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DIODORUS OF SICILY
IX
Diodorus of Sicily

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In Twelve Volumes

IX
Books XVIII and XIX 1-65

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2. CONQUESTS OF ALEXANDER
INTRODUCTION

THE SOURCES OF BOOKS 18-20

The chief source of Diodorus in Books 18 through 20, except for the material dealing with Italy and Sicily, is the history of Hieronymus of Cardia, a friend and fellow countryman of Eumenes, and after Eumenes' death the companion of Antigonus, Demetrius, and Gonatas. Save for a few fragments (FGrH, No. 154) the work of Hieronymus is lost, but certain of these fragments (e.g., the description of the funeral car of Alexander, frag. 2) can be brought into direct relation with Diodorus. It is a safe assumption that he centred his history about the careers of the leaders whom he successively served; and, following him, Diodorus makes his narrative revolve about Eumenes, Antigonus, and Demetrius. Hieronymus was with Eumenes throughout the campaigns that followed the death of Alexander, took refuge with him on Nora, and was wounded in the final battle at Gabenê. In the accounts of the duel between Eumenes and Neoptolemus (Book 18. 31), the sufferings on Nora (chap. 42), and Eumenes' devices for retaining the support of his generals (Book 19. 15, 23, 24) Diodorus presents vivid details that must come from an eyewitness; and in Antigonus' statement of his reasons for unwillingly ordering the death of Eumenes (Book
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19. 44. 1-3), which he must certainly have desired, we probably have the explanation that he offered to Hieronymus when he attached the latter to his personal following. Antigonus placed Hieronymus in charge of the asphalt industry on the Dead Sea, and to this we owe the detailed account of that sea and of the Nabataean Arabs (Book 19. 94-100). That Diodorus tells more of the disposition of the troops of Demetrius at Gaza than of that of the enemy (Book 19. 82-83) is due to Hieronymus' presence by the side of Demetrius. Diodorus' treatment of Antigonus is, in general, sympathetic, but Antigonus is never presented as a hero as are both Eumenes and Demetrius; and here again we have a reflection of the attitude of Hieronymus.

Although Hieronymus is Diodorus' chief source, he is not the only one. The fulsome praise of Ptolemy (Books 18. 14. 1, 28. 5-6, 33. 3; 19. 86. 3) is certainly not from Hieronymus but from a source favourable to the Egyptian leader; and the confused account of Perdiccas' ill-fated campaign in Egypt (Book 18. 33-36) is probably the result of a careless combination of Hieronymus and this second source.

There is general agreement that the major part of Diodorus' narrative of Sicilian affairs in this period rests on the History of Agathocles by Duris. Not only is there similarity between portions of Diodorus and certain fragments of Duris (Book 20. 41. 3 and 104. 3 compared with FGrHist 76. 17 and 18), but also the series of brilliantly described scenes and the generally favourable treatment of Agathocles fit that author, a follower of the grand style and himself tyrant of Samos. It is also agreed that parts of the narrative rest upon Timaeus, who is directly cited
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in Book 20. 79. 5, 89. 5, and to whom we probably owe the passages that are definitely hostile to Agathocles (e.g. Book 19. 7, 8) or laudatory of his enemies (Book 19. 71. 4 compared with 3. 3-4).

The theory has been advanced that for his brief notices of Roman affairs in Books 19 and 20 Diodorus used one of the earlier annalists, for example, Fabius Pictor, and thus preserves a purer tradition than that of Livy. Although it is quite probable that Diodorus did use a brief account of Roman history written in Greek, there is nothing in the scattered notices to indicate the nature of this work. The statement that the Romans found Luceria a useful stronghold against the near-by peoples "down to our times" (Book 19. 72. 9) is probably taken in its entirety from this source; but Luceria may well have been used by the Romans in the Social War as it certainly was in the Civil Wars, and the passage cannot be used, as it has been, to prove a source contemporary with the war against Hannibal. The nature of Diodorus' source for the history of Rome and Italy must therefore remain an open question.

It is also an open question whether Diodorus used any of these writers directly. He may have followed Hieronymus, Duris, and the unidentified writer on Italian affairs for the several portions of his history, adding material from other sources when he wished; or he may have followed some unknown work or works in which the combination had already been made.

More detailed discussions of the problems suggested in these paragraphs will be found in Rudolf Schubert, Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Diodochenzeit, and in the articles on Diodorus, Diyllus, Duris, Hieronymus,
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and Timaeus in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft.

NOTE ON CHRONOLOGY

The dates given throughout this volume, both in the margin of the translation and in the notes, have been taken from the chronological table in the second edition of Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, 4. 2. 624 ff.

Hieronymus seems to have arranged his history by campaigning seasons, equivalent to the years of our calendar, clearly marking the end of each season by indicating the winter quarters of the various armies; and in general Diodorus followed this same plan, relating all the events of each year before passing to the next, and usually calling attention to the winter quarters of the chief leaders. For his own chronological framework, however, Diodorus used the Athenian archon years, and in fitting the campaigning seasons into these archon years he is not always consistent. As a rule he gives under each archon all the events of the year during which he took office; thus, under the archon of 318/17 he narrates all the events of 318. Quite naturally, in introducing a new character whose previous career has been outside the main course of the history, he goes back and tells what is necessary of that earlier career. Thus the whole story of Agathocles’ rise to power is given at the beginning of Book 19 in connection with his successful coup de main in 317.

If the chronology of Diodorus is thus interpreted, it is reasonably accurate and consistent. Diodorus, indeed, gives his account of the final campaign of Eumenes after naming the archon of 316/15 (Book x
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19. 17-34, 37-43); that is, he puts it at the beginning of the campaigning season of 316 rather than in the last half of 317 where it belongs. But this is an understandable and not very serious difference. The campaign certainly started before the end of the summer of 317 (Book 19. 18. 1, 19. 1-2, 21. 2), was briefly interrupted when both armies went into winter quarters, but started again in December (37. 3), and the final battle probably took place late in that month or early in January. Diodorus simply placed the whole campaign in the year in which the final decision was reached. Chapters 15 to 43 of Book 18, however, present special difficulties. The events of 322 should, by Diodorus' usual method, follow his mention of the archon of 322/1 in chapter 26, but they are actually narrated in the eleven chapters just preceding; and in chapter 26, after the archon is named, we go at once to the burial of Alexander in 321 (chaps. 26-28), the building of the funeral car being described here in connection with the transportation of the body to Egypt rather than two years earlier when construction was started. The next archonship to be mentioned is that of 319/18 in chapter 44, and the narrative of 319 immediately follows in its proper place. It would be easy to assume one or more lacunae between chapters 28 and 44 with the loss of the names of the archons of 321/0 and 320/19 and much of the history of the two years, but that would not explain the earlier irregularity; and the omission of the second of these archons from the Parian Marble may possibly suggest some more deep-seated trouble.

In equating the Roman and Greek systems of chronology, Diodorus used a list of Roman consuls
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to which the "dictator years" of 333, 324, 309, and 301 had not been added. In the period here in question he assigns the consuls to years that differ from those of the traditional (Varronian) chronology by two years at the beginning of Book 18 (cp. chap. 2. 1 and note) and thereafter by one year; but he usually agrees with Livy in assigning events to the years of particular consuls, and, since the "dictator years" are quite certainly imaginary, his chronology is, to this extent, better than the Varronian. (Cp. H. Stuart Jones in the Cambridge Ancient History, 7. 321 f.)
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OF
DIODORUS OF SICILY
BOOK XVIII

VOL. IX

B
Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ὀκτωκαὶδεκάτῃ τῶν Διοδώρου βούβλων

'Ἡ γενομένη παραχή καὶ στάσεις μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήν ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν.
Περίδικον παράληψις τῆς κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπιμελείας καὶ διαίρεσις τῶν σατραπειῶν.
Ἀπόστασις τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄνω σατραπείαις Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἀποστολῆ στρατηγοῦ Πίθωνος ἐπὶ αὐτοῦς.
Ἀπαγγελία τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἀπίαν θέσεως καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ σατραπεῖων.
'Ὡς Πίθων κατεπολέμησε τοὺς ἀποστάντας Ἑλλήνας.
Ὡς Ἀθηναίοι πόλεμον ἑξήνεγκαν ἀπὸς Ἀντίπατρον τῶν ὄνομασθέντα Λαμιακόν.
Ὡς Δεωσθένης ἀναδειχθεῖς στρατηγός καὶ συντησαμένος δύναμιν ἐνίκησε μᾶχῃ τῶν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ συνέκλεσεν εἰς πόλιν Λαμίαν.
Δεωσθένους τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τελευτὴν καὶ ἐπιτάφιος.
Παράληψις τῶν σατραπειῶν ὑπὸ τῶν μεμερισμένων αὐτῶς.
Ἱππομαχία τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς Δεοννάτον καὶ νίκη τῶν Ἑλλήνων.
Ὡς Ἀντίπατρος Δεοννάτου σφαγέντος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ παρέλαβε τὴν Δεοννάτου δύναμιν.

1 i.e. those of the far eastern part of the empire.
CONTENTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH BOOK OF DIODORUS

The disturbance and contention in the armies after the death of Alexander (chaps. 1-2).

How Perdiccas assumed the regency; and the division of the satrapies (chaps. 3-4).

Revolt of the Greeks in the upper satrapies,¹ and the dispatch of Pithon as general against them (chap. 4).

Description of the situation in Asia, and of the satrapies therein (chaps. 5-6).

How Pithon conquered the Greeks who had rebelled (chap. 7).

How the Athenians began what is known as the Lamian War against Antipater (chaps. 8-9).

How Leosthenes, having been made general and having assembled an army, defeated Antipater in battle and shut him up in Lamia (chaps. 9-12).

The death of the general Leosthenes, and the funeral oration in his honour (chap. 13).

How the satrapies were taken over by those to whom they had been assigned (chap. 14).


How Antipater took over the army of Leonnatus after the latter had been slain in battle (chap. 15).
Ως Κλείτος ο τῶν Μακεδόνων ναύαρχος ἐνίκησε δυσὶ ναυμαχίαις τοὺς "Ελλήνας.

Ως Περδίκκας Ἀρμαράθην τὸν βασιλεὰ παρατάξει μεγάλη νικήσας ἐξώγρησε τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων.

Ως Κρατερὸς βοηθήσας Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἐνίκησε τοὺς "Ελλήνας καὶ κατέλυσε τὸν Λαμικὸν πόλεμον.

Περὶ τῶν ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου πραγμάτων πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους "Ελλήνας.

Περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κυρήνην πολέμῳ Πτολεμαίῳ.

Ως Περδίκκας ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν Παισίδαν Λαρανδεῖς μὲν ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, Ἰσαυρίης δὲ πολιορκήσας συνημάγκασεν ἑαυτοὺς τε κατασφάξας καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρήσει.

Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ Κρατεροῦ στρατεύα ἐν Αἰτωλία.

Κατακομβῇ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου σώματος ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀρμαμαξανίας πολυτελείας ἀπαγγέλεια.

Ως Εύμενῆς παρατάξει νικήσας Κρατερὸν κατέσφαξεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ Νεοπτόλεμον.

Ως Περδίκκας εἰς Δέγυπτον στρατεύσας ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀνηρέθη.

Ως τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιμελητῆς ἤρεθη Πίθων καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ Ἀρριβαῖος, ὦστερον δ' Ἀντίπατρος.

Ως Ἀντίπατρος ἠγεμόνι κατασταθεῖσ' τῶν ὅλων ἐμερίσατο τὰς στατοπεῖας ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν Τριπαράδεισῳ τῆς Συρίας.

Ως Ἀντίγονος ύπὶ Ἀντιπάτρου κατασταθεῖσ' στρατηγὸς κατεπολέμησε τὸν Εύμενῆ.
CONTENTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH BOOK

How Cleitus, the Macedonian admiral, defeated the Greeks in two naval battles (chap. 15).

How Perdiccas, after defeating King Ariarathes in a great engagement, took the king and many others captive (chap. 16).

How Craterus, going to the aid of Antipater, defeated the Greeks and ended the Lamian War (chaps. 16-17).

The dealings of Antipater with the Athenians and the other Greeks (chap. 18).

Concerning the achievements of Ptolemy in the war about Cyrenê (chaps. 19-21).

How Perdiccas invaded Pisidia and enslaved the Larandians, and, besieging the Isaurians, forced them to kill themselves and burn their city (chap. 22).

The invasion of Aetolia by Antipater and Craterus (chaps. 24-25).

The transfer of the body of Alexander from Babylon to Alexandria, and description of the magnificent funeral chariot (chaps. 26-28).

How Eumenes, defeating Craterus in an engagement, killed him and Neoptolemus in the battle (chaps. 29-32).

How Perdiccas invaded Egypt and was destroyed by his friends (chaps. 33-36).

How Pithon was chosen guardian of the kings and Arrhidæus with him, and Antipater afterwards (chaps. 36-39).

How Antipater, being set up as supreme commander, divided the satrapies anew at Triparadeicus in Syria (chap. 39).

How Antigonus, having been made general by Antipater, defeated Eumenes (chaps. 40-41).
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Περὶ Εὐμενοῦς καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν γενομένων παραδόξων μεταβολῶν.

"Ως Πτολεμαῖος τήν τε Φοινίκην καὶ τήν Κοίλην Συρίαν προσεκτήσατο.

"Ως 'Αντέγονος 'Αλκέταν ενίκησεν ἐπιφανεὶ παρατάξει. 'Αντιπάτρου θάνατος καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως παράληψες ὑπὸ Πολυπέρχοντος.

"Ως 'Αντέγονος μετεωρισθείς ἐπὶ τε τῆ 'Αντιπάτρου τελευτῆ καὶ τοῦ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ κατεργασμένου αὐτεσπουδάσατο τῆς βασιλείας.

Εὐμενοῦς αὐξήσας παράδοξος καὶ παράληψις τῆς τε τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιμελείας καὶ τῆς Μακεδονικῆς δυνάμεως.

Κασάνδρου αὐξήσας καὶ πόλεμος πρὸς Πολυπέρχοντα τὸν ἐπιμελητὴν τῶν βασιλέων καὶ κοινοπραγία πρὸς 'Αντέγονον.

"Ως Εὐμενῆς ἐν Κελικίᾳ τοὺς ἀργυράσπιδας παραλαβὼν εἰς τὰς ἀνα σατραπείας ἀπῆλθε καὶ δύναμιν ἀξιάλογον παρεσκευάσατο.

Περὶ τῆς Εὐμενοῦς ἀγχονούς καὶ στρατηγίας καὶ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πραχθέντων μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς.

Τὰ συμβάντα περὶ Κάσανδρον κατὰ τὴν 'Αττικὴν καὶ Νικάνορα τὸν φρονοῦντα τὴν Μουνιχίαν.

Φωκίων τοῦ χρυσοῦ προσαγωρευθέντος θάνατος.

"Ως Πολυπέρχον Μεγαλοπολίτας πολιορκήσας καὶ πολλὰ παθῶν καὶ δράσας ἀπρακτός ἐπανῆλθεν.

"Ως Κλείτος ὁ Πολυπέρχοντος ναύαρχος ενίκησε ναυμαχίᾳ Νικάνορα τὸν Κασάνδρον ναύαρχον.

1 βασιλέων Rhodoman : βασιλείων.
CONTENTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH BOOK

About Eumenes, and the strange changes of fortune that befell him (chap. 42).
How Ptolemy added Phoenícia and Coelé Syria to his domains (chap. 43).
How Antigonus defeated Alcetas in a noteworthy engagement (chaps. 44-47).
The death of Antipater, and the taking over of the royal army by Polyperchon (chaps. 48-49).
How Antigonus, encouraged by the death of Antipater and by his own accomplishments, became a competitor for the throne (chaps. 50-52).
How Eumenes unexpectedly gained in power and took over both the guardianship of the kings and the command of the Maccadian army (chap. 53).
The rise of Cassander and his war against Polyperchon, the guardian of the kings, and his cooperation with Antigonus (chaps. 54-57).
How Eumenes took over the Silver Shields in Cilicia, retired to the upper satrapies, and made ready for himself a considerable army (chaps. 58-59).
About the shrewdness and generalship of Eumenes, and about his deeds up to his death (chaps. 60-63).
What happened in Attica in regard to Cassander and Nicanor, commander of the garrison at Munychia (chaps. 64-65, 68-69).
The death of Phocion, called the Good (chaps. 66-67).
How Polyperchon besieged the people of Megalopolis, and, after many losses and successes, withdrew without accomplishing anything (chaps. 69-72).
How Cleitus, the admiral of Polyperchon, defeated Nicanor, the admiral of Cassander, in a naval battle (chap. 72).
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΥS ΟF ΣΙCΙЛY

'Ως' Αντέγονος ἐπιφανῶς νικήσας ναυμαχία τῶν Κλείτων ἐθαλαττοκράτησεν.

'Ως Εὐμενῆς ὑπὸ Σελεύκου περὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα συγκλεισθῆς εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους κυνδύνους ἐσώθη διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀγχίνοιαν.

'Ως Πολυπέρχων καταφρονηθῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ταπεινωθῆς διεπολέμηκε πρὸς Κάσανδρον.
CONTENTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH BOOK

How Antigonus gained the supremacy on the sea by brilliantly defeating Cleitus in a naval battle (chap. 72).

How Eumenes, although he had been surrounded near Babylon by Seleucus and was in extreme danger, was saved by his own shrewdness (chap. 73).

How Polyperchon, although despised and humiliated by the Greeks, continued to fight against Cassander (chaps. 74-75).
ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΞΙΚΕΛΙΣΤΟΥ
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΣ ΟΚΤΩΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΗ

1. Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμως καὶ τινὲς ἔτεροι τῶν παλαιῶν φυσικῶν ἀπεφήναντο τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπάρχειν ἄθανάτους, ἀκολούθως δὲ τῷ δόγματι τούτῳ καὶ προγνώσκειν αὐτὰς τὰ μέλλοντα καθ’ ὅν ἄν καίρον ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τῶν ἀπὸ 2 τοῦ σώματος χωρίσμον ποιῶνται. τούτους δὲ ἔουε συμφωνεῖν καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς Ὄμηρος, παρεισάγων τὸν Ἐκτόρα κατὰ τὸν τῆς τελευτῆς καίρον προλέγοντα τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα συντόμως αὐτῷ 3 συνακολούθησειν θάνατον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νεωτέρους χρόνους ἐπὶ πολλῶν καταστρεφόντων τὸν βίον ἱστορεῖται γεγονέναι τὸ προειρημένον καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος 4 τελευτῆς. οὗτος γὰρ ἐν Βαβυλώνι μεταλλάττων τὸν βίον, κατὰ τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀναπνοὴν ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων τίνι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολείπει, εἰπεν Τῷ ἀρίστῳ· προορῶμαι γὰρ ἐπιτάφιον μέγαν ἄγω—
1. Pythagoras of Samos and some others of the ancient philosophers declared that the souls of men are immortal, and also that, in accordance with this doctrine, souls foreknow the future at that moment in death when they are departing from the bodies. It seems that the poet Homer agreed with them, for he introduced Hector at the time of his decease foretelling to Achilles the death that was soon to come upon him. Likewise it is reported that even in more recent times what we have described above has happened in the case of many men as they were coming to the end of life, and in particular on the occasion of the death of Alexander of Macedon. When he was quitting life in Babylon and at his last breath was asked by his friends to whom he was leaving the kingdom, he said, “To the best man; for I foresee that a great combat of my friends will

1 Homer, Iliad, 22. 358-360.
Diodorus of Sicily

5 μνα γενησόμενον μοι τών φίλων. ὁπερ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλων ἐξέβη· οἱ γὰρ ἐπιφανέστατοι τῶν φίλων ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρωτείου διενεχθέντες πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἀγῶνας συνεστήσαντο μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήν.

Τὰς δὲ συντελεσθείσας ὑπ’ αὐτῶν πράξεις ἡ βύβλος αὐτὴ περιέχουσα ποιήσει φανερὸν τὸ μὴθὲν 6 τοῖς φιλαναγνωστοῦσιν. ἢ μὲν γὰρ πρὸ ταύτης βύβλος τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου πράξεις ἀπάσας περιείληψε μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς· αὐτὴ δὲ τὰ τοὺς διαδεξαμένους τὴν τούτου βασιλείαν πεπραγμένα περιέχουσα τελευτήν μὲν ἔχει τὸν προηγούμενον ἐναυτὸν τῆς Ἀγαθοκλέους τυραννίδος, περιέληψεν δὲ ἐτη ἐπτά.

