood, but a body of flesh and blood.”¹ This was

TETRADRACHM.²

the apotheosis of brute force, the beginning of that adoration of kings and emperors which polluted the last days of paganism. What an abyss had been opened when liberty fell, and how precious is liberty if this is what a people become when her

resolute hand no longer supports them!

The congress at Corinth had given the alarm to Kassandros, who alone was not a match for Demetrios and his father. He had an interview with Lysimachos, and the two agreed to invite Seleukos and Ptolemy to form with them a new league. It was necessary to put an end to the claims of Antigonos to universal sovereignty.

This league, which was the fourth, was concluded in 302 B. C. Hostilities began at once. Lysimachos went over into Asia and subdued Phrygia, Lydia, and Lykaonia; Ptolemy regained Phœnicia, Palestine, and Cœle-Syria, except Tyre and Sidon, which he besieged; Seleukos set off for Asia Minor; and lastly, in Greece, Demetrios and Kassandros began a war—of which Thessaly was the scene—which, however, came at once to an end by a treaty; Antigonos, threatened on one side by Seleukos, and on the other by Lysimachos, recalled his son.

The junction of the two kings could not be prevented. It made their united army sixty-four thousand foot, and twelve thousand

¹ Athenæus, vi. 62.

² Laurelled head of Zeus, right profile. Reverse: ΖΕΑΕΥΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Pallas, with shield and spear, fighting from her chariot, which is drawn to the right by four elephants; in the field, an anchor and two mint-marks. (Coin of Seleukos I. Nikator.)

five hundred horse, with four hundred and eighty elephants, and more than a hundred war-chariots brought by Seleukos. Antigonos had seventy thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants. The two armies met at Ipsos, in Upper Phrygia (301 B. C.). Antigonos, now eighty years of age, did not manifest on that decisive day the boldness and decision suited to a leader. Gloomy and silent, he seemed to feel that his last hour had come. The result of the battle was due to the rash impetuosity of Demetrios; he blindly rushed in pursuit of the hostile cavalry, and on

TETRADRACHM.¹BRONZE COIN.²

his return found his way barred by the elephants of Seleukos. While he was thus remote from the principal action, Seleukos threatened the unprotected flank of the army of Antigonos, and the infantry of this wing, who had no doubt been tampered with, passed over to his side. Antigonos fell among his men, Demetrios escaped with five thousand foot and four thousand horse, and Pyrrhos, whom Kassandros had driven out of Epeiros, escaped with him.

The conquerors divided the estates of the vanquished: Lysimachos and Seleukos, to whom was due the success, had the largest share,—the former, Asia Minor as far as the Tauros; the latter, Syria and Mesopotamia, which he added to Asia as far as the Indos. Ptolemy retained Egypt, Judæa, Phœnicia, with the southern part of Syria, and, west of the Nile valley, the Kyrenaika. Kassandros gained no additional territory, except Kilikia, for his brother Pleistarchos; doubtless by secret agreement he was allowed to have all of Greece that he could conquer.

¹ Beardless head of Herakles, right profile, with the lion's skin. Reverse: ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Zeus Aetophoros, seated to the left; in the field, two mint-marks. (Coin of Seleukos.)

² Laurelled head of Zeus, right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΕΩΣ. eagle with wings displayed, standing on a thunderbolt, three quarters to the left; in the field, two mint-marks. (Coin of Ptolemy Soter.)

The result of the battle of Ipsos was not, however, the establishment of a more permanent division of the empire. We shall see later the number of kings again reduced: at present they are four; soon they will be only three; and before the battle of Ipsos they were five. This battle, in the death of Antigonos, merely made the question somewhat more simple. Demetrios, it is true, recovered himself, but in taking the place of Kassandros, so that the number of kingdoms was no larger.

IV.—DEMETRIOS KING OF MACEDON, LATER A PRISONER (236 B. C.); DEATH OF LYSIMACHOS, OF SELEUKOS, AND OF PTOLEMY.

DEMETRIOS was still in possession of Tyre, Sidon, Cyprus, some cities of the Hellespont, and of a large naval force. He was far from despairing; and this confidence is rarely unfruitful when it is united with ability and courage.