2. Ἐν ἀρχοντος γὰρ Ἀθηνησίου Κηθισοδώρου Ἐρμιαίου μὲν κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Λεύκιου Φρούριον καὶ Δέκιου Ἰούνιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως τετελευτηκότος ἀπαιδος ἀναρχία 2 καὶ πολλὴ στάσις ἐγένετο περὶ τῆς ἄγερμοιος. ἢ μὲν γὰρ τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγξ Ἀρρίδαιον τὸν Φιλ-

1 πολέμους after πολλοὺς deleted by Dindorf.
2 συντελεσθείσα after ταύτης deleted by Dindorf.
3 Φρούριον and Δέκιον in the MSS., but cp. the note on the translation.

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1 Cp. Arrian, Anabasis of Alexander, 7. 26. 3; Curtius, 10. 5. 5; Justin, 12. 15. 6-8.
2 Diodorus (19. 2. 1) dates the beginning of the tyranny of Agathocles in the archonship of Demogenes, 317/16. The events recorded in Book 18 are divided among the years of four archons: Cephasodorus, 323/2 (chaps. 2-25); Philocolles, 322/1 (chaps. 26-43); Apollodorus, 319/18 (chaps. 44-57); and Archippus, 318/17 (chaps. 58-75). The burial of Alexander (chaps. 96-98) and the campaign of Eumenes against 12
be my funeral games." ¹ And this actually hap-
pened; for after the death of Alexander the fore-
most of his friends quarrelled about the primacy
and joined in many great combats.

This Book, which contains an account of the deeds
accomplished by these friends, will make the philo-
sopher’s saying clear to the interested reader. The
preceding Book included all the acts of Alexander up
to his death; this one, containing the deeds of those
who succeeded to his kingdom, ends with the year
before the tyranny of Agathocles and includes seven
years.²

2. When Cephisodorus was archon at Athens, the
Romans elected Lucius Frurius and Decius Junius
consuls.³ During this term the throne was vacant,
since Alexander the king had died without issue, and
great contention arose over the leadership.⁴ The
phalanx of the infantry was supporting Arrhidæus,

Craterus (chaps. 29-32), which fill the first part of Diodorus’
narrative of 322/1, are placed by the Marmor Parium in the
following year. The remaining events recorded by Diodorus
as taking place in 322/1 are not mentioned in the Marmor
Parium, which has no entry for 320/19. It seems impossible
to determine whether the chronological confusion is due to
Diodorus himself, or to one or more undiscoverable lacunæ
in the manuscripts. For a further discussion of this problem
cp. “Note on Chronology” in the Introduction to this
volume.

³ Cephisodorus was archon in 323/2. According to the
conventional (Varronian) chronology, Lucius Furius Camillus
and Decimus Junius Brutus Scaeva were consuls in 325 B.C.,
the former holding the office for the second time (Livy, 8.
29. 2). Cp. H. Stuart Jones in Cambridge Ancient History,
7. 321-322.

⁴ For other accounts of the quarrel and the settlement
cp. Dexippus, FGrH, 100. 8; Arrian, FGrH, 156. 1. 1-3;
Curtius, 10. 6-8; Justin, 13. 2-4; Plutarch, Eumenes, 3. 1.
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ίππου μὲν νῦν, ζυγικοὶς δὲ πάθεσι συνεχόμενοι ἀνάστοις προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν· οἱ δὲ μέγιστον ἐχόντες ἀξίωμα τῶν φίλων καὶ σωματοφυλάκων συνεδρεύσαντες καὶ προσλαβόμενοι τὸ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἑταῖρων ὀνομαζομένων σύστημα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διαγωνίζοντας τοὺς ὀπλίους πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα δι-
έγνωσαν καὶ πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀξίωμα ἐχόντων ἄνδρῶν, ὅπως ἢ ἐπιφανε-
στατὸς Μελέαγρος, ἀξιούντες πειθαρχεύν αὐτοὺς.

3 ὁ δὲ Μελέαγρος ὡς ἠκεῖν πρὸς τοὺς φαλαγγίτας,
τῆς μὲν προσβείας οὐδεμίαν ἐποιήσατο μνείαιν,
τοῦναντίον δὲ ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δεδογ-
μένοις παρώξυνε κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιομένων. διόπερ
οἱ Μακεδόνες ἤγειρον καταστήσαντες ἐναυτῶν τὸν
Μελέαγρον προήγον πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας μετὰ
4 τῶν ὀπλών. τῶν δὲ σωματοφυλάκων ἀποχωρη-
σάντων ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλώνος καὶ παρασκευαζομένων
ἐις πόλεμον οἱ χαριέστατοι τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἔπεισαν
αὐτοὺς ὀμονοῆσαι. εὐθὺ δὲ βασιλέα κατέστησαν
tὸν Φιλίππου νῦν Ἀρριδαῖον καὶ μετωνόμασαν
Φιλίππου, ἐπιμελητὴν δὲ τῆς βασιλείας Περδίκκαν,
ὅ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν δακτύλιον τελευτῶν δεδόκει,
tοὺς δὲ ἀξιολογοῦσάς τῶν φίλων καὶ σωματο-
φυλάκων παραλαβεῖν τὰς σατραπείας καὶ ὑπακουέν
τῷ τε βασιλεί καὶ τῷ Περδίκκα.

3. Οὕτως δὲ παραλαβῶν τὴν τῶν ὀλων ἤγειρον

1 πεζοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀξίωμα ἐχόντων ἄνδρῶν ὅπως ἢ ἐπιφανεστάτως
1 According to Plutarch (Alexander, 77. 5), Arrhidaeus’
mother was an obscure woman named Philinna, and his own
intellectual deficiency was due to a drug given him by
Olympias.

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son of Philip, for the kingship, although he was afflicted with an incurable mental illness.\(^1\) The most influential of the Friends and of the Bodyguard, however, taking counsel together and joining to themselves the corps of horsemen known as the Companions, at first decided to take up arms against the phalanx and sent to the infantry envoys chosen from men of rank, of whom the most prominent was Meleager, demanding submission to their orders. Meleager, however, when he came to the men of the phalanx, made no mention of his mission but, on the contrary, praised them for the resolution that they had taken and sharpened their anger against their opponents. As a result the Macedonians made Meleager their leader and advanced under arms against those who disagreed with them; but when the Bodyguard had withdrawn from Babylon and was making ready for war, the men most inclined toward conciliation persuaded the parties to come to an agreement. Straightway they made Arrhidaeus, son of Philip, their king and changed his name to Philip; Perdiccas, to whom the king had given his ring as he died, they made regent of the kingdom\(^2\); and they decided that the most important of the Friends and of the Bodyguard should take over the satrapies and obey the king and Perdiccas.

3. After Perdiccas had assumed the supreme com-

\(^2\) Perdiccas did in fact act as sole regent, but by the terms of the settlement the power was divided between him and Craterus, and Meleager was made Perdiccas' lieutenant (Dexippus, \(FG\)\textit{rH}, 100. 8. 4; Arrian, \(FG\)\textit{rH}, 156. 1. 1-3; Justin, 13. 4. 5). Diodorus omits any reference to the expected son of Roxanê, who was to share the throne with Arrhidaeus, but beginning with chapter 18. 6 he regularly speaks of the kings rather than of the king.
καὶ συνεδρεύσασας μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων Πτολεμαίων μὲν τῷ δ' Ἀργυτὸν ἔδωκεν, Δαμιένου δὲ τῷ Μεγαληναῖῳ Συρίαν, Φιλώτα δὲ Κιλκίῳ καὶ Πίθωνι μὲν Μιθίαν, Εὐμενεῖ δὲ Παφλαγιόνιαν καὶ Καππαδοκίαν καὶ πάσας τὰς συνοριζούσας ταύταις χώρας, ἀσ Ἀλέξανδρος οὐκ ἐπήλθεν ἐκκλεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν καίρων, ὅτε διεσπέρας πρὸς Δαρείον, Ἀντιγόνῳ δὲ Παμφυλίαν καὶ Λυκίαν καὶ τὴν μεγάλην καλουμένην Φρυγίαν, μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Ἀσάνδρῳ μὲν Καρίαν, Μενάνδρῳ δὲ Λυδίαν, Λεονάτῳ δὲ τὴν ἑφ' Ἑλλησσόνων Φρυγίαν. αὐτὰ μὲν οὖν αἱ σατραπεῖαι τούτων τὸν τρόπον ἐμερίσθησαν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην Λυσιμάχῳ μὲν ἐδόθη Θράκη καὶ τὰ συνορίζοντα τῶν ἐθνῶν παρὰ τὴν Ποντικὴν θάλασσαν, ἡ δὲ Μακεδονία καὶ τὰ πλησίον γύρω τῶν ἐθνῶν Ἀντιπάτρῳ προσώρισθη. τὰς δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν παραλειμμένας σατραπεῖες ἐδοξῆ ὑμῖν κινεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτούς ἡγεμόνας τεταγμένας· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ταξίλην καὶ Πύρον κυρίους εἶναι τῶν ἱδίων βασιλεῶν, καθά-3 περ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν τεταχῶς. 4 Πίθωνι δὲ τὴν συνορίζουσαν σατραπεῖαν τοὺς περὶ Ταξίλην βασιλεὺς συνεχώρησε· τὴν δὲ παρὰ τὸν Καύκασον κειμένην, ὁνομαζομένην δὲ Παραπτωσάδων προσ-

1 Ἀσάνδρῳ Wesseling, cp. Arrian, FGrH, 156. 1. 6, 9. 37, Dexippus, FGrH, 100. 8. 2, Klarst in P.-W., Realencyclopaedia, 2. 1516: Κασάνδρῳ MSS. followed by Fischer.
2 Μενάνδρῳ Wesseling, cp. Arrian, FGrH, 156. 1. 6, Dexippus, FGrH, 100. 8. 2, Curtius, 10. 10. 2, Justin, 13. 4. 15: Μελέαγρῳ MSS. followed by Fischer.
3 ὁμοίως δὲ . . . ἦν τεταχῶς transferred from end of § 4 by Kallenberg.
4 Πίθωνι δὲ (cp. chap. 39. 6 and Dexippus, FGrH, 100. 8. 4), Πίθωνι δὲ Madvig, τούτων δὲ Πίθωνι μὲν τῷ Ἀγήνορος Hert-
mand and had taken counsel with the chief men, he gave Egypt to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, Syria to Laomedon of Mitylenê, Cilicia to Philotas, and Media to Pithon. To Eumenes he gave Paphlagonia and Cappadocia and all the lands bordering on these, which Alexander did not invade, having been prevented from doing so by the urgency of his affairs when he was finishing the war with Darius; to Antigonus he gave Pamphylia, Lycia, and what is called Great Phrygia; then to Asander, Caria; to Menander, Lydia; and to Leonnatus, Hellespontine Phrygia. These satrapies, then, were distributed in that way. In Europe, Thrace and the neighbouring tribes near the Pontic sea were given to Lysimachus, and Macedonia and the adjacent peoples were assigned to Antipater. Perdiccas, however, decided not to disturb the remaining satrapies in Asia but to permit them to remain under the same rulers; likewise he determined that Taxiles and Porus should be masters of their own kingdoms as Alexander himself had arranged. To Pithon he gave the satrapy next to Taxiles and the other kings; and the satrapy that lies along the Caucasus, called that of the Paropanisadæa,

1 This list of satrapies and satraps agrees, with the exceptions noted below, with that in Dexippus (FGrH, 100. 8). Arrian (FGrH, 158. 1. 5-8) and Curtius (10. 10. 1-6) also agree, but do not include the eastern satrapies. Justin (13. 4. 9-25) is very inaccurate.
2 Media Maior; cp. on § 3.
3 Arrian assigns this command jointly to Antipater and Craterus.
4 Cp. Book 17. 86. 7, 89. 6.
5 i.e. the Hindu Kush.

lein: τοῦτων δὲ MSS. followed by Fischer, who in addenda approves Beloch's addition of Πίθων after βασιλεῦσιν.
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'Ωριον Ὄξυπριτη τῷ Βακτριανῷ, ἕως τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀργείαν γεγαμηκὼς ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ Συμεώνίω μὲν ἔδωκεν Ἀραχωσίαν καὶ Κεδρωσίαν, Στασάνορι δὲ τῷ Σολίῳ τὴν Ἀρίαν καὶ Δραγγινὴν, Φιλίστιῳ δὲ προσάρασε Βακτριανὴν καὶ Σογδιανὴν, Φραταφέρη δὲ Παρθναίαν καὶ Ἰρκανίαν καὶ Πευκέστη μὲν Περσίδα, Τληπολέμῳ δὲ Καρμανίαν, Ἀτροπάτη δὲ Μηδίαν, Ἀρχώνι δὲ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν, Ἀρκαισιάω δὲ Μεσοποταμίαν. 4 Σέλενικον δ’ ἐταξεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἕπαρξιν τῶν ἑταίρων, καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτην ταύτης γὰρ Ἡφαιστίων πρῶτος μὲν ἠγήσατο, μετὰ δὲ τούτων Περδικκᾶς, 5 τρίτος δ’ ὁ προειρημένος Σέλενικος. ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν κατακομβὴν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς ἀρμαμάξης τῆς μελλόντος κομίζειν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ τετελευτηκότος βασιλέως εἰς Ἀμμωνα ἐταξαν Ἀρριδαίον.

4. Κρατερὸς δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἄνδρῶν ὑπάρχον ἐτυχε προαπεσταλμένος εἰς Κιλικίαν ὑπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου μετὰ τῶν ἀπολυθέντων τῆς στρατείας, ὅτεν μυρίων. ἅμα δὲ ἐιληφὼν ἐντολὰς ἦν ἐγγράπτους, ἃς ἔδωκε μὲν δ’ ἐπιφανεστάτην τὰ συντελέσαι, μεταλλάξαντος δ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῖς δια- 2 δῶχοι ἐδοξε μὴ συντελεῖν τὰ βεβουλευμένα. ὁ

1 βασιλεῖ after Βακτριανῷ deleted by Wesseling.
2 Ἀτροπάτη Bonitr: Ἀτράπη RX, Ἀτράπη F.
3 ἄνδρων added by Fischer.

1 Dexippus gives this name as Rhadapernes.
2 Dexippus gives this name as Neoptolemus.
3 Atropates, father-in-law of Perdiccas, had been satrap of all Media (Arrian, Anabasis, 4. 18. 8, 7. 4. 5). He now retained the north-west portion, henceforth known as Lesser

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he assigned to Oxyartes the Bactrian, whose daughter 323 B.C. Roxanē Alexander had married. He gave Arachosia and Cedrosia to Sibyrtius, Aria and Dranginē to Stasanor of Soli, Bactrianē and Sogdianē to Philip, Parthia and Hyrcania to Phrataphernes,' Persia to Peucetes, Carmania to Tlepolemus, Media to Atropates,' Babylonia to Archon, and Mesopotamia to Aræsilaus. He placed Seleucus in command of the cavalry of the Companions, a most distinguished office; for Hephaestion commanded them first, Perdiccas after him, and third the above-named Seleucus. The transportation of the body of the deceased king and the preparation of the vehicle that was to carry the body to Ammon they assigned to Arrhidaeus.4

4. It happened that Craterus, who was one of the most prominent men, had previously been sent away by Alexander to Cilicia with those men who had been discharged from the army, ten thousand in number.5 At the same time he had received written instructions which the king had given him for execution; nevertheless, after the death of Alexander, it seemed best to the successors not to carry out these plans.6 For

Media or Media Atropatenē, which soon became independent and was ruled by his descendants for many years (Strabo, 11. 13. 1).

4 In spite of Justin (13. 4. 6), this is not Philip Arrhidaeus, the king. Cf. chaps. 26-28 and 36. 7. Pausanias (1. 6. 3) states that the body was to be buried at Aegae in Macedon, and Arrian (FG r H, 156. 9. 25) implies that the body was not to go to Egypt.


γὰρ Περδίκκας παραλαβὼν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν τε συντελείαν τῆς Ἡφαιστίωνος πυρᾶς, πολλῶν δεομένην χρημάτων, τὰς τε λουπᾶς αὐτοῦ ἐπιβολὰς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ούσας καὶ δαπάνας ἀνυπερβλήτους ἔχουσας ἔκρινε συμφέρειν 3 ἀκύρους ποιήσαι. ἢν δὲ μὴ δόξη διὰ τῆς ὁδίας γνώμης καθαιρεῖν τι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δόξης ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων πλῆθος ἀνήνεγκε τὴν περὶ τούτων βουλήν.

4 Ἡν δὲ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων τὰ μέγιστα καὶ μνήμης ἁξία τάδε. χιλλας μὲν ναὸς μακρὰς μείζους τριήρων ναυπηγήσασθαι κατὰ τὴν Φοινίκην καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κυπριαν καὶ Κύπρον πρὸς τὴν στρατεύειν τὴν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίου καὶ τῶν ἀλλων τοὺς παρὰ θάλατταν κατακοῦντας τῆς τε Λιβύης καὶ Ἰβηρίας καὶ τῆς ὀμόρου χώρας παραθαλασσίου μέχρι Σκελής· ὅδον ποιῆσαι δὲ τὴν παραθαλάσσιον τῆς Λιβύης μέχρι στηλῶν Ἡρακλείων, ἀκολούθως δὲ τῷ τηλικοῦτῳ στόλῳ λυμένας καὶ νεώρια κατασκευάζει κατὰ τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων· ναοὺς τε κατασκευάζει πολυτελεῖς ἔξ, ἀπὸ ταλάντων χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων ἐκαστον πρὸς δὲ τούτων πόλεων συνοικισμοὺς καὶ συμμάτων μεταγωγὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ κατὰ τούνατον ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅπως τὰς μεγάλας ἡπείρους ταῖς ἐπιγραμμιᾷ καὶ ταῖς ὀικείωσεσι εἰς κοινὴν 5 ὀμόνοιαν καὶ συγγενικὴν φιλίαν καταστήσῃ. τοὺς δὲ προειρημένους ναοὺς ἔδει κατασκευασθῆναι ἐν Δήλῳ καὶ Δελφοῖς καὶ Δωδόνῃ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μα-

1 ἀκολούθως δὲ . . . τῶν τόπων, which follows πεντακοσίων ἐκαστον in the MSS., transferred here by Fischer.
when Perdiccas found in the memoranda of the king 323 B.C. orders for the completion of the pyre of Hephaestion, which required a great deal of money, and also for the other designs of Alexander, which were many and great and called for an unprecedented outlay, he decided that it was inexpedient to carry them out. But that he might not appear to be arbitrarily detracting anything from the glory of Alexander, he laid these matters before the common assembly of the Macedonians for consideration.

The following were the largest and most remarkable items of the memoranda. It was proposed to build a thousand warships, larger than triremes, in Phoenicia, Syria, Cilicia, and Cyprus for the campaign against the Carthaginians and the others who live along the coast of Libya and Iberia and the adjoining coastal region as far as Sicily; to make a road along the coast of Libya as far as the Pillars of Heracles and, as needed by so great an expedition, to construct ports and shipyards at suitable places; to erect six most costly temples, each at an expense of fifteen hundred talents; and, finally, to establish cities and to transplant populations from Asia to Europe and in the opposite direction from Europe to Asia, in order to bring the largest continents to common unity and to friendly kinship by means of intermarriages and family ties. The temples mentioned above were to be built at Delos, Delphi, and Dodona, and in Mace-

1 Since the pyre had already been completed (Book 17. 114-115), the reference here appears to be to the tomb planned by Alexander (Plutarch, Alexander, 72. 3).
2 The attack is to be directed against the non-Greeks on the northern coast of Africa and on the southern coast of Europe from Spain to Sicily. Cp. Arrian, Anabasis, 7. 1. 1-4; Curtius, 10. 1. 17-18; Plutarch, Alexander, 68. 1.
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κεδονίαν ἐν Δίω μὲν τοῦ Δίας, ἐν 'Αμφιπόλει δὲ τῆς Ταυροπόλου, ἐν Κύρνω δὲ τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἰλίῳ ταύτης τῆς θεᾶς κατασκευασθήναι ναοῦ ὑπερβολήν ἐτέρω μη καταλεῖποντα. τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς Φιλίππου τάφον πυραμίδι παραπλησίον μᾶ τῇ μεγάλῃ τῶν" κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων, ἐς ἐν τοῖς ἐπτὰ τινας μεγίστους ἑργοὺς κατ' ἀριθμόνων. ἀναγνωσθέντων δὲ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων οἱ Μακεδόνες, καίπερ ἀποδεδηγμένοι καλῶς τὸν 'Αλεξανδρὸν, ὅμως ὑπερόγκους καὶ δυσεῖκους τὰς ἐπιβολὰς ὀρῶντες ἔκριναν μηδὲν τῶν εἰρήμενων συντελεὶν.

7 Περθίκκας δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς ταραχόδεις τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ μάλιστα ἄλλοτρίως ἔχοντας τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡντας τριάκοντα. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα καὶ Μελέαγρον ἐν τῇ στάσει καὶ πρεσβεία προδότην γεγενημένον, ἐπιλαβόμενον οἰκείας διαβολῆς καὶ κατηγορίας, ὡς ἐπιβουλήν κατ' αὐτὸν 8 πεποιημένον ἐκάλασε. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἐν ταῖς ἁνω σατραπείαις τῶν κατοικισθέντων Ἑλλήνων ἀποστάντων καὶ δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον συστησαμένων ἐνα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἄνδρῶν ἐξεπέμψα Πίθωνα, διαπολεμήσοντα πρὸς αὐτούς.

5. Ἡμεῖς δὲ πρὸς τὰς μελλούσας ἱστορεῖσθαι

1 For Κύρνω Gronovius and Wesseling suggest Κύρρω.
2 τῶν added by Schaefer.
3 ἐπιλαβόμενος . . . διαβολῆς Stephanus, ἐπιβαλόμενος . . . διαβολᾶς Wesseling, Fischer: ἐπιβαλόμενοι . . . διαβολῆς.

1 Cyrius in Macedon is otherwise unknown, but the name is found elsewhere in Greece (Herodotus, 9. 105; Pliny, Natural History, 4. 53), and the change to Cyrrhus, although easy, seems unnecessary.

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donia a temple to Zeus at Dium, to Artemis Tauropolus 323 B.C. at Amphipolis, and to Athena at Cyprus. Likewise at Ilium in honour of this goddess there was to be built a temple that could never be surpassed by any other. A tomb for his father Philip was to be constructed to match the greatest of the pyramids of Egypt, buildings which some persons count among the seven greatest works of man. When these memoranda had been read, the Macedonians, although they applauded the name of Alexander, nevertheless saw that the projects were extravagant and impracticable and decided to carry out none of those that have been mentioned.

Perdicas first put to death those soldiers who were fomenter of discord and most at enmity with himself, thirty in number. After that he also punished Meleager, who had been a traitor on the occasion of the contention and his mission, using as a pretext a private quarrel and a charge that Meleager was plotting against him. Then, since the Greeks who had been settled in the upper satrapies had revolted and raised an army of considerable size, he sent one of the nobles, Pithon, to fight it out with them.

5. Considering the events that are to be narrated,
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πράξεις οικείον εἶναι νομίζομεν ἐκθεῖναι πρῶτερον τάς τε αἰτίας τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ τῆς ὅλης Ἀσίας τῆς θέσιν καὶ τῶν σατραπείων τὰ μεγέθη καὶ τὰς ἰδιότητας. οὕτως γὰρ μάλιστα εὐπαρακολουθήτως τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν ἡ διήγησις ἔσται, πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τεθείσης τῆς ὅλης τοποθεσίας καὶ τῶν διαστημάτων.

2. 'Ἀπὸ τούτων τοῦ κατὰ Κιλικίαν Ταύρου συνεχές ὁρός δι' ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας διήκει μέχρι τοῦ Καυκάσου καὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀνατολάς Ὁκεανοῦ τούτο δὲ παντοδαπὸς ἀναστήμασι λόφων διειλημμένον ἱδίας καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἔχει προσηγορίας. τούτων δὲ τῶν τρόπων εἰς δύο μέρη διαιρομένης τῆς Ἀσίας τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὰς ἀρκτικὲς αὐτῆς νένευκεν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν μεσημβρίαν. ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτων τοῖς κλίμασι τῶν ποταμῶν τὰς ρύσεις ἐχόντων ἀντιπροσώπους, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν Κασπίαν θάλασσαν, οἱ δὲ εἰς τὸν Εὐξείνον Πόντον, ἐνοι δὲ εἰς τὸν ὑπὸ τὰς ἀρκτικὰς Ὁκεανὸν ἐξερεύνονται. οἱ δ' ἀντικείμενοι τούτοις οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν συνεχῆ τῆς ἥπειρου ταύτης κείμενον Ὁκεανὸν ἐκβάλλουσιν, ἐνοι δ' εἰς τὴν καλομεῖνην Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν καταφέρονται. ὡμοίως δὲ τούτως διειλημμένων τῶν σατραπείων οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρκτικὴν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ἔχουσι τάς κλίσεις. καὶ πρῶτη μὲν τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἁρκτικὴν ἐστραμμένων κεῖται παρὰ τὸν Τάναϊν ποταμὸν Σογδιανὴν καὶ Βακτριανὴν, καὶ τούτων ἐχομένη Ἀρία καὶ Παρ-
I think it proper first to set forth the causes of the revolt, the situation of Asia as a whole, and the size and characteristics of the satrapies; for by placing before my readers' eyes the topography in general and the distances I shall best make the narrative easy for them to follow.

Now from the Cilician Taurus a continuous range of mountains extends through the whole of Asia as far as the Caucasus and the Eastern Ocean. This range is divided by crests of varying heights, and each part has its proper name. Asia is thus separated into two parts, one sloping to the north, the other to the south. Corresponding to these slopes, the rivers flow in opposite directions. Of those on one side, some enter the Caspian Sea, some the Pontus Euxinus, and some the Northern Ocean. Of the rivers that lie opposite to these, some empty into the ocean that faces India, some into the ocean that is adjacent to this continent, and some flow into what is called the Red Sea. The satrapies likewise are divided, some sloping toward the north, the others toward the south. The first of those that face the north lie along the Tanais River: Sogdianê and Bactrianê; and next to these are Aria, Parthia,

1 The Caucasus is the Hindu Kush. The Eastern Ocean is specifically the Bay of Bengal, but thought of as forming the eastern boundary of Asia. The division of Asia by the Taurus Range follows Eratosthenes (Strabo, 2. 1. 1, 2. 5. 31-32).

2 These three bodies of water are, respectively, the Arabian Sea, the Bay of Bengal (called the Eastern Ocean above), and the Persian Gulf. "This continent" is probably Asia.

3 Properly the Don, but here the Oxus (modern Amu-Darya), or possibly the Jaxartes (Syr-Darya), both of which are frequently confused with the Don by ancient writers; or, perhaps, are thought to be part of the Don River system.
θυαία καὶ Ἰρκανία, 1 δι' ὅς συμβαίνει περιέχεσθαι τὴν Ἰρκανίαν θάλατταν, οὐσαν καθ' αὐτὴν· μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Μηδία, πολλὰς μὲν ἔχουσα τόπων προσηγορίας, μεγίστη δ' οὐσα πασῶν τῶν σατραπειῶν· ἐξῆς δ' Ἀρμενία καὶ Λυκαονία καὶ Καππαδοκία, πάσαι τὸν ἀέρα δυσχείμερον ἔχουσαι· ταύτας δὲ συνορίζουσαι κατ' εὐθείαν μὲν ἡ τε μεγάλη Φρυγία καὶ ἡ ἐφ' Ἐλλησσόντως κειμένη, εκ δὲ τῶν πλαγίων Λυβία καὶ Καρία, ὑπερδέξιος δὲ τῆς Φρυγίας καὶ παράλληλος ἡ Πισιδίκη καὶ ταύτης ἔχομέν Λυκία. 5 ἐν δὲ τοῖς παρά θάλασσαν τόποις τούτων τῶν σατραπειῶν αἱ τῶν Ἐλλήνων πόλεις καθίστρονται, ὅποπ τὰς προσηγορίας γράφειν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον πρὸς τὴν ὑποκειμένην ὑπόθεσιν. αἱ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὴν ἀρκτον ἐστραμμέναι σατραπεῖαι τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον καθίστρονται.

6. Τῶν δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἐστραμμένων πρώτη μὲν παρὰ τὸν Καύκασον ἄτιν Ἰνδική, βασιλεία μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, οἰκουμένη δ' ὑπὸ πλείων Ἰνδικῶν εθνῶν, ὅποι ἐστι μέγιστον τὸ τῶν Γανδαριδῶν ἔθνων, ἐφ' οὐς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔλεφαντων οὐκ ἐπεστράτευσεν ὁ Ἀλέξ- 2 ἀνδρός. ὁρίζει δὲ τὴν χώραν ταύτην καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς Ἰνδικῆν ποταμὸς ὁ Γάγγης, καὶ τὸ βάθος μέγιστος 3 ὁν τῶν περὶ τούς τόπους καὶ τὸ πλάτος ἐχών σταδίων τριάκοντα. ἔχομένι δὲ ταύτης ἡ λοιπὴ τῆς

1 καὶ Ἰρκανία added by Fischer.
2 ὁ Γάγγης, καὶ τὸ βάθος μέγιστος Post, ὁ ὀνομαζόμενος Γάγγης, μέγιστος Fischer: ὁ μέγιστος.

This name is sometimes applied to the whole of the Caspian Sea, sometimes to its eastern portion only. Erastos-26
and Hyrcania, by which the Hyrcanian Sea, 1 a detached body of water, is surrounded. Next is Media, which embraces many regions with distinctive names and is the greatest of all the satrapies. Armenia, Lycaonia, and Cappadocia, all having a very wintry climate, are next. Bordering on them in a straight line are both Great Phrygia and Hellespontine Phrygia; Lydia and Caria are to the side; above Phrygia and beside it is Pisidia, with Lycia next to it. In the coastal regions of these satrapies are established the cities of the Greeks; to give their names is not necessary for our present purposes. The satrapies that face the north are situated in the way described.

6. Of those satrapies that face the south, the first one along the Caucasus is India, 2 a great and populous kingdom, inhabited by many Indian nations, of which the greatest is that of the Gandaridae, against whom Alexander did not make a campaign because of the multitude of their elephants. 3 The river Ganges, which is the deepest of the region and has a width of thirty stades, 4 separates this land from the neighbouring part of India. Adjacent to this is the rest of

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1 In Book 2. 35-37, Diodorus discusses India, which he states to be square, bounded on south and east by the "Great Sea" (the Indian Ocean or the Bay of Bengal), on the west by the Indus, and on the north by the mountains. Of the southern extension of India he knows nothing.

2 They are said to have had four thousand war elephants (Books 2. 37. 3, 17. 93. 2).

3 In Book 2. 37. 2 the width is given as thirty stades, but in Book 17. 93. 2 it is thirty-two. Strabo (15. 1. 35) quotes Megasthenes as giving it a width of one hundred stades (about twelve miles).
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ Ο ΣΙΚΥΛΗ

'Ἰνδικῆς, ἦν κατεπολέμησεν ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος, παραποταμίως ὑδασὶ κατάρρυτος καὶ κατὰ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπιφανεστάτη, καθ’ ἦν ὑπῆρχε σῶν ἄλλως πλείοσας βασιλείας ἡ τε τοῦ Πάρου καὶ Ταξίλου δυναστεία, δι’ ἠς συμβαίνει ρεῖν τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, ἀφ’ οὗ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔσχεν ἡ χώρα. ἐξομένη δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀφώριστο σατραπείας Ἀρακσία καὶ Κεδρσία καὶ Καρμανία, πρὸς δὲ ταύτας Περσίς, ἐν ἡ τὴν Σούσιαν καὶ Σιττακινήν κεῖσθαι συμβέβηκεν· ἐξῆς δὲ Βαβυλωνία μέχρι τῆς κατά τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἀοικίτου ἕκ δὲ θατέρου μέρους, ἀφ’ οὗ ποιούμεθα τὴν ἀνάβασιν, Μεσοποταμία περιελημένη δυνὶ ποταμοῖς, τῷ τε Εὐφράτῃ καὶ Τήγριδι, δι’ οὗ τέτευχε ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας· ἐξομένη δὲ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας καὶ Συρία ἡ ἄνω καλουμένη, καὶ αἱ συνεχεῖς ταύτη παραβαλάττωσιν Κιλικία καὶ Παμφυλία, καὶ καὶ Κοιλή Συρία, καθ’ ἦν ἡ Φοινίκη περιεληπται. παρὰ δὲ τὰ πέρατα τῆς Κοιλῆς Συρίας καὶ τὴν συνεχῶς κείμενην ἔρημον, καθ’ ἦν ὁ Νεῖλος φερόμενος ὀρίζει Συρίαν τε καὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων, ἀπεδεικτο σατραπεία πασῶν ἄριστη καὶ προσόδους ἔχουσα μεγάλας Αἰγυπτίων.

πάσης δ’ αὐτὰς καυματώδεις εἰσών, ὡς ἀντιτετονthoraτος τοῦ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἀέρος τῷ πρὸς ἁρ-κτους καθήκοντι. αἱ μὲν οὖν ὑπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου καταπολεμηθεῖσαι σατραπείας τοῖς εἰρημένοις τρόποις, διεμείβον, κατοικισθέντες Ἐλληνες ὑπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ποθοῦν.

1 For parapotamiones Fischer reads potamiones after Reiske.
2 Μεσοποταμίας Reiske: Βαβυλωνία.
India, which Alexander conquered, irrigated by 323 B.C. water from the rivers and most conspicuous for its prosperity. Here were the dominions of Porus and Taxiles, together with many other kingdoms, and through it flows the Indus River, from which the country received its name. Next to the Indian satrapy Arachosia was marked off, and Cedrosia and Carmania, and Persia next to them, in which are Susianē and Sittacinē. Next comes Babylonia extending to the Arabian Desert. On the other side, in the direction from which we make the march inland, is Mesopotamia encompassed by two rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris, to which it owes its name. Next to Mesopotamia are Upper Syria, as it is called, and the countries adjacent thereto along the sea: Cilicia, Pamphylia, and Coelê Syria, which encloses Phoenicia. Along the frontiers of Coelê Syria and along the desert that lies next to it, through which the Nile makes its way and divides Syria and Egypt,\(^1\) is situated the best satrapy of all and one that has great revenues, Egypt. All these countries are very hot, since the air in the south is different from that which extends to the north. The satrapies, then, that were conquered by Alexander, are situated as described, and were distributed to the most notably men.

7. The Greeks who had been settled by Alexander in the upper satrapies, as they were called, although

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\(^1\) By some geographers the Nile was regarded as the boundary between Asia and Libya-Africa (Strabo, 1. 4. 7); others included Egypt in Asia (Strabo, 2. 5. 33).

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\(^3\) Dindorf adds ἄν after ἀν.  
\(^4\) Fischer reads ἄμυπτόντος.
tes μὲν τὴν Ἐλληνικὴν ἀγωγήν καὶ δίαιταν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἑσχατιᾷς τῆς βασιλείας ἐξερρημένοι, ζῶντος μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπέμενον διὰ τὸν φόβον, τελευτή-2 σαντος δὲ ἀπέστησαν. συμφρονήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐλόμενοι στρατηγὸν Φίλωνα τὸν Αἰνάνα δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον συνεστήσαντο. πεζούς μὲν γὰρ εἶχον πλείους τῶν δισμυρίων, ἵππεις δὲ τρισχιλίους, πάντας δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀγώνων πολλάκις πείραν εἰληφότας καὶ διαφόροις ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις.

3 Περδίκκας δὲ πυθόμενος τὴν τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἀπό- στασιν ἐκλήρωσεν ἐκ τῶν Μαικεδόνων πεζούς μὲν τρισχιλίους, ἵππεις δὲ ὀκτακοσίους. τοῦ δὲ πλή- θους ἐλόμενος στρατηγὸν Πίθωνα τὸν σωματω- φύλακα μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου γεγονότα, φρονήματος δὲ πλήρης καὶ δυνάμενον στρατηγεῖν παρέδωκε τούτῳ τούς ἀποκληρωθέντας. δοὺς δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς σατράπας ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς γεγραμμένον ἢν στρα- τιώτας δοῦναι τῷ Πίθωνι μυρίους μὲν πεζούς, ἵππεις δὲ ὀκτακισίους, ἐξαπέστειλεν ἐπὶ τοῖς 4 ἀποστάντας. ὁ δὲ Πίθων μεγαλεπίβολος ὃν ἀσμέ- νως ὑπῆκουσεν εἰς τὴν στρατεύσιν, διανοούμενος τοὺς μὲν Ἐλλήνας ταῖς φιλανθρωπίαις προσάγε- σθαι, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῇ τούτων συμμαχίᾳ μεγάλην ποιήσας ἴδιοπραγεῖν καὶ τῶν ἀνώ σατραπεῖων 5 δυναστεύειν. ὁ δὲ Περδίκκας ὑφορώμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιβολήν διεκελεύσατο καταπολεμήσαντα τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας ἀπαντάς ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ τὰ λάφυρα διαδοῦναι τοὺς στρατιώτας.

Ὀς δὲ Πίθων ἀναζεύξας μετὰ τῶν δεδομένων αὐτῶ στρατιωτῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν σατραπῶν προσ- λαβόμενος τοὺς συμμάχους ἦκεν μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας. διὰ δὲ τῶν 30
they longed for the Greek customs and manner of life and were cast away in the most distant part of the kingdom, yet submitted while the king was alive through fear; but when he was dead they rose in revolt. After they had taken counsel together and elected Philon the Aenianian as general, they raised a considerable force. They had more than twenty thousand foot soldiers and three thousand horse, all of whom had many times been tried in the contests of the war and were distinguished for their courage. When Perdiccas heard of the revolt of the Greeks, he drew by lot from the Macedonians three thousand infantry and eight hundred horsemen. As commander of the whole he selected Pithon, who had been of the Bodyguard of Alexander, a man full of spirit and able to command, and assigned to him the troops that had been drawn. After giving him letters for the satraps, in which it was written that they should furnish Pithon ten thousand footmen and eight thousand horsemen, he sent him against the rebels. Pithon, who was a man of great ambition, gladly accepted the expedition, intending to win the Greeks over through kindness, and, after making his army great through an alliance with them, to work in his own interests and become the ruler of the upper satrapies. But Perdiccas, suspecting his design, gave him definite orders to kill all the rebels when he had subdued them, and to distribute the spoils to the soldiers.

Pithon, setting out with the troops that had been given to him and receiving the auxiliaries from the satraps, came upon the rebels with all his forces.

1 For earlier unrest in these satrapies see Book 17. 99. 5-6; Curtius, 9. 7. 1-11.
Αλκιάνος διωφθείρας Αρτόδωρον, ἐπὶ τρισχιλίων στρατιωτῶν παρὰ τοὺς ἀποστάτας τεταγμένον, τῶν ὀλοίς προσέρχετο. γνωμένης γὰρ τῆς παρατάξεως καὶ τῆς νίκης ἀμφιδοξομένης δὲ προδότης ἐγκαταλιπὼν τοὺς συμμάχους ἀλόγως ἀπῆλθεν ἐπὶ τῶν λόφων, ἔχων τοὺς τρισχιλίους. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι δόξαντες τοὺς πρὸς φυγήν ὁρμηκέναι διεταράχθησαν καὶ τραπέντες ἐφυγον. δὲ Πίθων νυκτῆσας τῇ μάχῃ διεκερύξατο πρὸς τοὺς ἠττημένους, κελεύων τὰ μὲν ὁπλα καταθέσθαι, αὐτοῖς δὲ τὰ πιστὰ λαβόντας ἐπὶ τὰς ἱδίας κατοικίας ἀναχωρῆσαι.  