He turned his attention first towards Greece, seeming to believe that his affection for this country would give him some right to it. But Kassandros, in his absence, had made important gains in the north: he had conquered Thessaly, Ambrakia, and Akarnania; he



COIN OF SELEUKOS.¹

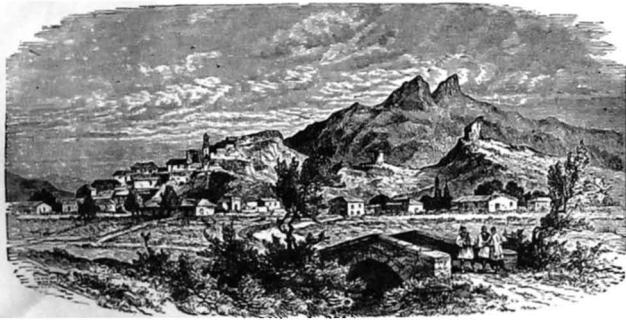
had even occupied some cities of Central Greece; and at Athens, Argos, and Sikyon, and at many points in Achaia, tyrants had sprung up under the shadow of the Macedonian power.

A serious disappointment awaited Demetrios. As he traversed the Cyclades on his way to Athens, an Athenian deputy came to announce to him that the people had resolved never again to receive a king within their walls. Thus this much-loved city abandoned him. It is said, but we are not obliged to admit it as true, that this blow affected him more than his defeat at Ipsos; it is enough to say that the surprise left him speechless

¹ Head of Boukephalos, horned and bridled, to the right. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ; elephant stepping to the right; in the exergue, an anchor, and above, a star. (Unique silver coin, in the Collection de Luynes, of the Cabinet de France.)

for a time. Athens, after all, owed him but little gratitude; he had, it is true, driven out the Macedonians from Mounyehia, but for this service he had extorted so much money and occasioned the commission of so many base acts that she quite possibly might, in the end, blush for the latter and regret the former, especially since Kassandros, by his success, aided her to do so. But this divinity of an earlier day saw only the apostasy of those who had been his worshippers.

Resignation, however, was imperative, and fortune speedily offered him compensation. Lysimachos and Ptolemy had come



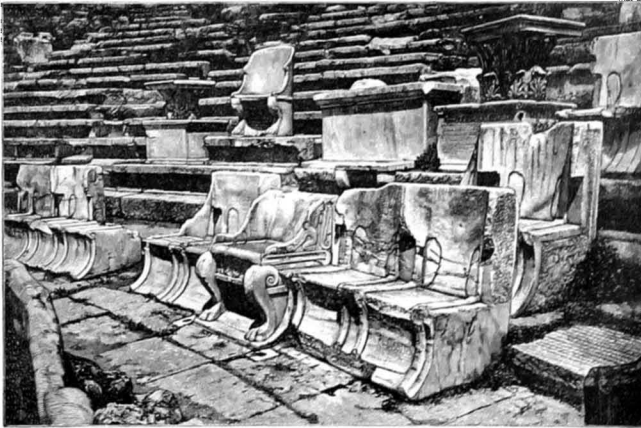
ELEUSIS.¹

to a disagreement with Selenkos; the latter made advances to Demetrios, — coveting, no doubt, his fleet and his possessions in Phoenicia, — and asked the hand of his daughter Stratonike (309 B. C.). Demetrios suddenly found himself closely allied to the most powerful of Alexander's successors, the one who was regarded as having taken the place of Antigonos. But among kings friendships are of brief duration; the son-in-law wished to have Tyre and Sidon, the father-in-law refused, and a quarrel ensued.

Besides the two great Phoenician cities and Cyprus, Demetrios had garrisons at Megara and Corinth, which opened to him the

¹ From the *Tour du Monde*, xxxii. 45. The little church in the middle of the village of Lefaina marks the site of the famous temple of the Two Goddesses. It is now destroyed, and we have given (Vol. II. p. 468) the plan of the sacred enclosure. The akropolis stood above the sanctuary.

Peloponnesos, and his powerful fleet, not at all reduced by war on land, held the Ægæan under his control. He could then make some attempt upon Greece, where he was kindly remembered,— a country which Kassandros, now very near his end, had not the strength to defend. But we are extremely ill-informed as to the events of this “four years’ war,” and can scarcely even fix their dates with accuracy. We know only that Demetrios carried on



THE THEATRE OF DIONYSOS AT ATHENS. DETAILS OF THE INTERIOR.¹

war in the Peloponnesos, and that he afterwards attacked Athens, where Lachares, with the support of the Macedonian party, had established a tyranny which the ancient writers describe as cruel. Demetrios captured at first Eleusis and Rhamnous, neighbors of Athens on the west and east, whose possession enabled him to render the country uninhabitable. To draw nearer to the city he seized Peiræus and established a strict blockade, which caused a famine. Lachares at last escaped in disguise; Athens opened her

¹ From a photograph. The marble seats, some of which are very well preserved, were destined for the priests, the magistrates, and for public benefactors, as we learn from inscriptions engraved on these stalls. (See the *Corp. Inscr. Attic.*, vol. iii. Nos. 240-298.) Inscriptions and seats date from the period of Hadrian, but the aspect of the theatre was certainly not different in the Macedonian period.