8 γενομένων δὲ ἐπὶ τούτως ὄρκων καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνών ἀναμυχθέντων τοῖς Μακεδόνως, οἱ μὲν Πίθων περιχαρῆς ἦν, κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῷ προχωροῦντων τῶν πραγμάτων, οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες μυηθέντες μὲν τῆς τοῦ Περδίκκου παραγγελίας, οὐδὲν δὲ φροντίσαντες τῶν γεγενημένων ὄρκων παρεσπόνδησαν τοὺς Ἑλληνας. ἀπροσδοκήτως γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπιθήμενοι καὶ λαβόντες ἀφυλάκτους ἀπαντας κατηκότωσαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα διήρηταν. δὲ μὲν οὖν Πίθων διαφευγεῖς τῶν ἐπιδίων ἀπῆλθε μετὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων πρὸς τὸν Περδίκκαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

8. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην Ἀρτόδωρος δὲ πρὸς Ἀρτόδωρον, ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς Ἀρτόδωρον ἄρτους κατηκότωσαν τὴν τοῦ πόλεως. λέοντος. τούτων δὲ τὰς αἰτίας ἀναγκαίως ἔστι προεξέθεσθαι χάριν τοῦ σαφεστέρας γενέσθαι τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ συντελεσθείσας πράξεις.

1 Αρτόδωρον Dittenberger, Νικόλαρον Dindorf, Διόδωρον or "Ασκληπιόδωρον Niese: Διοδωρον RX, Διοδωρον F. 
2 τοὺς added by Dindorf.
Through the agency of a certain Aenianian he corrupted Letodorus, who had been made a commander of three thousand among the rebels, and won a complete victory. For when the battle was begun and the victory was doubtful, the traitor left his allies without warning and withdrew to a certain hill, taking his three thousand men. The rest, believing that these were bent on flight, were thrown into confusion, turned about, and fled. Pithon, being victorious in the battle, sent a herald to the conquered, ordering them to lay down their arms and to return to their several colonies after receiving pledges. When oaths to this effect had been sworn and the Greeks were interspersed among the Macedonians, Pithon was greatly pleased, seeing that the affair was progressing according to his intentions; but the Macedonians, remembering the orders of Perdiccas and having no regard for the oaths that had been sworn, broke faith with the Greeks. Setting upon them unexpectedly and catching them off their guard, they shot them all down with javelins and seized their possessions as plunder. Pithon then, cheated of his hopes, came back with the Macedonians to Perdiccas. This was the state of affairs in Asia.

8. In Europe the Rhodians drove out their Macedonian garrison and freed their city, and the Athenians began what is called the Lamian War against Antipater. It is necessary to set forth the causes of this war in order that the events that took place in it may be made clearer. A short time before his

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1 For the Lamian War see Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 1. 9, 12; Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 27, *Phocion*, 23-26; Hypereides, *Funeral Oration*, 10-20; Justin, 13. 5; Pausanias, 1. 25. 3-5.
2 Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ βραχεὶ χρόνῳ πρότερον τῆς τελευτής ἔκρινε κατάγειν ἀπαντας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνίσι πόλεσι φυγάδαις, ἀμα μὲν δόξης ἔνεκεν, ἀμα δὲ βουλόμενος ἔχειν ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει πολλοὺς ἱδίους ταῖς εὐνοίαις πρὸς τοὺς νεωτερισμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀποστάσεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων. διόπερ ὑπογυνών ὄντων τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἐξέσπεμεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Νικάνορα τὸν Σταγείριτην, δοὺς ἐπιστολὴν περὶ τῆς καθόδου ταύτην δὲ προσέταξεν ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει διὰ τοῦ πικήσαντος κήρυκος ἀναγνωσθῆναι τοῖς πλήθεσιν, τούτου δὲ ποιήσαντος τὸ προσταχθὲν λαβὼν ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνέγγιν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τῆς ἱστορίας. "βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων φυγάσι. τοῦ μὲν φεύγειν ὑμᾶς οὐχ ἦμεῖς αὐτοῦ γεγόναμεν, τοῦ δὲ κατελθεῖν εἰς τὰς ἱδίας πατρίδας ἦμεῖς ἐσόμεθα πλὴν τῶν ἑναγῶν. γεγράφαμεν δὲ Ἀντιπάτρῳ περὶ τούτων, ὡς τὰς μὴ βουλομένας τῶν πόλεων κατάγειν ἀναγκάσθη." 5 κηρυχθέντων δὲ τούτων μεγάλῳ κρότῳ ἐπεσήμηνε τὸ πλῆθος. ἀποδεξάμενοι γὰρ οἱ κατὰ τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν χάριν τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ τῆς χαρᾶς ἦμειβοντο τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τοῖς ἐπαίνους. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ φυγάδες ἀπηντηκότες ἀπαντεῖ τῇ πανήγυριν, ὄντες πλεύοις τῶν δισμυρίων. 6 Οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τὴν κάθοδον τῶν φυγάδων ὡς ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ γινομένην ἀπεδέχοντο, Αλτωλοὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι δυσχεραίνοντες τῇ πράξει χαλεπώς ἔφερον. Αλτωλοὶ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Ολυμπίας ἐκβεβληκότες ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος προσεδόκως τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς

1 Dindorf, followed by Fischer, reads διὰ τὴν χαρὰν.
death, Alexander decided to restore all the exiles in the Greek cities,\(^1\) partly for the sake of gaining fame, and partly wishing to secure many devoted personal followers in each city to counter the revolutionary movements and seditions of the Greeks. Therefore, the Olympic games being at hand,\(^2\) he sent Nicanor of Stageira to Greece, giving him a decree about the restoration, which he ordered him to have proclaimed by the victorious herald to the crowds at the festival.\(^3\) Nicanor carried out his instructions, and the herald received and read the following message: “King Alexander to the exiles from the Greek cities. We have not been the cause of your exile, but, save for those of you who are under a curse, we shall be the cause of your return to your own native cities. We have written to Antipater about this to the end that if any cities are not willing to restore you, he may constrain them.” When the herald had announced this, the crowd showed its approval with loud applause; for those at the festival welcomed the favour of the king with cries of joy, and repaid his good deed with praises. All the exiles had come together at the festival, being more than twenty thousand in number.

Now people in general welcomed the restoration of the exiles as a good thing, but the Aetolians and the Athenians took offence at the action and were angry. The reason for this was that the Aetolians had exiled the Oeniadac from their native city and

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2 In 324, the year before Alexander’s death.  
3 The games began with a contest of heralds, the winner in which officiated throughout the festival. Cp. Suetonius, Nero, 24. 1; Pausanias, 5. 22. 1 and J. G. Frazer on this passage.
παρανομήμασιν ἐπακολουθοῦσαν κόλασιν· καὶ γὰρ ὃ βασιλεὺς ἠπειλήκας ἢν ὡς οὐκ Ὀἰνιαδῶν παῖς, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ἐπιθήσει τὴν δίκην αὐτοῖς· ὁμοίως δὲ τούτοις Ἀθηναίοι τὴν Σάμων κατακεκληρουχήκοτες οὐδαμῶς τὴν νῆσον ταύτῃ προέντο. οὐκ δὲντες δ’ ἀξιόμαχοι ταῖς τούτου δυνάμεις κατὰ μὲν τὸ παρὸν ἰσυχίαν ἤγουν, ἐπιτηροῦντες καρδὸν εὐθετον, ὅτι τούτῃ παρείσασε.

9. Μετ’ ὅλην γὰρ τελευτήσαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῆς βασιλείας νῦν διαδόχους οὐκ ἔχοντος ἐτολμήσαν ἀντιλαβέσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας. ἀφορμὰς δὲ ἔσχον εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὸ τε πλῆθος τῶν καταλευθέντων υἱὸν Ἄρμαλον χρημάτων, περὶ ὃν τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βύβλω διήλθομεν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀμίσθους γενομένους ὑπὸ τῶν σατράπῶν μισθοφόρους, ὄντας μὲν ὀκτακισχίλιους, διατρίβοντας δὲ περὶ Ταίναρον 2 τῆς Πελοποννησοῦ. διὸ καὶ τούτους προσέταξαν ἐν ἀπορρήτοις Δεσωθένει τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀναλαβὲν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἰδιοπραγοῦντα χωρὶς τῆς τοῦ δήμου γνώμης, ὅπως ὁ μὲν Ἀντίπατρος ῥάθυμότερον διατεθῇ πρὸς τὰς παρασκευὰς, καταφρονῶν τοῦ Δεσωθένους, οἰ δ’ Ἀθηναίοι σχολὴν λάβοντα καὶ χρόνον προκατασκεύασαν τι τῶν εἰς 3 τὸν πόλεμον χρησίμων. διὸ καὶ Δεσωθένης μετὰ πολλῆς ἰσυχίας μισθωσάμενος τοὺς προειρημένους

1 ἔχοντος Fischer: ἔχοντους.

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1 Cp. Plutarch, Alexander, 49. 8.
2 Cp. Book 17. 108. 4-8. The mercenaries brought to
expected the punishment appropriate to their wrong-doing; for the king himself had threatened that no sons of the Oeniadac, but he himself, would punish them. Likewise the Athenians, who had distributed Samos in allotments to their citizens, were by no means willing to abandon that island. Being no match, however, for the forces of the king, they remained quiet for the time being, waiting for a favourable opportunity; and this fortune quickly gave them.

9. When Alexander died a short time thereafter and left no sons as successors to the kingdom, the Athenians ventured to assert their liberty and to claim the leadership of the Greeks. As a resource for the war they had the sum of money left by Harpalus, the story of which we told in full in the preceding Book, and likewise the mercenaries who, some eight thousand in number, had been dismissed from service by the satraps and were waiting near Tarentum in the Peloponnesus. They therefore gave secret instructions about these to Leosthenes the Athenian, ordering him at first to enrol them as if acting on his own responsibility without authority from the city, in order that Antipater, who regarded Leosthenes with contempt, might be less energetic in his preparations, and the Athenians, on the other hand, might gain leisure and time for preparing some of the things necessary for the war. Accordingly Leosthenes had very quietly hired the troops mentioned above and, contrary to general belief, Greece by Harpalus were no longer available (chap. 19. 2).

4 Leosthenes himself had been instrumental in repatriating many of these mercenaries (Pausanias, 1. 25. 5; 8. 52. 5), possibly as an agent of Athens.
Diodorus of Sicily

παραδόξως ἐσθεῖν ἔσχε πρὸς τὰς πράξεις ἀξιώ-
λογον δύναμιν ἐστρατευμένοι γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν
πολλὰς χρόνων καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἀγώνων
μετεσχηκότες ἀθληταὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργων
ἐγενέσθησαν.

4 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐπράπτετο μὴ ποιοι καλῶς
ἀγνωσμένης τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς ἕπει δὲ
tines ἐκ Βαβυλώνιος ἦκον αὐτόπται γεγονότες τῆς
τοῦ βασιλεῖος μεταλλαγῆς, τότε φανερῶς ὃ δῆμος
ἀπεκαλύφατο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τῶν μὲν Ἀρ-
πάλου χρημάτων μέρος ἐξέπεμψε τῷ Δεσσαλεῖ
καὶ πανοπλίας ὥσιν ἄλγας καὶ παρῆγγειλε μηκέτι
παρακρύπτειν, ἀλλὰ φανερῶς πράττει τί τῶν
5 συμφερόντων. ὃ δὲ διαδοῦσ τοῖς μισθοφόροις τὰς
συντάξεις καὶ καθοπλίσας τοὺς ἀνόπλους παρῆλθεν
eἰς Αἰτωλίαν, συνθησόμενος κοινοπραγίαν. οὐ-
μένως δὲ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν συνυπακούοντων καὶ
διδόντων αὐτῷ στρατιώτας ἐπτάκουσθήσοντο ὃ μὲν
Δεσσαληνησί διαπεμπόμενος πρὸς τε τοὺς Δοκροῦς
καὶ Φωκείς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς πλησιαρχόρους
παρεκάλει τῆς αὐτονομίας αντέχεσθαι καὶ τῆς τῶν
Μακεδόνων δεσποτείας ἐλευθερώσου τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

10. ὃ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων, τῶν μὲν κτη-
ματικῶν συμβουλευόντων τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἅγειν, τῶν
dὲ δημοκράτων ἀνασειότων τὰ πλῆθη καὶ παρα-
καλοῦντων ἐφρωμένως ἔχεσθαι τοῦ πόλεμον, πολὺ
tοῖς πλῆθεσιν ὑπερεῖχον οἱ τὸν πόλεμον αἱροῦμενοι
καὶ τὰς τροφὰς εἰσῳδώτες ἔχειν ἕκ τοῦ μισθοφορέων
οἰς ποτ' ἔφησεν ο Φιλιππος τὸν μὲν πόλεμον εἰρή-
2 νὴν ὑπάρχειν, τὴν δὲ εἰρήνην πόλεμον. εὐθὺς οὖν
οἱ μὲν ῥήτορες τὰς τῶν δημοτικῶν ὀρμᾶς σωματο-
ποιοῦντες ἐγραψαν ψήφισμα τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἠλ-
had secured a considerable number of men ready for action; for these men, who had campaigned throughout Asia for a long time and had taken part in many great conflicts, had become masters of warfare.

Now these things were being done while the death of Alexander was not yet certainly known; but when some came from Babylon who had been eyewitnesses of the king’s death, then the popular government openly disclosed its intention of war and sent Leosthenes part of the money of Harpalus and many suits of armour, bidding him no longer act in secret but do openly whatever was advantageous. After Leosthenes had distributed their pay to the mercenaries and had fully armed those who lacked armour, he went to Aetolia to arrange for common action. When the Aetolians listened to him gladly and gave him seven thousand soldiers, he sent to the Locrians and the Phocians and the other neighbouring peoples and urged them to assert their freedom and rid Greece of the Macedonian despotism.

10. In the Assembly at Athens, while the men of property were advising that no action be taken and the demagogues were rousing the people and urging them to prosecute the war vigorously, those who preferred war and were accustomed to make their living from paid military service were far superior in numbers. These were the men of whom Philip once said that war was peace and peace was war for them. Straightway, then, the orators gave shape to the wishes of the commons by writing a decree to the effect that the people should assume responsi-
λήνων ἐλευθερίας φροντίσαι τὸν δήμου καὶ τὰς μὲν 
φρουρομένας πόλεις ἐλευθερώσαι, ναῦς δὲ παρα-
σκευάσαι τετρήρεις μὲν τεσσαράκοντα, τριήρεις δὲ 
διακοσίας, ¹ στρατεύσασθαι δὲ πάντας Ἀθηναίους 
τους μέχρι ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τρεῖς μὲν φυλᾶς 
τὴν Ἀττικὴν παραφυλάττειν, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ πρὸς τὰς 
ὕπεροργανοὺς στρατείας ἑτοίμους εἰναι. ἔκπεμβα 
δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις τους ἐπελευσομένους τὰς Ἑλληνίδας 
pόλεις καὶ διδάξοντας ὅτι καὶ πρότερον μὲν ὁ 
δήμος, τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν κοινὴν εἶναι πατρίδα 
kρίνων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τοὺς ἔπε δουλεία στρατευσα-
μένους βαρβάρους ἡμύνατο κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ νῦν 
οἴεται δεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας 
καὶ σώμασί καὶ χρήμασι καὶ ναοῦ προκινδυνεύειν. 
4. Κυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ ψηφίσματος προχειρότερον 
ἂν συνέφερεν οἱ μὲν συνέσει διαφέροντες τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων ἔφασαν τὸν δήμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰ μὲν 
πρὸς εὐδοξίαν εὐ βεβουλεύσασθαι, τοῦ δὲ συμφέροντος 
διημαρτηκέναι προεξανίστασθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν τῶν 
καίρων καὶ πρὸς ἀνικήτους καὶ μεγάλας δυνάμεις 
ἐπιβάλλεσθαι διακινδυνεύειν μηδεμίας ἀνάγκης 
kατεπειγόντις, καὶ φρονήσει δοκοῦντα διαφέρειν 
μηδὲ ταῖς περιβοῆι τῶν Θηβαίων συμφοράς 
δὲ νενουθετήσαι. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τῶν πρέσβεων ἐπὶ-
πορευομένων τὰς πόλεις καὶ τῇ συνήθει τῶν λόγων 
δεινότητι παρομοιώτων πρὸς τῶν πόλεμον αἱ πλεῖ-
οται μὲν συνέθεντο τὴν συμμαχίαν, αἱ μὲν κατ' 
ἐθνος, αἱ δὲ κατὰ πόλιν.

¹ τετρήρεις μὲν τεσσαράκοντα, τριήρεις δὲ διακοσία. Wesseling: τριήρεις μὲν πᾶ, τετρήρεις δὲ ὁ
bility for the common freedom of the Greeks and liberate the cities that were subject to garrisons; that they should prepare forty quadriremes and two hundred triremes; that all Athenians up to the age of forty should be enrolled; that three tribes should guard Attica, and that the other seven should be ready for campaigns beyond the frontiers; that envoys should be sent to visit the Greek cities and tell them that formerly the Athenian people, convinced that all Greece was the common fatherland of the Greeks, had fought by sea against those barbarians who had invaded Greece to enslave her, and that now too Athens believed it necessary to risk lives and money and ships in defence of the common safety of the Greeks.

When this decree had been ratified more promptly than was wise, those of the Greeks who were superior in understanding said that the Athenian people had counselled well for glory but had missed what was expedient; for they had left the mark before the proper time and, with no necessity compelling them, were venturing to meet forces that were great and undefeated, and moreover, although they enjoyed a reputation for excelling in judgement, they had learned nothing even from the well-known misfortunes of the Thebans. Nevertheless, as the ambassadors made the circuit of the cities and roused them for war with their accustomed eloquence, most of the Greeks joined the alliance, some by national groups and some by cities.

1 But see critical note on this passage. Justin (13. 5. 8) estimates the Athenian force as two hundred ships in all.
2 For the destruction of Thebes by Alexander cp. Book 17. 8-14.
11. Τῶν δ’ άλλων 'Ελλήνων οί μὲν πρὸς Μακε- 
δόνας ἀπέκλινον, οί δὲ τὴν ἡσυχίαν εἶλοντο. Αὐ-
τοὶ μὲν οὖν ἁπαντες πρῶτοι συνέβεντο τὴν 
συμμαχίαν, καθάπερ προείρητα, μετὰ δὲ τούτους 
Θεσσαλοί μὲν πάντες πλὴν Πελινναίων,1 Οιταϊοί 
δὲ πλὴν 'Ηρακλεωτῶν, 'Αχαιοί2 δὲ Φθιώται πλὴν 
Θηβαίων, Μηλεῖς3 δὲ πλὴν Λαμεύων,4 εξῆς δὲ 
Δωριέως ἁπαντες καὶ Λακροὶ καὶ Φωκεῖς, ἐτὶ δ’ 
Αἰνιάνες καὶ 'Αλυκαίοι καὶ Δόλοπες, πρὸς δὲ 
tούτους 'Αθαμάνες5 καὶ Λευκάδιοι καὶ Μολοττῶν 
οί περὶ 'Αρυσταίων οὖνος δ’ ὑπολογον συμμαχίαν 
συνθέμενον ὑπέρον διὰ προδοσίας συνήργησε τοῖς 
Μακεδόσι. τῶν τ’ 'Ιλλυρίων καὶ Θρακῶν δλίγων 
συνέβεντο συμμαχίαν διὰ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς Μακε- 
δόνας μίσος. εξῆς δὲ συνελάβοντο τοῦ πολέμου 
Καρύστιοι μὲν εξ Ευβοίων, τελευταίοι δὲ τῶν 
Πελοποννησίων 'Αργείων, Σικυώνιων, 'Ἠλείων, Μεσ-
σήνων καὶ οί τὴν 'Ακτήν κατοικοῦντες. οἱ μὲν 
οὖν συμμαχίαν συνθέμενοι τῶν 'Ελλήνων ὑπήρχον 
οἱ προειρημένοι.

3 'Ο δὲ δήμος ἀπέστελλε στρατιώτας τῷ Λεω-
sthénei botheísontas politikous μὲν πεζοὺς pentak-
kiskulisous, ἱππεῖς δὲ pentakosious, ἑπαθφόρους 
dὲ δυσχιλίους. τούτων δὲ πορευομένων διὰ τῆς 
Βουωτίας ἄλλοτριος συνέβαινε εἶναι τοὺς Βουω-
τοὺς τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς αἰτίας. 
'Αλέξανδρος Θῆβας κατασκάψαι τὴν χώραν τοῖς 
περιοικοῦσι Βουωτοῖς ἐδωκεν. οὐτοὶ δὲ κατακλη-

1 Πελινναίων Palmer : Πελινναίων RXV, Πελιννέων F.
2 'Αχαιοί Hertlein : 'Αχαιών.
3 Μηλεῖς Palmer : Ηλεῖς RWV, Μηλεῖς F.
4 Λαμεύων Palmer : Μαλέων.
11. Of the rest of the Greeks, some were well disposed toward the Macedonians, others remained neutral. The Aetolians in full force were the first to join the alliance, as has been said, and after them all the Thessalians except those from Pelinnaeum, the Oetaeans except the inhabitants of Heraclea, the Achaeans of Phthiotis except the people of Thebæ, the Melians except those of Lamia, then in succession all the Dorians, the Locrians, and the Phocians, also the Aenianians, the Alyzaceans, and the Dolopians, and in addition the Athamanians, the Leucadians, and those of the Molossians who were subject to Aryptaeus. The last named, after making a hollow alliance, later treacherously co-operated with the Macedonians. A few of the Illyrians and of the Thracians joined the alliance because of their hatred of the Macedonians. Next, the Carystians from Euboea undertook a share in the war, and finally, of the peoples of the Peloponnesus, the Argives, the Sicyonians, the Eleans, the Messenians, and those who dwell on Acté. Now those of the Greeks who joined the alliance were as I have listed them.

Athens sent citizen soldiers to Leosthenes as reinforcements, five thousand foot and five hundred horse, and also two thousand mercenaries. These were to go through Boeotia, but it happened that the Boeotians were hostile to the Athenians for some such reason as the following. After Alexander had razed Thebes, he had given the land to the neighbouring Boeotians. They, having portioned out the property

1 i.e. the inhabitants of Doris in central Greece.
διύπερ εἰδότες ὅτι κρατήσαντες Ἀθηναίοι τῷ πολέμῳ τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἀποκαταστήσουσι τὴν τε πατρίδα καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἀπέκλινον πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας. οὕτως τῶν Πλαταίων ὁ Γεώσθενης μέρος τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως ἀναλαβόν ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν. μετὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρατάχαμεν πρὸς τοὺς ἐγχώριους μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε καὶ τρόπαιον στήσας ταχέως ἐπανήλθεν εἰς Πύλαιαν ἑνταῦθα γὰρ διατρίβων χρόνον των προκατελήπτω τὰς παρόδους καὶ τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων δύναμιν ἀνεδέχετο.

12. Ἀντίπατρος δ’ ἀπολελειμμένος ὑπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατηγὸς τῆς Εὐρώπης ὥσ ἐπίθετο τὴν τε τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τελευτήν τὴν τε τῶν σατραπείων διαιρέσω, πρὸς μὲν Κρατερὸν εἰς Κιλικίαν διεπέμπετο παρακαλών τὴν ταχύστην βοηθήσαι (οὗτος γὰρ προαπεσταλμένος εἰς Κιλικίαν ἦμελλε κατάγειν εἰς Μακεδονίαν τοὺς ἀπολελειμμένους τῆς στρατείας Μακεδόνας, ὅντας ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους 1), πρὸς δὲ Φιλώταν τὸν εἰληφότα σατραπείαν τὴν ἐφ’ Ἐλλησπόντῳ Φρυγίαν, ὡμοίως ἄξιόν καὶ τούτον βοηθήσαι καὶ μίαν τῶν έαυτοῦ θυγατέρων συνοικίαν ἐπαγγελλόμενος. πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων συνδρομῆν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν γεγενημένην τῆς μὲν Μακεδονίας ἀπέλυσε στρατηγὸν Σίππαν, δοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἰκανοὺς καὶ παραγείλας στρατολογεῖν ὡς πλείστους· αὐτὸς δ’ ἀναλαβὼν Μακεδόνας μὲν μυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους,

1 τοὺς μυρίους Wesseling: τρισχιλίους. (See Books 17, 109. 1 and 18. 4. 1, 16. 4.)
of the unfortunate people, were receiving a large income from the land. Therefore, since they knew that the Athenians, if they were successful in the war, would restore both fatherland and fields to the Thebans, they were inclined toward the Macedonians. While the Boeotians were in camp near Plataea, Leosthenes, taking part of his own forces, came into Boeotia. Drawing up his own men along with the Athenians against the inhabitants, he defeated the latter in battle and, after erecting a trophy, hurried back to Thermopylae. For there, where he had spent some time in occupying the passes in advance of the enemy, he intended to meet the Macedonian forces.

12. When Antipater, who had been left by Alexander as general of Europe, heard of the death of the king in Babylon and of the distribution of the satrapies, he sent into Cilicia to Craterus, asking him to come to his aid as soon as possible (for the latter, having been previously dispatched to Cilicia, was going to bring back to Macedonia the Macedonians who had been mustered out of service, being more than ten thousand in number). He also sent to Philotas, who had received Hellespontine Phrygia as his satrapy, asking him likewise for aid and promising to give him one of his own daughters in marriage. As soon, however, as he learned of the movement concerted against him by the Greeks, he left Sippas as general of Macedonia, giving him a sufficient army and bidding him enlist as many men as possible, while he himself, taking thirteen thousand Macedo-

2 This is an error for Leonnatus. Cp. chaps. 3. 1 and 14. 4.
Diodorus of Sicily

ίππεις δὲ ἐξακολουθεῖσας (ἔσπανυζε γὰρ ἡ Μακεδονία ὑποτατμώσει τῶν πολιτικῶν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ διαδοχὴν τῆς στρατείας) ἀνέξευξαν ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας εἰς Θεσσαλίαν, συμπαραπλέοντος αὐτῶν τοῦ στόλου παντὸς, διὸ ἀπεσταλκὼς ἥν Ἀλεξάνδρος παραπέμψατα πλῆθος χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν θησαυρῶν εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν, οὗσών τῶν πασῶν τριήμερων ἑκατὸν 3 καὶ δέκα. οἱ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συμμαχοῦντες τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ πολλούς καὶ ἀγαθῶς ἰππεῖς ἐξέπεμψαν αὐτῶν. ὡστερον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων μεταπεισθέντες ἀφίππευσαν πρὸς Δεοσθένην καὶ μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ταχθέντες διεπολέμουν 4 ύπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας. μεγάλης δὲ δυνάμεως ταύτης τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις προσγεγενημένης οἱ μὲν Ἑλληνες ἐκράτουν πολὺ τῶν Μακεδόνων ὑπερέχοντες, ὁ δὲ Ἀντιπάτρος μάχη λειφθεὶς καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὔτε παρατάξασθαι τολμῶν οὔτ' ἐν τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπανελθεῖν ἀσφαλῶς δυνάμενος κατέφυγεν εἰς πόλιν Δαμιάν. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν συνέχων καὶ τὰ τείχη κατασκευάζων, ἕτε δὲ παρασκευάσας ὅπλων καὶ καταπελτῶν καὶ σύνοι μενος ἑκαραδόκει τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας συμμάχους. 13. Δεοσθένης δὲ μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως παρελθέν τῷ μακιῶν τῆς Δαμιᾶς καὶ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ὑπορρωσάμενος τάφρων βαθείᾳ καὶ χάρακι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκτάξας τὴν δύναμιν προσῆγε τῇ πόλει καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας εἰς μάχην προκαλεῖτο. μὴ τολμῶντων δὲ αὐτῶν διαγωνισσάσθαι προσβολὰς καθ' ἡμέραν τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐποιεῖτο. 2 ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων εὐρύστως πολλοῖ τῶν προπετῶς βιαζομένων Ἐλλήνων ἀπώλειντο.
donians and six hundred horsemen (for Macedonia was 823 B.C. short of citizen soldiers because of the number of those who had been sent to Asia as replacements for the army), set out from Macedonia to Thessaly, accompanied by the entire fleet which Alexander had sent to convoy a sum of money from the royal treasury to Macedonia, being in all one hundred and ten triremes. At first the Thessalians were allies of Antipater and sent out to him many good horsemen; but later, won over by the Athenians, they rode off to Leosthenes and, arrayed with the Athenians, fought for the liberty of the Greeks. Now that this great force had been added to the Athenians, the Greeks, who far outnumbered the Macedonians, were successful. Antipater was defeated in battle, and subsequently, since he neither dared to engage in battle nor was able to return in safety to Macedonia, he took refuge in Lamia. He kept his troops in this city and strengthened its walls, besides preparing arms, engines, and food, while anxiously waiting for his allies from Asia.

13. Leosthenes, when he had come near Lamia with all his forces, fortified a camp with a deep ditch and a palisade. At first he would draw up his forces, approach the city, and challenge the Macedonians to battle; then, as the latter did not dare risk an encounter, he made daily attacks on the walls with relays of soldiers. As the Macedonians defended themselves stoutly, many of the Greeks who pushed on rashly were killed; for the besieged, since there

1 τῶν πασῶν Kallenbg: πασῶν τῶν.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

δυνάμεως γὰρ ἀξιολόγου κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οὐσίας καὶ βελῶν παντοδαπῶν ἀφθονίας, ἔτι δὲ τείχους πολυτελοῦς κατεσκευασμένου ῥαδίως οἱ πολιορκούμενοι περιεγώντο. ο ὁ Δεωσθένης ἀπογνώσει τὴν ἐκ βίας ἄλωσιν τῆς πόλεως τάς ἀγομένας εἰς ταύτην ἀγορὰς παρηρεῖτο, νομίζων ῥαδίως τῇ ουτοδείᾳ καταπολεμήσειν τοὺς ἐγκεκλεισμένους ἐν τῇ πόλει. κατεσκεύαζε δὲ καὶ τείχος καὶ τάφρον ὄρυττεν μεγάλην καὶ βαθειάν, εἰργῶν τοὺς πολιορκομένους ἀπὸ τῆς ἕξοδου.

4 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀιτωλοὶ μὲν ἀξιώσαντες τὸν Δεωσθένην διά τινας ἑθικὰς χρείας κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἔπο οὐκ οἴκου πάντες ἐπανήλθον εἰς τὴν Ἀιτωλίαν οὕτως δὲ τῶν περὶ Ἀντίπατρον καταπολεμηθέντων καὶ τῆς πόλεως κινδυνευούσης ἀλώναι διὰ τὴν προσδοκομέμενην σιτοδείαν ἢ τύχη τῇ παρά-

5 δοξὸν ἀπένειμε τοῖς Μακεδόνωις εὐκλήρημα. τοῦ γὰρ Ἀντιπάτρου τοῖς τὰς τάφρους ὅρυττουσιν ἐπιθεμένου καὶ συμπλοκῆς γενομένης ὁ Δεωσθένης παραβοηθῶν τοῖς ἰδίοις καὶ πληγεῖσι εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν λίθῳ παραχρῆμα μὲν ἔπεσεν καὶ λυποψινήσας εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἀπεκομισθή, τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ταφέντος ἡρωικῶς διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δόξαν ὁ μὲν δήμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἐπανοῦ εἰπεὶν προσέταξεν Ὡ περείδη τῷ πρωτεύοντι τῶν ῥητόρων τῇ τοῦ λόγου δεινο-

6 τῃ κατὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀλλοτριώτητι καὶ τῇ κατὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡρωικῷς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ῥητόρων Δημοσθένης ἐπεφεύγει, καταδεδικαιομένος ὡς εἰληφὼς τῶν Ἀρπαλείων

1 τῷ Stephanus: τῷ.
2 μὲν after ὁ omitted by Dindorf.
was a considerable force in the city and an abundance
of all sorts of missiles, and the wall, moreover, had
been constructed at great expense, easily had the
better of the fighting. Leosthenes, giving up hope
of capturing the city by storm, shut off all the supplies
that were going into it, thinking that he would easily
reduce by hunger the forces besieged in the city. He
also built a wall and dug a deep, wide ditch, thereby
cutting off all escape for the beleaguered troops.

After this the Aetolians all returned to Aetolia,
having asked Leosthenes for permission to go home
for the present because of some national business.
Antipater and his men, however, were nearly ex-
hausted and the city was in danger of being taken
because of the anticipated famine, when chance gave
the Macedonians an unexpected turn of good fortune.
For when Antipater made an attack on the men who
were digging the moat and a struggle ensued, Leos-
thenes, coming to aid his men, was struck on the
head by a stone and at once fell and was carried to
camp in a swoon.\footnote{For a different account of his death see Justin, 13. 5.
12-13.} On the third day he died and
was buried with the honours of a hero because of the
glory he had gained in war. The Athenian people
caused the funeral oration to be delivered by Hyperi-
eides,\footnote{A considerable part of this oration is extant.} foremost of the orators in eloquence and in
hostility toward the Macedonians; for at that time
Demosthenes, the chief of the orators of Athens, was
in exile, convicted of having taken some of the money
χρημάτων. ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ Δεσσαθένους κατεστάθη στρατηγὸς Ἀντίφιλος, ἀνὴρ συνέσει στρατηγικῆ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ διαφέρων.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐν τούτοις ἦν. 1

14. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν τῶν μεμερισμένων τὰς σατραπείας Πτολεμαῖος μὲν ἀκινδύνως παρέλαβε τὴν Ἀγάμπτον καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐγχώριοις φιλανθρώπως προσεφέρετο, παραλαβῶν δὲ ὀκτακισχίλια τάλαντα μυσθοφόρους ἠθροίζε καὶ δυνάμεις παρεσκευάζοντα· συνέτρεχε δὲ καὶ φίλων πλῆθος πρὸς αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν 2 ἐπιείκειαν. πρὸς δὲ Ἀντίπατρον διαπρεσβευόμενος κοινοπραγίαν συνέθετο, σαφῶς εἰδῶς ὅτι Περδίκκας ἐπιβαλεῖται παρελήσθαι τὴν τῆς Ἀγάμπτος σατραπείαν.

Ἀνυσίμαχος δ' ἐπιβαλὼν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ὁράκην τόποις καὶ καταλαβών Σεύθην τὸν βασιλέα κατεστρατοπεδευκότα πεζοῖς μὲν δισμυρίας ἐπιπέδει 3 ὀκτακισχίλιοι οὐ κατεπλάγη τὸ μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως. ἔχων δὲ τοὺς σύμπαντας πεζοὺς μὲν οὐ πλείους τῶν τετρακισχιλίων, ἐπεῖσσ' δὲ δισχίλιους 3 συνῆψε μᾶχην τοῖς βαρβάροις. ταῖς μὲν οὖν ἀνδραγαθίαις προεῖχεν αὐτῶν, τοῖς δὲ πλήθεσι λειτομένοι καρτεράν μάχην συνεστήσατο καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἔδω ἄποβαλών, πολλαπλασίους δὲ ἀποκτείνας ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν στρατοπεδείαν ἀμφίδοξον 4 ἔχων τὴν νίκην, τότε μὲν οὖν ἐχωρίσθησαν ἐκ τῶν τόπων αἱ παρ' ἀμφοτέρους δυνάμεις καὶ παρα-

1 Krebs and Kallenberg believe that there is a considerable lacuna at this point.
of Harpalus.\textsuperscript{1} In place of Leosthenes, Antiphanes \textsuperscript{323 B.C.} was made general, a man outstanding in military genius and courage.

Such was the situation in Europe.\textsuperscript{2}

14. In Asia, of those who had shared in the division of the satrapies, Ptolemy took over Egypt without difficulty and was treating the inhabitants with kindness. Finding eight thousand talents in the treasury, he began to collect mercenaries and to form an army. A multitude of friends also gathered about him on account of his fairness. With Antipater he carried on a diplomatic correspondence that led to a treaty of co-operation, since he well knew that Perdiccas would attempt to wrest from him the satrapy of Egypt.\textsuperscript{3}

Lysimachus, when he entered the Thracian region and found that the king of that country, Seuthes, had taken the field with twenty thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry, was not frightened by the size of the army.\textsuperscript{4} And although he had in all no more than four thousand foot soldiers and only two thousand horsemen, he joined battle with the barbarians. In truth he was superior to them in the quality of his troops though inferior in numbers, and the battle was a stubborn one. After losing many of his own men but killing many times that number, he returned to his camp with but a doubtful claim to victory. Therefore for the moment the forces of both sides withdrew from the locality and busied

\textsuperscript{1} According to A. Schäfer (\textit{Demosthenes und seine Zeit} (Leipzig, 1885), 3. 341), Demosthenes had returned to Athens before this time. Cp. Plutarch, \textit{Demosthenes}, 27. 4-5.

\textsuperscript{2} The account is continued in chap. 15. 1.

\textsuperscript{3} Cp. chap. 29. 1.

\textsuperscript{4} Cp. Arrian, \textit{FGrH}, 156. 1. 10.
σκευὰς μείζους ἐποιοῦντο πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐπίθεσιν. 

Δεονάτος δὲ, παραγενομένου πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἔκα-

ταίου πρεσβευτοῦ καὶ δεσμένου βοηθῆσαι τὴν 

tαχίστῃν Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Μακεδόνων, ἐπηγγείλατο 
5 συμμαχήσειν. διαβὰς οὖν εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ 

καταντῆσας εἰς Μακεδονίαν προσελάβετο πολλοὺς 

στρατιώτας Μακεδόνας· ἀθροίσας δὲ τούτων ἀπαντᾷ 

πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν διμιυρίων, ἵππεῖς δὲ 

χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους προῆγεν διὰ τῆς Θεττ-

αλίας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους.

15. Οἱ δὲ Ἔλληνες λύσαντες τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ 

τὴν στρατηγείαν ἐμπρήσαντες τὸν μὲν ἄχρειον εἰς 

παράταξιν ὠχλον καὶ τὰς παρασκευὰς εἰς Μελιτίαν 

πολίν ἔξεπεμψαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ εὕξωνοι καὶ πρὸς μάχην 

ὀντες ἑτοιμοὶ προῆγον, ἀπαντήσαντες τοὺς περὶ 

Λεονάτον πρὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἀντιπάτρου συμμιχεῖαν καὶ 

tὰς δυνάμεις ἀμφοτέρας εἰς ἕνα τότιν συνελθεῖν. 

2 εἶχον δὲ τοὺς σύμπαντας πεζοὺς μὲν δισμυρίους καὶ 

διαχιλίους· οἱ γὰρ Αἰτωλοὶ πάντες προσπήλαξαντε 

뒀οι εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἔλληνων οὐκ 

ὀλίγοι κατ᾽ ἑκείνου τοῦ καιροῦ ὑπῆρχον εἰς τὰς 

πατρίδας κεχυρισμένοι· ἵππεῖς δὲ συνεστρατεύοντο 

πλείους τῶν τρισημίων καὶ πεντακοσίων, δὲν ἤσαν 

Θετταλοὶ διαχιλίοι διάφοροι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς, ἐν οἷς 

3 εἶχον μάλιστα τὰς τῆς νίκης ἐλπίδας. γενομένης 

δὲ ἐπιμοχίας ἱσχυρᾶς ἐπὶ πολλὰ κρόνων καὶ τῶν 

Θετταλῶν διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐπικρατοῦντων, δὲ μὲν 

Λεονάτος λαμπρὸς ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ διακλει-

1 ἐπίθεσιν Wurm, διάκρισιν Madvig: διάθεσιν.
themselves with greater preparations for the final 323 B.C. conflict.¹

As for Leonnatus, when Hecataeus came to him as envoy and begged him to aid Antipater and the Macedonians with all speed, he promised to give military aid. He crossed over, therefore, into Europe and went on to Macedonia, where he enlisted many additional Macedonian soldiers. When he had gathered together in all more than twenty thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry, he led them through Thessaly against the enemy.