gates, and Demetrios, on entering the city, called the people into the theatre, and then guarded the approach with his troops. The terrified crowd saw him appear upon the stage; but instead of bitter reproaches, they heard only gentle remonstrances, promises that he would forget the past, and even the announcement of a truly royal gift, — a hundred thousand bushels of wheat. While he was speaking, a voice was heard from among the crowd correcting a mistake in language which he had just made. De-

TETRADRACHM OF PYRRHOS.¹

metrios thanked his critic, and increased his gift by five thousand *medimnoi*; at this the enthusiasm reached its height. In reality, the adulations of the people and the graciousness of the king deceived no one; Athens had a master, and this she perfectly knew when, after re-establishing the democratic government, he placed a garrison in Peiraeus, in Mounychia, even in the city itself, upon the hill of the Muses, which he fortified, opposite the Akropolis, and above the Pnyx, where henceforth the assembly would deliberate under the shadow of Macedonian pikes.

All being regulated at Athens in accordance with his wishes, he went into the Peloponnesos, where the Spartans, who since 330 B. C.

COIN OF PYRRHOS.²

had lived, as it were, outside of Greece, had just now taken up arms, — no doubt at the solicitation of Ptolemy. Demetrios twice defeated their king, Archidamos, and besieged their city, which was at this time surrounded by walls (295 B. C.). At the moment when Sparta was about to fall into his power, events in Macedon called him elsewhere.

Kassandros had died in 298 B. C., and Philip, his eldest son, survived him only a few months; the other two, Antipatros and Alexander, disputed for the throne. Thessalonike, their mother,

¹ Head of Dodonaian Zeus, with a wreath of oak-leaves, left profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ. Dione holding a sceptre, seated on a throne to the left.

² Head of Persephone, with a wreath of wheat-ears, right profile; behind, an amphora. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ; Pallas fighting, to the left, with spear and shield. (Silver.)

favored the younger; Antipatros killed her with his own hand; and Alexander, upon this, appealed for assistance to Demetrios and to Pyrrhos II., — the latter soon to be famous for his adventures. At the present time he had just caused the assassination, at a banquet, of Neoptolemos, who shared with him the Epeiros kingdom. Arriving first in Macedon, Pyrrhos drove Antipatros out of almost the whole country, and placed Alexander on the throne. When Demetrios arrived, Alexander, having no longer need of his services, formed designs upon his life, upon which Demetrios caused the king to be assassinated at a banquet, and then gaining the good-will of the troops, was proclaimed by them king of Macedon (294 B. C.). He had lost in the interval his possessions in Phœnicia, which had been occupied by Seleukos, and Cyprus, which Ptolemy had taken from him. He held, it is true, Athens, a part of the Peloponnesos, and a part of Macedon; but this power had no solid basis, for he found little affection among his new subjects, whom he offended by requiring of them the servility of Asiatic courts, forgetting, meantime, that he had near him, in the king of Epeiros, a very popular rival.

Pyrrhos by his audacity and brilliant military skill reminded the Macedonians of Alexander. He had just been fighting against them nevertheless; but it was in a manner to gain their affection. He had begun the action by a single combat with their general, whom he would have killed, had not help arrived; and after this exploit, which his adversaries themselves applauded, being victorious in a general engagement he had treated his five thousand prisoners with clemency. It would have been wise for Demetrios to rid himself of this dangerous adversary; but without thinking of this, he was occupied with gigantic projects. He proposed to collect an immense army and five hundred galleys, and to reconstruct for himself his father's power. At sight of these preparations the kings took the alarm; a fifth and last coalition was formed against

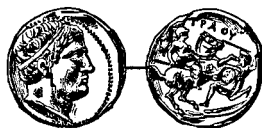


DIDRACHM OF PYRRHOS.¹

them nevertheless; but it was in a manner to gain their affection. He had begun the action by a single combat with their general, whom he would have killed, had not help arrived; and after this exploit, which his adversaries themselves applauded, being victorious in a general engagement he had treated his five thousand prisoners with clemency. It would have been wise for Demetrios to rid himself of this dangerous adversary; but without thinking of this, he was occupied with gigantic projects. He proposed to collect an immense army and five hundred galleys, and to reconstruct for himself his father's power. At sight of these preparations the kings took the alarm; a fifth and last coalition was formed against

¹ Helmeted head of Achilles, left profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ; Thetis, veiled, holding the shield of Achilles, and seated upon a hippocamp which gallops over the waves, to the right.

him. Lysimachos attacked Macedon on the east, Pyrrhos on the west, and Ptolemy landed in Greece and summoned all the States to liberty (288 B. C.).¹ The Macedonian army went over to the king of Epeiros, Athens set herself free from the garrison of the Mousaion,



SILVER COIN.²

and Demetrios escaped into the Peloponnesos. This new revolution gave occasion for two tragedies. The noble Phila, wife of Demetrios, at last becoming impatient of her husband's infidelities and of his changing fortunes, poisoned herself at Kassandreia; and

on the other side, the son-in-law of Lysimachos, claiming too urgently the eastern part of Macedon as his share of the spoils, was killed by Lysimachos, who then condemned the widow, his own daughter, to perpetual imprisonment. In those days few royal persons came to a natural end. Alexander had given in marriage to Krateros Amastris, a niece of Darius; this princess, repudiated in 322 B. C., had married the dynast of Pontic Herakleia, Dionysios, by whom she had two sons. On the death of this husband a third marriage united the widow to Lysimachos, who repudiated her in order to marry Arsinoë, the daughter of Ptolemy, and thus consolidate his alliance with the king of Egypt (300 B. C.). Amastris, upon this, returned to the strong and wealthy city of Herakleia, which bore sway over all the country between the Sangarios on the west, and the Parthenos on the east. Her two



1.



2.

COINS OF SELEUKOS NIKATOR.³

¹ There has been found in the Akropolis in Athens an inscription recording the alliance of Ptolemy with Athens, Sparta, and their allies, for the purpose of fighting "for the common liberty against those who wished to ruin Greece and destroy the laws and political institutions of their ancestors" (*Corp. Inscr. Attic.*, vol. ii. n. 332).

² Coin of Patraios, king of Paonia. Diademed head of Patraios, right profile. Reverse: ΠΑΤΡΑΙΟΥ; horseman, with helmet and cuirass, striking with his spear at a kneeling hoplite, who shelters himself behind his buckler and brandishes a javelin in the right hand.

³ 1. Head of Medousa, right profile, with wings at the temples and serpents among the hair. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ; a buffalo threatening with his horns, to the right; in the exergue, a mint-mark. (Bronze.) 2. A laurelled head of Apollo, front face; at the right, a lyre. Reverse: ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ; a Victory standing to the left, crowning Seleukos (?), standing, leaning upon a long spear; in the field two mint-marks. (Bronze.)

sons, eager to enjoy their inheritance, assassinated her (288 B. C.). Was it to avenge this crime, or more probably to have an opportunity of seizing Herakleia, that the king of Thrace now sought? He came into the city as a friend, caused the two brothers, who had received him well, to be slain, and declared the city re-united to his kingdom. He attempted the same proceeding in Paionia, at the other extremity of the Greek world, and succeeded in taking the province, but not the king's life, who escaped the poison intended for him. This homicidal disposition on the part of Lysimachos found its victims even in his own family. His son Agathokles perished, the victim of an accusation made by Arsinoë, his mother-in-law; we have already seen that Lysimachos caused his son-in-law's death, and held his daughter a prisoner for life; and it is easy to understand that these abominable kings inspire us with but little interest.

We therefore turn to general affairs. Driven out of Macedon and out of Athens, Demetrios found in the Peloponnesos eleven thousand men whom his son Antigonos Gonatas had brought together. Instead of making a stand in this country so difficult to attack, he went over into Asia (286 B. C.), where he was defeated and made prisoner by Seleukos. Lysimachos offered two thousand talents to be rid of this turbulent king; but Seleukos would not be guilty of so base an action: he treated his prisoner well, though without giving him his liberty. Demetrios had a royal castle for his abode, parks for his hunting, and gold for his pleasures. He lived a little more than two years, wasting his life and his renown in pleasure, and died, at the age of fifty-four, in 283 B. C. His ashes, enclosed in a golden urn, were sent with great pomp to his son, Antigonos Gonatas, who buried them in the Thessalian city Demetrias, which his father had founded.

By his turbulent activity this general had increased the prevalent disorder in an empire which was giving way on every side; but with many vices, he, like Seleukos, had shown brilliant qualities, and a generosity which gives him a place apart in the history of this period, whose ambitious men as a rule regarded assassination as a necessary weapon at the service of statecraft.

In 287 B. C. Pyrrhos and Lysimachos had divided Macedon between them. At the end of a few months the latter had driven out the former, and Lysimachos ruled from the Pindos to the

Tauros. He had indeed still an enemy in Antigonos Gonatas; but this general, master only of Corinth and a few Greek cities, was not in a condition to undertake anything. The rest of Greece had the appearance of freedom, or was subject to tyrants in the different States.