15. The Greeks, giving up the siege ² and burning 322 B.C. their camp, sent away to the town of Melitia the camp followers, who were useless in a pitched battle, and the baggage train, while they themselves went forward with light equipment and ready for battle in order to engage the forces of Leonnatus before Antipater joined him and both armies came together in one place. They had in all twenty-two thousand foot soldiers, for all the Aetolians had previously departed to their own country and not a few of the other Greeks had at that time scattered to their native states. More than thirty-five hundred horsemen took part in the campaign, two thousand being Thessalians exceptional for their courage. In these especially the Greeks trusted for victory. Now when a fierce cavalry battle had gone on for some time and the Thessalians, thanks to their valour, were gaining the upper hand, Leonnatus, after fighting

¹ We have no account of the immediate sequel. Seuthes retained his title, but seems to have become an unwilling ally of Lysimachus, whom he deserted in 313 (Book 19. 73. 8).
² i.e. of Lamia (chap. 13. 6), which had continued through the winter of 323/2. Melitia is north of Lamia in southern Thessaly.
σθεὶς εἰς τόπον τελματώδη, τοῖς ὁλοῖς ἡλιττοῦτον, πολλοῖς δὲ τραύμασι περιπεσὼν καὶ τελευτήσας ὑπὸ τῶν ἴδιων ἣρθη καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἀπ᾿ ἡνέχθη τετελευτηκὼς. τῇ δ᾿ ἱππομαχία λαμπρῶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων νεκτηκότων Μένωνος ἱππαρχοῦντος τοῦ Θεταλοῦ, εὐθὺς ἡ τῶν Μακεδόνων φάλαγξ φοβουμένη τοὺς ἑπτεῖς ἁπεχώρησεν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τὰς υπερκεμένας δυσχωρίας καὶ τῇ τῶν τόπων ὀχυρότητι τῆς ἀσφάλειας περιποίησατο. τῶν δὲ Θεταλῶν ἱππῶν προσμαχομένων καὶ διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν ἀπράκτων γινομένων οἱ μὲν Ἑλληνες τρόπαιον στῆσαντες καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν κυριεύσαντες ἀπηλλάγησαν ἐκ τῆς μάχης.

5 Τῇ δ᾿ ὑστεροίᾳ παραγενηθέντος Ἀντιπάτρου μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ συμμίξαντος τοῖς ἡττημένοις μίαν οἱ πάντες Μακεδόνες ἐποιήσαντο τὴν στρατοπεδείαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀλίων στρατηγικάν 6 παρέλαβεν Ἀντιπάτρος. οὕτος δὲ κρίνας ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἰσυχίαν ἔχειν καὶ θεωρῶν τοὺς πολεμίους ἱπποκρατούντας τὴν μὲν διὰ τῶν ὀμαλῶν ἁποχώρησαν ἀπέγνων, διὰ δὲ τῆς δυσχωρίας προάγων καὶ τοὺς ὑπερδεξίους τόπους προκαταλαμβανόμενος 7 ἅπεχώρησεν ἐκ τούτων τῶν τόπων. Ἀντίφιλος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγὸς ἐπιφανεὶ μάχῃ νυκῆς τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐφήδρεε περὶ Θεταλίων διατρίβων καὶ καραδοκών τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ὀρμήν.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐν τοιαύταις 8 εὐθυμερίαις ὑπήρχε. τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων ἥλασσο-
κρατούντων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς ταῖς ἱππαρχοῦσαι ναυσὶν ἄλλας κατεσκεύασαν, ὥστε γενέσθαι τὰs

1 ὁλοῖς Wesseling: ὁπλοῖς.
2 ὀμαλῶν Dindorf: ὀπλῶν.

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brilliantly even when cut off in a swampy place, was worsted at every point. Stricken with many wounds and at the point of death, he was taken up by his followers and carried, already dead, to the baggage train.¹ The cavalry battle having been gloriously won by the Greeks under the command of Menon the Thessalian, the Macedonian phalanx, for fear of the cavalry, at once withdrew from the plain to the difficult terrain above and gained safety for themselves by the strength of the position. When the Thessalian cavalry, which continued to attack, was unable to accomplish anything because of the rough ground, the Greeks, who had set up a trophy and gained control of the dead, left the field of battle.

On the next day, however, when Antipater came up with his troops and joined the defeated, all the Macedonians united in a single camp, and Antipater took command of the whole. He decided to avoid fighting for the present and, in view of the fact that the enemy were superior in cavalry, determined not to retreat through the plain. Instead, by going through the rough country and seizing in advance any points of vantage, he made good his retreat from the region. Antiphilus, the Greek commander, having defeated the Macedonians in a glorious battle, played a waiting game, remaining in Thessaly and watching for the enemy to move.

The affairs of the Greeks were thus in thriving condition, but since the Macedonians had command of the sea, the Athenians made ready other ships in addition to those which they already had, so that

¹ Cp. Arrian, FGrH, 156. 1. 9 ; Justin, 13. 5. 14-16.
πάσας ἐκατὸν ἐβδομήκοντα. τῶν δὲ Μακεδονικῶν νεῶν οὐσῶν διακοσίων καὶ τεσσαράκοντα τὴν ναυ-
θο ἀρχίαν εἰς Κλείτος. οὕτος δὲ ναυμαχῆσας πρὸς Εὐερίωνα τὸν Ἀθηναίων ναῦσαν ἐνίκησε δυοῖν
ναυμαχίας καὶ συνόμεν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων νεῶν δι-
ἐφθειρε περὶ τὰς καλομένας Ἐξυάδας νήσους.
16. Ἀρεία δὲ τούτοις πραττομένους Περδίκκας,
ἐχών μεθ᾽ ἐαυτοῦ τὸν τε βασιλέα Φιλίππον καὶ τὴν
βασιλικὴν δύναμιν, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Ἀριαράθην τὸν
Καππάδοκιας δυνάστην. οὕτος γὰρ οὐ προσέχων
τοῦς Μακεδόνων ὑπὸ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου παρεωράθη
dιὰ τοὺς περὶ Δαρείου ἀγῶνας καὶ περισσαμαίνον,
ἀναστροφὴν δὲ πολυχρόνου εἰς κυριεύσῃ τῆς Καπ-
2 παδοκίας. διὸ καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν προσόδων
χρήσιμα ἥθελε, δυνάμεις δ᾽ ἐγχωρίους καὶ ἐξω-
κας μεγάλας συνεστήσατο. διὸ καὶ βασιλείας
ἀντιποιούμενος ἐτοιμὸς ἤν πρὸς τὸν Περδίκκα
διαγωνίζεσθαι, πεζοῦς μὲν ἐχὼν τρισμυρίους ἱππεῖς
dὲ μυρίους πεντακισχιλίους. δὲ Περδίκκας
συνάφας αὐτῷ máχην καὶ τῇ παρατάξει νικήσας

1 Εὐερίωνα Böckh: Ἡντίωνa Fischer following the MSS.
2 Grauert suggests Λεχάδας for Ἐξυάδας (see note to trans-

tlation).

1 Diodorus has condensed his account of the naval cam-

paign to the point of unintelligibility, although it was prob-

ably the decisive factor in the war. We cannot even be sure

whether Diodorus intends to mention two sea battles or three.

T. Walek (Revue de Philologie, 46 (1924), 23 ff.) reconstructs

the campaign as follows. While part of the original Athenian

fleet of 240 ships (chap. 10. 2) blockaded the fleet of Anti-
pater in the Malian Gulf, the rest held the Hellespont and

for a time prevented Leonnatus from coming to the aid of

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there were in all one hundred and seventy.¹ Cleitus was in command of the Macedonian fleet, which numbered two hundred and forty. Engaging with the Athenian admiral Eueion he defeated him in two naval battles and destroyed a large number of the ships of the enemy near the islands that are called the Echinades.

16. While these things were going on, Perdiccas, taking with him King Philip and the royal army, campaigned against Ariarathes, the ruler of Cappadocia. His failure to take orders from the Macedonians had been overlooked by Alexander, owing to the struggle with Darius and its distractions, and he had enjoyed a very long respite as king of Cappadocia.² As a result he had amassed a great sum of money from the revenues and had formed a large body of native troops and mercenaries. He was thus ready to enter the lists against Perdiccas in defence of his kingdom with thirty thousand infantry and fifteen thousand cavalry. Perdiccas joined battle with him, and, defeating him in the conflict, slew men to the Antipater. Although this fleet was increased to 170 ships, it was defeated in the spring of 322 by the larger fleet of Cleitus at Abydos (cp. Inscriptiones Graecae, editio minor, 2. 298 and 493). Cleitus then crossed the Aegean and defeated the other Athenian fleet with great loss at the Lichades Islands in the Malian Gulf (see critical note), and at once removed to Amorgos for the final battle (Plutarch, Demetrius, 11. 3; Marmor Parium for 323/2), which ended Athenian sea power forever. It is hard to see how any battle of this war could have taken place near the Echinades (off the west coast of Acarnania), but this name may conceal a reference to Echinus on the north shore of the Malian Gulf.

¹ According to Hieronymus of Cardia (FGrH, 154. 4), Ariarathes lived to the age of eighty-two. For this campaign cp. Arrian, FGrH, 156. 1. 11; Justin, 13. 6. 1-3; Plutarch, Eumenes, 3. 2, 6.
άνειλε μὲν εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, ἐξώγησε δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρια-3βῆς. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ πάντας αἰκισάμενος ἀνέσταυρωσε· τοῖς δὲ ἠττηθείσι συγχωρήσας τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ καταστήσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν παρέδωκε τὴν σατραπείαν Ἐμμενεῖ τῷ Καρδιανῷ, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἦν μεμερισμένος.

4 Ἡπὸ δὲ τούς αὐτοὺς καίρους καὶ Κρατερός ἐκ Κιλικίας ἀναζεύγας ἤκειν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, βοηθήσαν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀντιπαρτον καὶ διορθωσόμενος τὸς γεγενημένας ἤττας τῶν Μακεδόνων. ἤγε δὲ πεξοὺς μὲν τῶν εἰς Ἀσίαν Ἀλεξάνδρω συνδιαβεβηκότων ἐξακισχιλίους, τῶν δὲ ἐν παρόδῳ προσελημμένων τετρακισχιλίους, Πέρσας δὲ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονή- τας χιλίους, ἢπεις δὲ χιλίους καὶ πεντακισίους.

5 παρελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν Θεττάλιαν καὶ τοῦ πρωτεῖου παραχωρήσας ἐκουσίως Ἀντιπάτρῳ κοινῇ μετ’ αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσε παρὰ τῶν Πηνειῶν ποτα-μόν. οἱ δὲ πάντες ἠθροίσθησαν σὺν τοῖς μετὰ Δεονάτου παραγεγενημένοις πεζοῦ μὲν πλείους τῶν τετρακιςμυρίων ἐν τοῖς βαρέσιν ὅπλοις, το-ξόται δὲ καὶ σφενδονήται τρισχίλιοι, ἢπεις δὲ πεντακισχιλίοι.

17. Οἱ δὲ Ἔλληνες κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἀντεστρατοπέδευσαν πολὺ τοῖς πλήθεσι λειπόμενοι· πολλοὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν διὰ τὰς προγεγενημένας εὐπ-μερίας καταφρονοῦντες τῶν πολεμίων εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἦσαν ἀπελθούσι τοῖς τῶν ἱδίων 58
number of four thousand and took captive more than 322 B.C.
five thousand, among them Ariarathes himself. Now
the king and all his relatives Perdiccas tortured and
impaled; but to the conquered people he granted
immunity, and after putting in order the affairs of
Cappadocia, he gave the satrapy to Eumenes of
Cardia, just as it had originally been assigned.

About the same time Craterus also departed from
Cilicia and arrived in Macedonia to reinforce Anti-
pater and to make good the defeats that the Mace-
donians had suffered. He brought with him six
thousand foot soldiers from those who had crossed
into Asia with Alexander and four thousand from
those who had been enlisted on the march, one
thousand Persian bowmen and slingers, and fifteen
hundred horsemen. Entering Thessaly and freely
yielding the chief command to Antipater, he shared
a camp with him beside the Peneius River. Including
those who had been under Leonnatus, there were
gathered together in all more than forty thousand
heavy armed infantry, three thousand bowmen and
slingers, and five thousand cavalry.

17. The Greeks who were encamped against them
at this time were far inferior in numbers; for many
of them, despising the enemy because of their former
good fortune, had gone away to their own cities to

1 But cp. Book 31. frag. 19. 3-5 (Dindorf), according to
which Ariarathes fell in the battle, and an adopted son
escaped, later to recover the kingdom.

2 Cp. chap. 3. 1. The narrative is continued in chap. 22. 1.

3 For other accounts of the final campaign of the Lamian
War and the settlement that followed cp. Plutarch, Phocion,
26-30; Arrian, PGGrH, 156. 1. 12; Pausanias, 7. 10. 4-5.

4 At Cramon, from which the battle next described takes
its name.
2 ἐπίσκεψιν. δι' αὐτίς πολλῶν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀτακτούντων ὑπολοίπους εἶχον ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ πεζοὺς μὲν δισμυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, ἵππεῖς δὲ τρισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, ἐν οἷς μάλιστα εἶχον τὰς τῆς νίκης ἐλπίδας διὰ τε τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὰς καὶ διὰ τὸ πεδίνην ὑποκείσθαι χώραν.

3 Τέλος δὲ τῶν περὶ Ἀντίπατρον καθ' ἡμέραν προαγόντων τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ προκαλουμένων εἰς μάχην τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀνέμενον τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων παραγενησομένους, τῶν δὲ καιρῶν κατεπεγόντων ἡγαγκάζοντο συγκαταβαίνει εἰς τὸν ύπέρ τῶν ὠλων κάδυναν. ἐκτάζοντες δὲ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ σπεύδοντες διὰ τῶν ἵππων κρίναι τὸν πόλεμον τούτους πρὸ τῆς τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγγος ἐστήσαν.

4 γενομένης δὲ ὑπομαχίας καὶ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἱππέων πλεονεκτούντων διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς οἱ περὶ τῶν Ἀντίπατρον ἐπηγαγον τὴν ἴδιαν φάλαγγα καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιρράξαντες πολύν ἐποιοῦντο φόνον. οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες τὸ βάρος καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν πολεμίων οὐ δυνάμενοι φέρειν εὐθὺς ἀπεχώρησαν πρὸς τὰς δυσχωρίας, τηροῦντες τὰς τάξεις ἐπιμελῶς. διὸ καὶ ἱράζοντες τῶν ἤπερ-δεξίων ῥαδίων ἡμύναντο τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ὑπερ-5 δεξιῶν ἔχοντες τὴν στάσιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἕλληνων ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ προτερήματος ὄντες, ὡς ἐγνωσάν τὴν τῶν πεζῶν ἀποχώρησαν, εὐθὺς πρὸς ἐκεῖνους ἄφιππεσαν. τότε μὲν οὖν τούτον τὸν τρόπον ἀγωνισάμενοι διελύθησαν, ἐπεσύνη τῆς νίκης πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἀπέθανον δ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν μὲν

1 πολλῶν Post: πολλοί MSS., deleted by Wesseling and Fischer.
look after their private affairs. Since many soldiers 322 B.C. were absent from duty for this reason, there remained in camp only twenty-five thousand foot soldiers and thirty-five hundred cavalry. They placed their chief hope of victory in the latter, because the men were brave and the ground was level.

At last Antipater began to draw up his forces each day and challenge the Greeks to battle. For a while these waited for their men to return from their cities, but since time was pressing, they were forced to come out and stake all. They drew up their line, placing the cavalry in front of the phalanx of infantry, since they were eager to decide the battle by means of this arm. When the cavalry had met in battle and the Thessalian horsemen were getting the advantage because of their valour, Antipater led out his own phalanx and, rushing upon the infantry of the enemy, began to make great slaughter. The Greeks, since they were not able to withstand the weight and number of the enemy, immediately withdrew to the rough ground, carefully keeping their ranks. Thus they occupied the higher ground and easily repulsed the Macedonians thanks to their possession of the superior position. Although the Greek cavalry had gained the advantage, as soon as the horsemen learned of the withdrawal of the infantry, they at once retired toward them. Then, after such a combat as I have described, the battle was broken off, as the scales of victory swung in favour of the Macedonians. More than five hundred of the Greeks
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΙΚΙΛΙΟΥ

'Ελλήνων πλείους τών πεντακοσίων, τών δὲ Μακεδονών ἐκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα.

6 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ Μένων μὲν καὶ Ἀντίφιλος οἱ τῶν Ελλήνων ἡγεμόνες συνεδρεύσαντες ἐβουλεύσαντο πότερον ἀναμείναντες τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων συμμάχους καὶ καταστάντες ἄξιομαχοι περὶ τῶν ὄλων διακρίνονται ἡ τῶν παρόντι καὶ ύψη συνείχαντες προσβεύωται περὶ διαλύσεως. ἔδοξεν οὖν ἀποστέλλειν κήρυκας περὶ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου καταλύσεως. πραξάντων δ' αὐτῶν τὸ δόξαν ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ περὶ τῶν Ἀντίπατρον κατὰ πόλεις προσβεύειν οὐδενὶ γὰρ τρόπῳ κοινὴν σύλλυσιν ποιῆσον, τῶν δὲ Ελλήνων οὐ προσδεχομένων τάς κατὰ πόλιν διαλύσεις οἱ μὲν περὶ τῶν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Κρατεροῦ ἐπολιορκοῦν τὰς περὶ Θεταλίαν πόλεις καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἥρον, μὴ δυναμένων τῶν Ελλήνων βοηθεῖν. διὸ καὶ τῶν πόλεως περιφόβων οὐσῶν καὶ κατ’ ἰδίαν ἐκάστης προσβενούσης περὶ διαλύσεως πάσης συγχωρῆσαι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπιεικῶς προσεφέρετο. διόπερ ἐμπεσούσης ὁρμῆς εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἱδίᾳ πορίζεσθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν ταχὺ πάσαι τῆς εἰρήνης ἑτυχον. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοτρωτα διακείμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας Αἰτωλοῖ καὶ Ἀθηναίοι, συμμάχων ὄντες ἔρημοι, μετὰ τῶν ἱδίων στρατηγῶν ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τοῦ πολέμου.

18. Ἀντίπατρος δὲ διὰ τούτης τῆς στρατηγίας διαλύσας τὸ σύστημα τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἤγαγε τὴν δύναμιν πάσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. δὲ δὴ δὴμος ἐρήμωθεὶς τῆς τῶν συμμάχων βοηθείας ἐν ἀπορίᾳ πολλῇ καθευδηκεί· πάντων δὲ καταφερομένων ἐπὶ

1 διακρίνονται Wesseling: διακρίνονται.
were killed in the battle, and one hundred and thirty 322 B.C. of the Macedonians.  

On the next day Menon and Antiphilus, the leaders of the Greeks, came together and took counsel whether they should wait for the allies from the cities and then, when they were in position to fight on equal terms, seek a final decision, or, yielding to the present situation, should send envoys to seek a truce. They decided to dispatch heralds to treat for peace. These carried out their orders, but Antipater answered that the cities must negotiate separately, for he would by no means make a mass settlement. Since the Greeks refused to agree to peace terms city by city, Antipater and Craterus began to lay siege to the cities in Thessaly and to take them by storm, since the Greeks could not send aid to them. When the cities were thus badly frightened and each on its own account began to send envoys about a settlement, Antipater came to terms with all of them, granting them peace on easy terms. This resulted in a movement among the cities to secure their safety separately, and all quickly obtained terms of peace; but those who were most hostile to the Macedonians, the Aetolians and the Athenians, deserted by their allies, took counsel about the war with their own generals.

18. Antipater, after he had destroyed the alliance of the Greeks by this device, led all his forces against the Athenians. The people, bereft of the aid of their allies, were in great perplexity. All turned to

1 Dinsmoor (Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age, 329) places the Battle of Crannon on September 5, 322 B.C.