The great power of Lysimachos and that of Seleukos could not fail to come into collision, and with the more certainty because their territories were adjacent. The intrigue which cost his life to Agathokles, the son of Lysimachos, brought about open hostilities between them. The widow of the young prince fled to Seleukos and besought him to avenge her husband. The kings of Thrace and Syria were the only generals of Alexander who now remained on the



COINS OF LYSIMACHOS.¹

throne,— the former seventy-four years of age, the latter seventy-seven. These two old men fought with each other in the plain of Kyros in Phrygia, and Lysimachos was conquered and slain (281 B. C.). With him his empire fell, and the number of kingdoms remaining was for the moment reduced to two, by the union of Thrace, Macedon, and Asia in the hands of Seleukos. The former satrap of Babylon ruled, therefore, over the whole of Alexander's empire except Greece and Egypt; but he appeared to understand the necessity for Asia and Europe of a separate existence. He was willing to abandon his Asiatic provinces to his son Antiochos, reserving to himself Macedon, his native country, where he desired to end his days. Macedon had accepted with resignation the decision of battle, and no disturbances took place there during the six months that Seleukos delayed before going thither. When finally he set

¹ 1. Idealized head of Alexander, right profile, with the royal diadem and the horn of Ammon. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ; Pallas Nikephoros, seated to the left. In the field a monogram. (Gold stater.) 2. Diademed head of Lysimachos, right profile. Reverse: ΛΥ; horseman galloping to the right; in the field a spear-head and the fore part of a panther. (Silver diobolon.) 3. Helmeted head of Pallas, right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ; lion leaping to the right; in the field, a spear-head and a monogram. (Bronze.)

out, he was assassinated in the Chersonesos by Ptolemy Keraunos (280 B. C.), who immediately caused himself to be recognized king of Thrace and Macedon.

About the time when the impetuous Demetrios had at last ended his activity by death, Ptolemy Soter, the founder of the new Egyptian monarchy, had quitted life full of days, leaving behind him a well-earned renown for wisdom (283 B. C.).¹ Shortly after Lysimachos and Seleukos perished. In 280 B. C. all the great leaders were dead who, having aided Alexander in obtaining his empire, had believed themselves able to fill his place.

At this moment there were definitively formed, with the exception of some uncertainty as to boundaries, three great States, corresponding to natural divisions, — European Greece, Asiatic Greece, and African Greece. In Europe, Macedon, re-united to Thrace, from which it was soon again to be separated, sought, from that time onward, to extend, not into Asia, but into Greece. These countries



STATERS.²

were thereafter to be the theatre of events concerning themselves only, while the masters of the Asiatic and Egyptian kingdoms acted in a different sphere. The overflow of Macedon and Greece upon Asia and Africa obliges the historian of Greece to devote

space to certain regions of those continents during the life of Alexander and in the period immediately following after his death. Later those countries are seen to resume the course of their existence, profoundly modified doubtless by Hellenic ideas and manners, but sufficiently distinct from the Greek world to require a history of their own, which lies outside of the scope of this work.

The wars, filled with confusion by the repeated treasons which prolonged them, with which we have now so long been concerned, are without interest, since they arose from the sterile ambition of a few men, and concerned only the useless independence of peoples already in decadence. History — unless we speak of that which seems to be only a foolish curiosity — is not one of those museums in which everything is received, even mutilated and characterless

¹ He was eighty-four years of age.

² Gold coin of Demetrios Poliorketes. Diademed and horned head of Demetrios, right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ; Macedonian horseman galloping to the right; he wears a petasos and has his lance in rest; in the field, two mint-marks.

fragments. That a fact should find place therein, it must bring with it a lesson or a reminiscence worth keeping. This explains the rapidity with which we pass over the years since Alexander's death, and from this time forward to the last hour of Greece.

V.—THE GALLIC INVASION.

PTOLEMY KERAUNOS, "the thunderbolt," who by the murder of Seleukos had made himself king of Macedon, was an elder son of Ptolemy Soter, disinherited by his father on account of his violent character. He now strengthened his position by sending assassins to the two sons of Lysimachos and Arsinoë;¹ Antiochos, the new king of Syria, was too well guarded for an attempt of this kind to succeed; Ptolemy did not endeavor to obtain Asia Minor; to Pyrrhos of Epeiros he gave troops for his expedition against the Romans,² which took him far away from Macedon; and, lastly, he defeated Antigonos Gonatas, who at the same time lost most of his possessions in Greece. Sparta seemed to endeavor to shake off the long slumber from which she had only once or twice roused herself since the days of Epameinondas; she had under her king Areos driven the garrisons of Gonatas out of Troizen and Epidauros. Many cities of Achaia also recovered their independence, and formed the Achaian League, of which we shall soon speak.



COIN OF ANTIOCHOS I. SOTER.³

Greece used her reviving liberty gallantly in repelling an invasion of the Gauls. Keltika had formerly covered an immense space. From the shores of the Euxine the Kelts had extended themselves

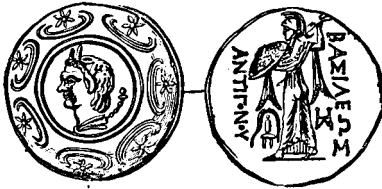
¹ See, in Justin, xxiv. 2, 3, the story of this murder, which was very shocking if the writer has not exaggerated it.

² See this expedition, in the *History of Rome*, i. 460-457.

³ Diademed head of Antiochos, right profile. Reverse; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ; Apollo, nude, seated to the left, on the *omphalos*; with one hand he holds his bow, which rests on the ground, and with the other an arrow; in the field, two mint-marks.

through the valley of the Danube as far as Gaul and Spain, leaving along the road strong colonies, which were for two centuries a menace to the civilized world. These peoples, whom Alexander had seen for a moment in the north of Thrace, and who, without attacking him, had nevertheless defied him, decided, after the down-

fall of his empire, to seek for themselves also fortune in the countries of the South. For many years they had served as mercenaries under the generals who fought for the possession of Greece; in 280 B. C. they formed the



COIN OF ANTIGONOS GONATOS.¹

plan of invading Macedon and Greece on their own account. Divided into three detachments, under the supreme direction of a brenn, or commander-in-chief, they followed three different routes. The left wing, under Kerethrios, entered Thrace; the centre, under the brenn himself, invaded Paionia, to the north of Macedon; the right, led by a chief named



COIN OF ABEOS, KING OF SPARTA.²

Bolg, traversed Illyria and attacked Macedon on the west. This was the corps that first met the enemy. The phalanx was broken, and Keraunos taken prisoner and afterwards put to death. The Macedonians chose for king successively his brother Meleagros, and Antipatros, son of Kassandros, who reigned scarcely four months. The ravages of the enemy, the insubordination of the soldiers, and the lack of an able leader, reduced the Macedonians to despair. "From the walls of their cities," says Justin, "they raised their hands to

¹ Macedonian shield; in the centre the horned head of Pan, left profile, with the crook on his shoulder; on the edge of the shield a series of stars and crescents. Reverse: BAZIAEDE ANTONOY; Athene Alkis, imitated from the archaic style, standing to the left, armed with a shield and throwing the javelin; in the field, a monogram and the Macedonian helmet. (Tetradrachm.)

² Head of Herakles, right profile, wearing the lion's skin. Reverse: BAZIAEDE APEOZ; Zeus, seated to the left on a throne, holding an eagle on the right hand, and resting the left on his scepter. (Tetradrachm.)

Heaven, and called upon Philip and Alexander, the protecting divinities of the country." At this critical moment Macedon was saved by one man, Sosthenes, who, gathering a few brave soldiers around him, attacked and defeated the scattered bands of the invaders; in a few days he had a small army. Bolg fell back before him, not so much from fear as for the purpose of putting his booty in a secure place. Macedon felt itself delivered, and offered the crown to Sosthenes, who refused it.

Meanwhile the brenn had during the winter collected new forces. In the spring of 279 B. C. he entered Macedon and inflicted a crushing defeat upon Sosthenes; terror increased, in the eyes of the Greeks, the number of their invaders, and it was reported that the Gauls were coming through the defiles of Olympos to the number of a hundred and fifty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse, each trooper having two attendants. If we reduce by half this multitude, which Macedon could not have fed, if we diminish it even further, there still remains a formidable army, which fell upon Thessaly and devastated it. The Greeks, with the exception of the Peloponnesians, who again remained indifferent to a great national movement, resolved to defend Thermopylai. The Boiotians sent ten thousand men, the Aitolians more than seven thousand, the Opountian Lokrians seven hundred, the Megarians four hundred.



THE HERMES OF ATALANTI (OPOUS).¹

¹ Marble discovered at Atalanti, in Opountian Lokris, now in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (No. 116 of the *Catalogue of Kavvadias*; from a photograph.) The figure (known as the Hermes of Atalanti) held, doubtless, a purse in the right hand, and the caduceus in the left; but it is nevertheless a funeral statue, — the image of a man represented in the attitude and with the attributes of a god.

Athens furnished only a thousand hoplites and six hundred galley crews, but she sent all her galleys to be moored across the Malian Gulf, whence those on board could, during the action, take aim at the Barbarians. The command of the army was given to Kalippos the Athenian,—a last and just homage to the city which had never yet proved faithless to Greece in moments of danger.