2 πεθ αεταλίαν Dindorf, ἐπὶ Θεταλίας Fischer: ἐπὶ Θεταλίαν.
τὸν Δημάδην καὶ βοώντων τούτων ἐκπέμπειν πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς Ἀντιπατρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης, οὗτος 2 μὲν καλούμενος σύμβουλος οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν· ἦν γὰρ τρὶς ἡλικίας παρανόμων καὶ διὰ τούτο γεγονὼς ἁτίμως καὶ κωλυόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων συμβουλεύειν· ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου παραχρῆμα ἐξεπέμφθη πρεσβευτὴς μετὰ Φωκίωνος 3 καὶ τινῶν ἑτέρων. τοῦ δ᾽ Ἀντιπάτρου διακούσαντος τῶν λόγων καὶ δόντος ἀπόκρισιν ὡς ἄλλως οὐ μὴ συλλύσσεται τὸν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πόλεμον, ἐὰν μὴ τὰ καθ᾽ ἐαυτοῦ ἐπιτρέψωσιν αὐτῷ (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους συγκλείσαντας εἰς Λαμίαν τὸν Ἀντιπατρὸν τὰς αὐτὰς ἀποκρίσεις πεποιηθῆκαν προσβεύσαντος αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης) ὁ δήμος οὐκ ὃν ἀξιόμαχον ἠγακάσθη τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν πᾶσαν Ἀντιπάτρῳ δούναι περὶ τῆς πόλεως. 4 ὁ δὲ φιλανθρώπως αὐτοῖς προσενεχθεῖς συνεχώρησεν ἔχειν τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰς κτήσεις καὶ τὰλλα πάντα· τὴν δὲ πολιτείαν μετέστησεν ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ προσέταξεν ἀπὸ τιμῆσεως εἶναι τὸ πολίτευμα καὶ τοὺς μὲν κεκτημένους πλείω δραχμῶν δισχίλιών κυρίους εἶναι τοῦ πολιτεύματος καὶ τῆς χειροτονίας, τοὺς δὲ κατωτέρω τῆς τιμῆσεως ἀπαντάς ὡς ταραχῶδεις ὄντας καὶ πολεμικοὺς ἀπῆλασε τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τοὺς βουλομένους χώραν 5 ἐδωκεν εἰς κατοίκησιν ἐν τῇ Ὀράκῃ. οὕτωι μὲν οὖν ὄντες πλείους τῶν μυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων μετέσταθην ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, οἱ δὲ τῆς ὀρισμένης τίμησιν ἔχοντες περὶ ἐνακισχιλίους ἀπεδείχθησαν κύριοι.
Demades and shouted that he must be sent as envoy \textsuperscript{922 B.C.} to Antipater to sue for peace; but, although he was called on by name to give advice, he did not respond. He had been convicted three times \textsuperscript{1} of introducing illegal decrees, and for this reason he had been deprived of his rights as a citizen and was prevented by the laws from advising; yet, on being restored to full rights by the people, he was at once sent as envoy along with Phocion and some others. When Antipater had heard what they had to say, he made answer that he would end the war against the Athenians on no other condition than that they surrender all their interests to his discretion; for, after they had shut Antipater up in Lamia, they had made that same reply to him when he had sent envoys about peace. The people, not being in position to fight, were forced to grant to Antipater such discretion and complete authority over the city. He dealt humanely with them and permitted them to retain their city and their possessions and everything else; but he changed the government from a democracy, ordering that political power should depend on a census of wealth, and that those possessing more than two thousand drachmas should be in control of the government and of the elections. He removed from the body of citizens all who possessed less than this amount on the ground that they were disturbers of the peace and warmongers, offering to those who wished it a place for settlement in Thrace. These men, more than twelve thousand in number, were removed from their fatherland; but those who possessed the stated rating, being about nine thousand,

\textsuperscript{1} The number of convictions is given as seven by Plutarch (\textit{Phocion}, 26. 2) and as two by Suidas (s.v. Demades).
Diodorus of Sicily

τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ χώρας καὶ κατὰ τοὺς Σόλωνος νόμους ἐπολιτεύοντο· πάντες δὲ τὰς οὐσίας εἰάθησαν ἔχειν ἀναφαίρετους. φρούραρχον δὲ Μένυλλον καὶ φρούραν ἤναγκάσθησαν δέξασθαι τὴν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπε-6 ψονςαν οὔδενι νεωτερίζειν. περὶ δὲ τῆς Σάμου τὴν ἀναφοράν ἐπὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐπούσαντο. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν οὖν παρ’ ἐλπίδα φιλανθρωπευθέντες ἐτυχον τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀταράχως πολιτευόμενοι καὶ τὴν χώραν ἄδεως καρποὺμενοι ταχὺ ταῖς οὐσίαις προσανέδραμον.

7 Ὅ δ’ Ἀντίπατρος ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὴν Μακε-δονίαν τὸν μὲν Κρατερὸν ταῖς ἀρμοζούσις τιμαίς τε καὶ δωρεαῖς ἐκόσμησε καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων μίαν συνοικίσας αὐτῷ τὴν πρεσβυτάτην Φίλαν τὴν εἰς 8 τὴν Ἀσιάν ἐπάνωδον συγκατασκεύασεν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις Ἑλληνικῶν πόλεων ἐπιεικῶς προσ-ενεχθεῖς καὶ τὰ πολιτεύματα συναγαγὼν καὶ καλὼς καταστήσας ἐπαύνων καὶ στεφάνων ἐτυχεν.

9 δ’ δὲ Περδίκκας ἀποκαταστήσας τοὺς Σαμίους τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ χώραν κατήγαγεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, πεφυγότας ἐτή τρισὶ πλείω τῶν τεσσαράκοντα.

19. Ἡμεῖς δ’ ἐπεὶ τὰς κατὰ τὸν Λαμιακὸν πό-λεμον ἐπιτελεσθείσας πράξεις διήλθομεν, μεταβη-σόμεθα πρὸς τὸν ἐν τῇ Κυρήνῃ γενόμενον πόλεμον, ἵνα μὴ μακρὰν τοῖς χρόνοις ἀποπλανῶμεν τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἱστορίας. ἀναγκαῖον δ’ ἐστὶ βραχὺ τοῖς χρόνοις προσαναδραμεῖν, ὡς σαφεστέρας

1 καὶ καλὸς Fischer: καλὸς καἰ.
were designated as masters of both city and territory 322 B.C. and conducted the government according to the constitution of Solon. All were permitted to keep their property uncurtailed. They were, however, forced to receive a garrison with Menyllus as its commander, its purpose being to prevent anyone from undertaking changes in the government. In regard to Samos, Antipater referred the decision to the kings. The Athenians, being thus humanely treated beyond their hopes, secured peace; and, since henceforth they conducted their public affairs without disturbance and enjoyed the produce of the land unmolested, they quickly made great progress in wealth.

When Antipater had returned to Macedonia, he presented Craterus with suitable honours and gifts, giving him also his eldest daughter Phila in marriage, and helped him to prepare for his return to Asia. He likewise showed moderation in dealing with the other Greek cities, both reducing their citizen bodies and wisely reforming them, for which he received eulogies and crowns. Perdiccas, restoring their city and territory to the Samians, brought them back to their fatherland after they had been exiles for forty-three years.¹

19. Now that we have narrated all the actions in the course of the Lamian War, we shall turn to the war that took place in Cyrenē, so that the course of our history may not deviate too much from the chronological sequence. But it is necessary to go back a little in time in order to make clearer the

¹ Samos had been captured by the Athenian general Timotheüs in 366/5 (IG, 2. 699. 20; Nepos, Timotheüs, 1; Demosthenes, For the Rhodians, 9; cp. Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, 3. 2. 245 ff.). Diodorus returns to Greek affairs in chap. 24.
Diodorus of Sicily

2 poiiisomev tás káta méros práxeis. 'Ampalov gár tón èk tís 'Asías drosi món poiiisaménou kai katapleúasántos eis Kréthtn metá tónwn midothófrónw, katháper èn tì prò tautás búbhln dehdalákamên, Óíbrwn, eis tónwn filwv nomižómenos,1 dolofoníhias tón "Ampalov kýrios égéneto tónw te chrhmátwv kai 3 tónwn stratiwttwv, óntwn épptakisiakhíwv. Ómoiws dé kai tónwn veòw égykratíh genvómenos kai tóns stratiwttas eis tautás thémenos katéeleusen eis tìn chóran tónwn Kurnhàwv. ánepelhíw dé méth autòú tòus èk tís Kurnhíhns phugádas kai toutous éxous kathgounmévous tís épibolhís2 dià tìn tónwn témpa émpierían, ápantíhávton tónwn Kurnhàwv kai máchh genvoménh ò Óíbrwn nikhías pòllous mév 4 àpektéinev, óuk olíghous dé éxòughse. kurneíthas dé tòu lìménos kai poliorchíshas kai kataplezhámenos tòus Kurnhàwv hýnagkasev ómologías poiiisáshai òste autòús dònai árgrion tálantà pentakósia, tòwn dé ármátwv tà hímía pròs tás 5 strateías sunekkémpsev. diéperebheústato dé kai pròs tás állass pòleis, áziwv sýmmachiev òs méllontos autòú tìn plhsióchworon Líbínhn katástrephesai. dihprase dé kai tònwn émpórón tà ka talaphvnta chrhmátà èn tíw lìmén kai tòis stratiwttas eis diárhagíhnd édwhkev, ékkaloúmenos autòwn tás prothúmías èis tòn pólemon.

1 Hertlein reads dnomazómenos for nomižómenos.
2 méth autò Dindorf : met' autòú.
3 épibolhí Wesseling and Dindorf : épiboulhí MSS., Fischer.

1 The battle of Crannon probably took place in September,
several series of events.¹ When Harpalus had fled from Asia and sailed to Crete with the mercenaries, as we have shown in the preceding Book,² Thibron, who was regarded as one of his friends, treacherously murdered him and gained control of the money and the soldiers, who numbered seven thousand.³ He also took possession of the ships, embarked the soldiers on them, and sailed to the land of the Cyrenians. He had taken with him the exiles from Cyrenē and was using them as instructors in his project because of their knowledge of the locality. When the Cyrenians opposed him and a battle took place, Thibron was victorious, killing many and taking captive no small number. By gaining control of the harbour and besieging and frightening the Cyrenians, he forced them to come to terms, and to agree to give him five hundred talents of silver and to contribute half of their chariots to aid his campaign. He sent envoys, moreover, to the other cities, asking them to make an alliance on the ground that he was going to subdue the neighbouring parts of Libya. He also treated as spoil the property of the traders that had been captured in the port and gave it to his soldiers as plunder, calling forth their zeal for the war.

322 (Plutarch, *Camillus*, 19; W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, 329), but the settlement of Athens may not have been completed for several years (Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 458 ff.).

¹ Cp. Book 17. 108. 4-8.
² According to Pausanias (2. 33. 4), Harpalus was murdered either by his slaves or by a Macedonian named Pausanias. For other accounts of Thibron’s campaign against Cyrenē and his final defeat by Ptolemy cp. Arrian, *FGH*, 156. 9. 16-19; Justin, 13. 6. 18; *Marmor Parium* for 322/1. In Book 17. 108. 6 and in Arrian the number of mercenaries is given as six thousand.
20. Οὖτω δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων τῷ Θίβρωνι προ-
χωρούντων ἡ τύχη ταχὺ μεταβαλοῦσα ἐταπείνωσεν
αὐτὸν διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν
παρ᾽ αὐτῷ τίς Κρῆς μὲν τὸ γένος, ὅνομα δὲ Μνασι-
κλῆς, ἐμπειρίαν δ᾽ ἔχων τῶν πολεμικῶν πράξεων
διηνέχθη πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐγκαλέσας μὲν¹ περὶ τοῦ
μερισμοῦ τῶν λαφύρων, καὶ φύσει ταραχῶδης ἄν
καὶ θραύσει θυτομολήσει πρὸς τοὺς Κυρηναίους.

2 κατηγορήσας δὲ πολλὰ τοῦ Θίβρωνος εἰς ὁμότητα
c καὶ ἀπιστίαν ἐπείσε πῦσαι τὰς ὁμολογίας καὶ τῆς
ἐλευθερίας ἀντέχεσθαι. διὸ καὶ ταλάντων ἐξήκοντα
μόνον² ἀποδεδομένων, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν χρημάτων οὐ
διδομένων ὁ μὲν Θίβρων ἐγκαλέσας τοὺς ἀφεστη-
κόσις συνέλαβε τῶν Κυρηναίων τοὺς παρόντας ἐν τῷ
λιμένι, δυνατὰ περὶ ὁμοσκόντα, εὖθυ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν
ἐπαγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπολιορκεῖ τὴν Κυρηνήν·
οὐδὲν δὲ δυνάμενος πράξαι πάλιν πρὸς τὸν λιμένα
3 ἐπανῆλθε. τῶν δὲ Βαρκαίων καὶ τῶν Ἑσπεριτῶν
συμμαχοῦντος τῷ Θίβρωνι Κυρηναίοι μέρος μὲν
tῆς δυνάμεως ἀπέλυσον ἐν τῇ Κυρηνή, τῶς³ μέρει
dὲ στρατεύσαντες ἐπόρθουν τὴν τῶν ἀστυγεντῶν
4 χώραν. τούτων δ᾽ ἐπικαλεσαμένων βοηθεῖν τὸν
Θίβρωνα ἀπαντᾷ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξῆγαγεν⁴ ἐπὶ
tῆς συμμαχίας. καθ᾽ ὃν δὴ χρόνον ὁ Κρῆς συλ-
λογισάμενος τὴν ἐρτιμίαν τοῦ λιμένος ἐπείσε τοὺς
ἐν Κυρηνῇ καταλειψθέντας ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ λιμένι.
5 ὑπακουοῦντων δ᾽ εὖθὺς αὐτὸς καθηγούμενος ἐπι-
ἐθετο τῷ λιμένι καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀποστίνα τοῦ Θίβρω-

¹ μὲν deleted by Bekker, Dindorf, Fischer.
² μόνον Fischer : μόνον.
³ Fischer brackets τῶ.
⁴ ἐξῆγαγεν Rhodoman : ἐξῆγαγον.

¹ Also called Hesperides, Euhesperides, and Berenice
Although the affairs of Thibron were thus prospering, fortune by a sudden shift humbled him through the following circumstances. One of his leaders, a Cretan by birth, whose name was Mnasicles, a man of experience in warfare, quarrelled with him, having complained about the distribution of the booty; and being contentious by nature and bold, he deserted to the Cyrenians. Moreover, he made many complaints against Thibron, charging him with cruelty and faithlessness, and persuaded the Cyrenians to break the treaty and make a bid for liberty. And so when sixty talents only had been paid, and the rest of the money was not being given, Thibron denounced the rebels, seized any Cyrenians who were in the port, some eighty in number, and then, leading his forces directly against the city, laid siege to it. As he was unable to accomplish anything, he returned to the port. Since the people of Barca and of Hesperis¹ were allied with Thibron, the Cyrenians, leaving part of their forces in Cyrenē, took the field with part and plundered the land of their neighbours. When these called on Thibron to give them aid, he led all his soldiers against the alliance.² At this the Cretan, concluding that the harbour was deserted, persuaded those who were left in Cyrenē to attack it. When they obeyed him, he at once made an attack on the port, leading the way himself; and, easily gaining control of it thanks to the absence of Thibron, (modern Benghazī), the westernmost city of Cyrenē. Barca lies a short distance north-east.

¹ i.e. against the Cyrenians and their Libyan and Carthaginian allies, who are not mentioned until chap. 21. 4.
νοσ ῥαδίως ἐγκρατῆς γενόμενος τὰ περιλεπόμενα τῶν ἐφτάσιν ἀποκατέστησε τοῖς ἐμπόροις καὶ τῶν λιμένα φιλοτιμῶς ἔτηρει.

6 Ὡς δὲ Θῆβρων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀθύμως εἶχεν, ἀπολωλεκῶς τὸπον ἐπίκαιρον καὶ τὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποσκευᾶς· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θαρσῆσας καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ὁνομαζομένην Ταύρεια ἐκπολιορκήσας ἀνέδραμε ταῖς ἐλπίσιν. μετ’ ἄλλων δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸν συνέβη περιπεσεῖν μεγάλους ἐλαττώμασιν.

7 οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὄντες τοῦ λιμένος σταθημένοι, τροφῆς δὲ ἀποροῦντες εἰσέθεσαν καὶ ἤμεραν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐξιεναὶ καὶ τὰς τροφὰς ἐκ ταύτης πορίζονταί· οἱ δὲ Δῆλοι εὐνοεύσαντες αὐτοὺς πλανωμένους κατὰ τὴν χώραν πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπεκτειναν, οὕτω καὶ ἄλλοις δὲ ἐξώγρησαν· οἱ δὲ περιβλεβέντες ἐκ τοῦ κινδύνου καταφυγόντες εἰς τὰς ναὐς ἀπέπλεουν εἰς τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις. ἐπιγενομένου δὲ μεγάλου πνεύματος αἱ πλεῖσται μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης κατεπόθησαν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων αἱ μὲν εἰς Κύπρον, αἱ δὲ εἰς Λύβεαν ἀπερρήσασιν.

21. Ὡς δὲ Θῆβρων τὴν καὶ τὴν συμφορὰ περιπεσοῦν ὄμως ἀντεῖχοτο τῷ πολέμῳ, προχειρισμένος δὲ τῶν φιλῶν τοὺς εὐθέτους ἐπέμεινεν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἀναλημμένους τῶν ἔξων τοὺς ἐνδιατριβούντας περὶ Ταύναρον. ἔτη γὰρ τῶν ἐμείσθων γενομένων πολλοὶ διεπηλώντο ζητοῦντες τοὺς μισθοδοτησόντας καὶ τότε περὶ Ταύναρον ὑπῆρχον πλείους τῶν διαχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων. τούτως δὲ οἱ πεμφθέντες ἀνέλαβον, τὸν δὲ εἰς

1 κατεπόθησαν Wesseling: κατεποντήθησαν R, κατεποντίσθησαν XF.
2 per Ῥeiske: εἰς.
BOOK XVIII. 20. 5—21. 2

he restored to the merchants what was left of the 322 B.C. cargoes and zealously guarded the port.

At first Thibron was disheartened, since he had lost an advantageous position and the equipment of his soldiers; but afterwards, when he had recovered his spirits and captured by siege the city called Tauchira, his hopes again rose. It chanced, however, that in a short time he again encountered great misfortunes. The crews of his ships, having been deprived of their harbour and running short of food, were accustomed each day to go out into the country and gather supplies there; but the Libyans ambushed them as they were wandering about the country, killed many, and took no small number captive. Those who escaped the danger fled to the ships and sailed away for the allied cities. But when a great storm overtook them, most of the ships were swallowed by the sea; of the rest, some were cast ashore in Cyprus, others in Egypt.