Being vigorously repulsed at Thermopylai, the Gauls discovered the mountain footpath which had opened Greece to Xerxes,—a path which, strange to say, was no better guarded now than it had been before. They advanced upon Delphi to pillage its treasures. In case of attacks upon temples, the Greeks had two ways of preserving the credit of their gods,—either the divinities themselves defended their sanctuaries, as had been the case in the Median wars at Delphi, Athens, and Eleusis; or else, as was related in respect to the temple of Hekate at Stratoni-

GOLD COIN.¹

kaia in Karia, they punished the guilty by inflicting defeats upon them later. Thus the god lost nothing of his prestige, and his temple none of the offerings of the devout.² Against the Barbarians of the north Apollo

COIN OF ANTIGONOS.³

could not be found to give less assistance than he had done in the invasion from Asia. The god being consulted on the approach of the Gauls, replied that he should be well able to defend himself: an earthquake opened the ground under the invaders' feet, and rolled down rocks from Parnassos upon their heads; a tempest raged in the sky, and lightning consumed those who had not perished when the mountains were torn from their bases. The legend is but a poetic embellishment of the resistance organized by the inhabitants of a country so defensible. Repulsed

¹ Imitation of a stater of Philip of Macedon. Barbaric types: on the obverse, a laurelled head; on the reverse, a horseman galloping to the right; underneath, a sort of thunderbolt. From this invasion of Macedon probably dates the custom among the Gauls of coining pieces of money in imitation of the gold philips. See Lenormant, *Rev. numism.*, 1856, p. 303, and the *History of Rome*, iii. 274.

² *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, March, 1887, p. 162.

³ Helmeted head of Pallas, right profile. Reverse: BA ANTI (the latter word in a monogram). Nude satyr rearing a trophy; in the field the Macedonian helmet. (Bronze.)

hi, after having almost effected an entrance, the Gauls
 a retreat, which the attacks of the mountaineers rendered
 disastrous. Cold and hunger caused them extreme suffering. The
 brenn, dangerously wounded, killed himself, to avoid the fury of



HEAD OF THE APOLLO BELVEDERE.¹

his men or the shame of his defeat. Many cities sent offerings in
 honor of the sanctuary defended and saved by its god. Works of
 art were deposited as ex-votos in the temple of Delphi, among
 others an Athene, an Artemis, and an Apollo, which is believed to
 have been the model of the Apollo Belvedere.

¹ From a photograph. The Apollo Belvedere was discovered, at the close of the fifteenth century, in the neighborhood of Capo d' Anzo (Antium), and is now in the Belvedere of the Vatican. In respect to the restorations, see Friederichs-Wolters, *Die Gypsabgüsse antiker Bildwerke in historischer Folge erklärt*, No. 1,523, p. 599.

The throne of Macedon was vacant, and Antigonos Gonatas ascended it in virtue of a treaty made with Antiochos I. He exterminated a great band of Gauls who had remained in the north, and he was occupied in making sure his position when Pyrrhos returned from Italy, where he had at first astonished and defeated the Romans, penetrated as far as Rome, conquered and then abandoned Sicily, and ended by losing a great battle. He returned from these hazardous enterprises without being satisfied with adventures, and plunged headlong into the midst

STATERS OF PYRRHOS.¹TETRADRACHMS OF ANTIGONOS GONATOS.²

of the intrigues which agitated Greece. Suddenly he appeared in Macedon, gained over the phalanx, and made himself master of almost the whole country.

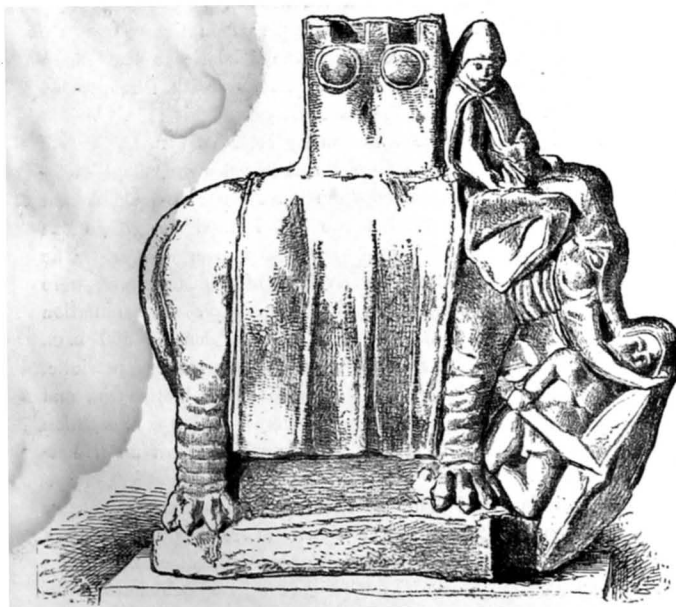
But before completing this conquest he flung himself into another enterprise. Invited by Kleonymos, a claimant of the throne in Sparta, and receiving from him a promise of assistance in expelling Antigonos from the cities which the latter held

in the Peloponnesos, he arrived, in 272 B. C., before the walls of Sparta, which had been fortified in order to resist Kassandros and Demetrios. King Areos was absent in Krete, and the alarmed Lacedæmonians had already proposed to send their women to this island,

¹ Helmeted head of Pallas, right profile, as on the coins of Alexander. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ; a Victory, stepping to the left, holding a wreath and a trophy; in the field, a mint-mark. (Gold.)

² 1. Horned head of Pan, left profile, wearing a diadem; the head is in the centre of a Macedonian shield, the edge of which is adorned with seven stars enclosed by crescents. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ; Athene Alkis, standing to the left, brandishing the thunderbolt with her right hand; her extended left arm is covered by a round shield; she wears a helmet, and her drapery is treated in a manner imitated from the archaic style. In the field, two mint-marks. 2. Head of Poseidon, with a wreath of marine plants, right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ; ship's prow, upon which is seated Apollo, nude, holding his bow; in the exergue a mint-mark.

when Archidameia, the richest heiress in the city, appeared in the senate, sword in hand, and declared that the women would defend Sparta. They did so, digging a moat where the walls were incom-



ELEPHANT KILLING A GALATIAN.¹

plete, and Pyrrhos was repulsed. A few days later the arrival of Areos with a body of Argive auxiliaries obliged him to raise the siege. He endeavored to revenge himself upon Argos, and did in

¹ Group in terra-cotta discovered at Myrina, in the excavations of the French School at Athens; now in the Museum of the Louvre (No. 284 of the *Catalogue des terres cuites et autres antiquités trouvées dans la nécropole de Myrina et exposées au musée du Louvre*, in *La Nécropole de Myrina*, part ii. p. 559). An elephant, side view, stepping to the right, the back covered with a long housing which reaches to the feet, the neck adorned with a bell, has on his back a small square tower with two battlements and two circular projections. Upon his neck is seated his mahout, wearing a pointed cap and a mantle clasped on the right shoulder; the head is turned to the right. The elephant seizes with his trunk and between his tusks a Galatian warrior, nude, prostrate, holding in the right hand a sword, and in the left a long oval shield. For further details, see *Ibid.*, part ii., pp. 318 et seq.

fact enter the city; but Antigonos and Areos followed him, and he had only time to escape by one gate when they entered through another. In this retreat, a tile flung by an old woman, whose son he had just wounded, struck and killed him.

The death of Pyrrhos marks a new period in the pacification of the vast disturbance excited, from the Adriatic to the Indos, by the question of inheritance at Alexander's death. It secured the Macedonian throne to Antigonos Gonatas and his race. Vainly did a son of Pyrrhos invade this country later (267 B. C.); vainly did a new band of Gauls attack it: Antigonos remained victorious, and Macedon, nearly freed from her Asiatic possessions and her dreams of dominion beyond the sea, limited herself to the pursuit of Philip's first project, — supremacy over Greece. The expedition of Alexander, and the rivalries of his successors, were only an interlude, first brilliant, then sanguinary. The situation became once more very nearly what it had been in 359 B. C., a century earlier; only there was gone the generation, patriotic, proud, and brave, which Greece had borne before Chaironeia, and there had been added a corruption in morals and an exhaustion of the great political and intellectual life which mark an irremediable decadence.

The thirst for gold had everywhere kindled an implacable hatred between the rich and the poor. There was no longer a dispute for power, but for wealth, and every political change was a social upheaval. Polybios says: "They seek to snatch from themselves that which they possess." A popular tumult when successful never resulted in liberty, but invariably in an abolition of debts and a division of lands. The tyrants were not the only vile sediment left from the Macedonian sway; the victorious demagogy allowed itself to be enchained, that it might the better keep under its feet the conquered aristocracy. "Kings," Aristotle had said, some years earlier, "were established to protect the great against the people; tyrants to protect the people against the great." But tyranny bears its inevitable fruits. With it everything is degraded and enfeebled. Fear produces cowardice, and breaks that force which keeps the man and the citizen erect; namely, respect for oneself and for the law.

There is decadence even in tyranny. Those who had usurped

the supremacy in the cities before the Median wars are among the most remarkable men Greece had ever known. Those who seized it in the second epoch are obscure adventurers, whose very names are not always preserved by history. Greece, however, once more conscious of her disgrace, was destined to make a last effort, and finally to perish by the sword of a great people.

¹ Terra-cotta discovered at Myrina, and now in the Louvre. (No. 100 of the *Catalogue* mentioned above.)



EROS LEANING ON A TROPHY.¹