21. Nevertheless Thibron, although he had encountered such a misfortune, did not give up the campaign. Selecting those of his friends who were fitted for the task, he sent them to the Peloponnesus to hire those of the mercenaries who were waiting about near Taenarum; for many of the discharged mercenaries were still roaming about seeking paymasters; and at that time there were more than twenty-five hundred of them at Taenarum. His messengers engaged these and set out upon the voyage to

3 τῶν ἀμισθῶν Wesseling, τῶν ἀμισθῶν Fischer: ἀμισθῶν.
Κυρήνην πλοῦν ἔποιεύντο. τῆς δὲ τούτων πρότερον παρουσίας οἱ μὲν Κυρηναῖοι θαρρόσαντες τοὺς γεγονόσι προτερήμασι μάχην συνῆφαν καὶ νικήσαντες τῶν Θίβρων πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν 3 ἀπέκτειναν. διὰ δὲ τὰς ἐλαττώσεις οἱ Θίβρων ἀπογυνώσκων ἦδη τὰ κατὰ τὴν Κυρήνην παραδόξως πάλιν ἑθάρρησε· τῶν γὰρ ἀπὸ Ταυνάρου στρατιωτῶν καταπλευσάντων καὶ μεγάλης αὐτῶν χειρὸς 4 προσγενομένης εὐελπὶς ἐγένετο τῇ ἴσχυν. οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι πάλιν θεωροῦντες τῶν πόλεων αὐξῶ-μενον μετεπέμψαντο τὴν συμμαχίαν παρὰ τῶν πλησιοχώρων Λιβύων καὶ παρὰ τῶν Καρχηδόνων, ἀθροίσαντες δὲ τοὺς ἀπαντας μετὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν στρατιωτῶν τρισμυρίους ἴτομαξοντο παρατάξει περὶ τῶν ὀλων διακριθῆναι. γενομένης δὲ παρα-τάξεως μεγάλης ὁ μὲν Θίβρων νικήσας τῇ μάχῃ καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελὼν περιχαρῆς ἦν, ὡς αὐτίκα μᾶλα 5 κυρεύσων τῶν πλησίων πόλεων, οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπάντων ἀνηρμενέων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν Κρήτα Μνασικλῆν μεθ’ ἐτέρων εἰλοντο στρατη-γῶν. Θίβρων δ’ ἔπαρθεις τῇ νίκῃ τῶν λιμένα τῶν Κυρηναίων ἐπολιόρκησε καὶ τῇ Κυρήνη καθ’ ἡμέραν 6 προσβολάς ἐποιεῖτο. χρονίζοντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου Κυρηναῖοι μὲν σπανίζοντες τροφῆς ἐστασίασαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ἐπικρατοῦντες δὲ τῶν δημοτικῶν καὶ τοὺς κτηματικοὺς ἐκβαλλόντων οἱ τῆς πατρίδος στερθέντες ἔφυγον οἱ μὲν πρὸς Θίβρωνα, οἱ δ’ εἰς 7 Αἰγυπτον. οὕτω δὲ πείσαντες τὸν Πτολεμαῖον κατάγειν αὐτοὺς ἤκουν ἁγοντες δύναμιν ἀξίολογον πεζικῆς τε καὶ ναυτικῆς καὶ στρατηγῶν 'Οφελλαν· ὡς τὴν παρουσίαν ἀκούσαντες οἱ παρὰ τῷ Θίβρων φιγάδες, νυκτὸς ἐπιχειρήσαντες πρὸς τούτους ἀπό-
Cyrenë. But before their arrival the Cyrenians, encouraged by their successes, joined battle and defeated Thibron, killing many of his soldiers. But when, on account of these failures, Thibron was now ready to abandon the operations against Cyrenë, he unexpectedly regained courage; for as soon as the soldiers from Taenarum put into port and a large force was added to his strength, he became confident in spirit. As the Cyrenians saw the tide of war again rising, they summoned the allied forces from the neighbouring Libyans and from the Carthaginians, and having collected in all thirty thousand men including their citizen soldiers, they made ready to reach a final decision in battle. When a great battle had taken place, Thibron, having won the victory with great slaughter of the enemy, was overjoyed, believing that he would at once capture the adjacent cities; and the Cyrenians, whose commanders had all been killed in the battle, elected the Cretan Mnasicles general along with others. Thibron, elated by the victory, laid siege to the port of the Cyrenians and made daily assaults on Cyrenë. As the war continued a long time, the Cyrenians, who were in want of food, quarrelled among themselves; and the commons, gaining the upper hand, drove out the rich, who, bereft of their fatherland, fled, some to Thibron, others to Egypt. The latter, after persuading Ptolemy to restore them, returned bringing with them a considerable force, both infantry and naval, with Ophellas as general. The exiles who were with Thibron, hearing of the approach of these men and attempting to

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1 τῆς δὲ τούτων πρώτερον παρουσίας Fischer, πρὸ δὲ τῆς τούτων παρουσίας Rhodoman, τῇ δὲ τούτων ἀπουσία... θαρψάντες καὶ τοῖς Wesseling: τῇ δὲ τούτων παρουσία R. (ἀπουσία written above by second hand) XF.
Diodorus of Sicily

8. Οδόντων άρα, φωραθέντες άπαντες κατεκόπησαν. Οδόντων άρα, φωραθέντες άπαντες κατεκόπησαν. οί δὲ τῆς Κυρήνης στρατηγούντες δημοτικοί, φοβηθέντες τήν τῶν φυγάδων κάθοδον, διελύσαντο πρὸς τὸν Ωίβρωνα καὶ κοινῆ πολεμεῖν πρὸς τὸν 'Οφέλλαν παρεσκευάζοντο. 'Οφέλλας δὲ καταπολεμήσας τὸν Ωίβρωνα καὶ ζωγρῆσας, έτι δὲ τῶν πόλεων ἐγκρατής γενόμενος παρέδωκε τάς τε πόλεις καὶ τήν χώραν Πτολεμαίως τῷ βασιλεῖ. οἱ μὲν οὖν Κυρήναιοι καὶ αἱ περιουκούσαι πόλεις τούτον τὸν τρόπον ἀποβαλοῦσαν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὑπὸ τὴν Πτολεμαϊκήν βασιλείαν ἑτάχθησαν.

22. Περιδίκκας δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος καταπολεμήσατε Ἀριαράθην καὶ τήν σατραπεῖαν αὐτοῦ Εὐμενεῖ παραδόντες ἐξωρίσθησαν ἐκ τῆς Κασπαδοκίας. καταντήσαντες δὲ εἰς τὴν Πιστίκην ἔκρυμαν ἀναστάτους ποιήσαν υἱὸ πόλεις, τῆν τε τῶν Λαρανδέων καὶ τῆν τῶν Ἰσαιρέων: αὕται γὰρ ἔτι ξύντος Ἀλεξάνδρου Βαλακρον τῶν Νικάνωρος ἀπέκτειναν, ἀποδεκτομένων στρατηγόν ἀμα 2 καὶ σατράπην. τὴν μὲν οὖν τῶν Λαρανδέων πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου χειρωσάμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἦβοιντας κατασφάζαντες τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐξαιρεδραποδισάμενοι κατέσκαψαν τὴν δὲ τῶν Ἰσαιρέων, οὗσαν ὁχυρὰν καὶ μεγάλην, ἔτι δὲ πλῆθουσαν ἀλκίμων ἄνδρων, ἔπει μὲν ἡμέρας 1 δύο πολιορκήσαντες ἑνεργώς καὶ 3 πολλοὺς τῶν ἰδίων ἀποβαλόντες ἀνεχώρησαν: οἱ γὰρ ἐγχώριοι βελῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρὸς πολιορκίαν ἀνήκοντων εὑποροῦντες, ἔτι δὲ ταῖς ἰσχαῖς υπομένοντες τὸ δευτον παραστατικὸς ἐτοί 4 μιῶς ύπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπέθνησκον. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ

1 ἡμέρας Hertlein: ἡμέρας MSS. followed by Fischer.
go over to them secretly at night, were detected and cut down to a man. The democratic leaders of Cyrenē, becoming alarmed at the return of the exiles, made terms with Thibron and prepared to fight against Ophellas in common with him; but Ophellas, after defeating and capturing Thibron and also gaining control of the cities, delivered both the cities and the country over to Ptolemy the king. Thus the Cyrenians and the surrounding cities lost their freedom and were annexed to the kingdom of Ptolemy.

22. Now when Perdiccas and King Philip had defeated Ariarathes and delivered his satrapy to Eumenes, they departed from Cappadocia. And having arrived in Pisidia, they determined to lay waste two cities, that of the Larandians and that of the Isaurians; for while Alexander was still alive these cities had put to death Balacrus the son of Nicanor, who had been appointed general and satrap. Now the city of the Larandians they took by assault, and after killing the men of fighting age and enslaving the rest of the population, razed it to the ground. The city of the Isaurians, however, was strongly fortified and large and moreover was filled with stout warriors; so when they had besieged it vigorously for two days and had lost many of their own men, they withdrew; for the inhabitants, who were well provided with missiles and other things needed for withstanding a siege and were enduring the dreadful ordeal with desperate courage in their hearts, were readily giving their lives to preserve their freedom.

1 The capture of Cyrenē is placed in 322/1 by the Parian Marble. Ptolemy had not yet become king (Book 20. 53. 3). For the later attempt of the Cyrenians to recover their freedom see Book 19. 79. 1-3.

2 Cp. chap. 16. 3.
πολλῶν μὲν ἀνηρημένων, τῶν δὲ τειχῶν ἐλλειπεῖς ἐχόντων ταῖς φυλακαῖς διὰ τὴν σπάνιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπετελέσαντο πρᾶξιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡρωικὴν καὶ μνήμης ἄξιαν. ὄρισσες γὰρ ἀπαραίτητον οὖσαν τὴν κατ’ αὐτῶν ἰσαράμιαν καὶ δύναμιν οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀξιόχρεων τὴν ἀμυνομένην τὸ μὲν ἐγχειρῆσαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέψαι τοῖς πολέμους οὐκ ἔκριναν, ἐμφανῶς οὖσας τῆς μεθ’ ὑβρισμάτων τιμωρίας, νυκτὸς δ’ ὁμοθυμάδιον πρὸς τὸν εὐγενῆ βάσανον ὄρμησαντες τέκνα μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ γονεῖς εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ἐγκλείσαντες ἐνέπρησαν, κοινὸν βάσανον καὶ τάφον διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐλόμενοι.

5 τῆς δὲ φλογὸς ἄφνοι πρὸς ψύμοις αἱρομένης οἱ μὲν Ἰσαυρεῖς τὰ κτήματα καὶ πάντα τὰ δυνάμενα τοῖς κρατοῦσιν ὁμφαλίας παρέχεσθαι τῷ πυρὶ παρέβαλον, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Περσίκκαν θαυμάσαντες τὸ γνώμενον περιέστησαν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ κατὰ πάντα τὸν ἐθνὸς παρεπεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

6 τῶν δ’ ἐγχειρῶν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀμυνομένων καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων καταβαλλόντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ Περσίκκας καταπληκτομένος ἐξήτευ τὴν αὐτίαν δι’ ὅτι οἱ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὰ λουτά πάντα τῷ πυρὶ παραδεδωκότες φιλοτίμωρα τὰ τείχη φυλάττοντο. τέλος δὲ τοῦ Περσίκκου καὶ τῶν Μακε- δόνων ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀποχωρησάντων οἱ Ἰσαυρεῖς εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐαυτοὺς ῥίζαντες εὐς ταῖς οἰκίαις συνε- 

8 τάφησαν τοῖς οἰκείοις. Περσίκκας δὲ νυκτὸς διευθύνθη ἐδώκε τοῖς στρατιωταῖς τὴν πόλιν εἰς διαρπάγην. οὕτως δὲ τὴν φλόγα κατασβέσαντες

1 Dindorf reads καθ’ αὐτῶν.
2 ἀμυνομένην Dindorf: ἀμυνομένην MSS., followed by Fischer.

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On the third day, when many had been slain and the 322 B.C. walls had few defenders because of the lack of men, the citizens performed a heroic and memorable deed. Seeing that the punishment that hung over them could not be averted, and not having a force that would be adequate to stave the enemy off, they determined not to surrender the city and place their fate in the hands of the enemy, since in that way their punishment combined with outrage was certain; but at night all with one accord, seeking the noble kind of death, shut up their children, wives, and parents in their houses, and set the houses on fire, choosing by means of the fire a common death and burial. As the blaze suddenly flared aloft, the Isaurians cast into the fire their goods and everything that could be of use to the victors; Perdiccas and his officers, astounded at what was taking place, stationed their troops about the city and made a strong effort to break into the city on all sides. When now the inhabitants defended themselves from the walls and struck down many of the Macedonians, Perdiccas was even more astonished and sought the reason why men who had given their homes and all else to the flames should be so intent upon defending the walls. Finally Perdiccas and the Macedonians withdrew from the city, and the Isaurians, throwing themselves into the fire, found burial in their homes along with their families.\(^1\) When the night was over, Perdiccas gave the city to his soldiers for booty. They, when they had put out the fire, found an abundance of

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\(^1\) Justin (13. 6, 1-8) tells much the same tale but in connection with Perdiccas' war against Ariarathes.

\(^{a}\) γενόμενον Hertlein: γενόμενον.

\(^{b}\) Dindorf adds τῆς before πυκτῶς.
Diodorus of Sicily

πολῶν ἄργυρῶν τε καὶ χρυσῶν εὗρον, ὡς ἂν πόλεως
gεγενημένης εὐδαιμονος ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων.

23. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπώλειαν τῶν πόλεων ἦκον δύο
γυναικεῖς εἰς συνοικίαμον τῷ Περδίκκα, Νίκαια τε
ἤ 'Αντιπάτρου θυγάτηρ, ἦν αὐτὸς ὁ Περδίκκας ἦν
μεμνηστευκός, καὶ Κλεοπάτρα ἤ 'Αλεξάνδρου μὲν
ἀδελφή γυναῖκα, θυγάτηρ δὲ Φιλίππου τοῦ 'Αμύντου.

2 ὁ δὲ Περδίκκας πρῶτον μὲν ἢν κεκρικός κοινο-
πραγμα 'Αντιπάτρῳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν μνηστείαν
ἐπεποίησεν μῆπω τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν πραγμάτων βε-
βαίως ἐστερεωμένων· ὦς δὲ παρέλαβε τὰς τε βασι-
λικὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τὴν τῶν βασιλεῶν προστάσιαν,
3 μετέτησε τοὺς λογισμοῖς. ὁρεγόμενος γὰρ βασι-
λεῖας ἔσπευδε τὴν Κλεοπάτραν γῆμαι, νομίζων διὰ
ταύτης προτρέψεις τοὺς Μακεδόνας συγκατα-
σκευάζειν αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν οὐδὲν ἔξοσιαν. οὕτω δὲ
βουλόμενος ἀποκαλύψασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν
κατὰ μὲν τὸ παρόν ἢ γε τὴν Νίκαιαν, ὅπως μὴ τὸν
'Αντίπατρον ἀλλότριον ἔχῃ ταῖς ἱδίαις ἐπιβολαῖς·
μετὰ δὲ ταύτα 'Αντιγόνου τὴν προσαρέσων αὐτοῦ
κατανοήσαντος καὶ φιλίαν ἔχοντος πρὸς 'Αντί-
πατρόν, ἔτι δὲ ὅντος τοῦ ἄνδρος τούτου πρακτικώτατον
τῶν ἢγεμόνων ἐκρινεν αὐτὸν ἐκποδᾶν ποίησαν.

4 ἐπιβαλὼν οὖν αὐτῷ διαβολὰς ψευδεῖς καὶ κατη-
γορίας ἀδίκους φανεροὺς ἢν ἀναίρησαν αὐτὸν. ὁ δὲ
Αντιγόνος συνέσεις καὶ τόλμη διαφέρων φανερῶς
μὲν ἀπεφαίνετο βουλέσσαι περὶ τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων
ἀπολογησάσασθαι, λάθρᾳ δὲ παρασκευασάμενος τὰ
πρὸς τὸν δρασμὸν ἐλαθεῖ μετὰ τῶν ἱδίων φίλων καὶ

1 πόλεων Wesseling: πολεμῶν.

2 For these and other intrigues, and for the flight of Anti-
gonous to Macedonia, cp. Arrian, FG\textit{H}, 156. 9. 20-24, 26;
silver and gold, as was natural in a city that had been 332 B.C. prosperous for a great many years.

23. After the destruction of the cities there came two women to marry Perdiccas, Nicæa, the daughter of Antipater, for whose hand Perdiccas himself had sued, and Cleopatra, who was Alexander's own sister, daughter of Philip son of Amyntas. Perdiccas had formerly planned to work in harmony with Antipater, and for this reason he had pressed his suit when his position was not yet firmly established; but when he had gained control of the royal armies and the guardianship of the kings, he changed his calculations. For since he was now reaching out for the kingship, he was bent upon marrying Cleopatra, believing that he could use her to persuade the Macedonians to help him gain the supreme power. But not wishing as yet to reveal his design, he married Nicæa for the time, so that he might not render Antipater hostile to his own undertakings. Presently, however, Antigonus learned his intentions, and since Antigonus was a friend of Antipater and, moreover, the most energetic of the commanders, Perdiccas decided to put him out of the way. So, by bringing false slanders and unjust charges against him, he clearly revealed his intention of destroying him. Antigonus, however, who excelled in keenness and daring, outwardly let it be known that he wished to defend himself against these charges, but secretly he made arrangements for flight and, with his personal friends

Justin, 13. 6. 4-8. The flight cannot be dated before the winter of 332/1.
τοῦ υἱὸῦ Δημητρίου νυκτὸς εἰσβᾶς εἰς τὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῖς. ἐν δὲ ταύταις κομισθεὶς εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην προῆγε συμμίξον Ἀντίπατρῳ.

24. Κατὰ δὲ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Κρατερὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς Λαμπῶνας ἐστράτευσαν, ἔχοντες πεζοὺς μὲν τρισμυρίους, ἔπεις δὲ δισεχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους· οὕτω γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῷ Λαμμακῷ πολέμῳ διαπολεμησόμενον ὑπόλοιποι δι-2 ἐμενον ἀχείρωτοι. οἱ δὲ Λαμπῶν τηλικούτων δυνάμεων ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἀρματικῶν οὐ κατεπλάγγον, ταῖς τυχαῖς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἀκμάζοντας ταῖς ἱλικίαις ἀθροίσαντες εἰς μυρίους κατέβηκαν εἰς τοὺς ὀφεινοὺς καὶ τραχεῖς τόπους, εἰς ὅσι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ τοὺς γεγηρακότας καὶ τὸ τῶν χρημάτων πλῆθος ἀπέβηκαν, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀναχυρούσας πόλεις ἔξελιπον, τὰς δὲ ὀχυρότητι διαφεροῦσας φρουραῖς ἀξιολόγοις διαλαβόντως εὐτόλμως ὑπέμενον τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐφοδίαν.

25. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τῶν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Κρατερὸν εἰσβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Λαμπῶναν καὶ τὰς εὐχερῶτας πόλεις ὀρῶντες ἐρήμους ὄρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνακεχυρικότας εἰς τὰς δυσχωρίας. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον οἱ Μακεδόνες πρὸς τόπους ὀχυροὺς καὶ τραχεῖς βιαζόμενοι πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπέβαλον· ἡ γὰρ τόλμα τῶν Λαμπῶν προσλαβοῦσα τὴν ἐν τοῖς τόποις ὀχυρότητα ῥαδίως ἡμίνετο τοὺς διὰ τὴν προπέτειαν εἰς ἀβοηθήτους κυνδύνους προπίπτοντας· μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τῶν περὶ Κρατερὸν οὔτε κατασκευασάντων καὶ συναναγκαζόντων τοὺς πολεμίους μένειν τὸν χειμώνα καὶ διακαρτερεῖν ἐν

1 προπίπτοντας Dindorf: προπίπτοντας.
and his son Demetrius, boarded the Athenian ships undetected at night. And having been brought to Europe in these, he travelled on to join forces with Antipater.

24. At this time Antipater and Craterus had taken the field against the Aetolians with thirty thousand infantry and twenty-five hundred cavalry; for of those who had taken part in the Lamian War, the Aetolians alone were left unconquered. Although such great forces were sent against them, they were in no panic-stricken mood, but gathering together all who were in the full vigour of manhood to the number of ten thousand, they retired to the mountainous and rough places, in which they placed the children, the women, and the old, together with the greater part of their wealth. The cities that could not be defended they abandoned, but those that were particularly strong they secured, each with a considerable garrison, and boldly awaited the approach of the enemy.

25. Antipater and Craterus, coming into Aetolia and finding that the cities which were easy to capture were deserted, moved against the men who had withdrawn into the difficult regions. At first, then, the Macedonians, violently attacking positions that were strongly fortified and in broken terrain, lost many of their soldiers; for the hardihood of the Aetolians joined with the strength of their positions easily turned back men who rushed headlong into dangers beyond reach of succour. Afterward, however, when Craterus had built shelters and was forcing the enemy to stay through the winter and to hold out in regions

\(^1\) Cp. chap. 18. 8. This campaign, since it follows the battle of Crannon (September, 322), belongs to the archon-year 322/1.
Diodorus of Sicily

tόποις χιονοβολουμένοι καὶ τροφῆς ἐνδεέσως εἰς 2 τοὺς ἑσχάτους ἦλθον κινδύνους· ἀναγκαίον γὰρ ἦν ἡ καταβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρέων διαγωνίσασθαι πρὸς δυνάμεις πολλαπλασίους καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς ἡ μένοντας ὑπ’ ἐνδείας καὶ κρυμοῦ διαφθαρήναι.

ηδὴ δ’ αὐτῶν ἀπογνωσκόμενον τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτό-

ματός τις λύσις τῶν κακῶν ἐφάνη, καθάπερ θεών 3 τινος ἐλεούντος αὐτῶν τὴν ἐνυψηλαίν.

’Αντίγονος

γὰρ ὁ πεφευγὼς ἐκ τῆς ’Ασίας συμμίκας τοῖς περὶ
tὸν ’Αντίπατρον ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς περὶ τῆς ἀλης ἑπιβουλῆς τοῦ Περδίκκου καὶ διότι τὴν Κλεοπά-

τραν γαμήσας εὐθὺς ἦξει μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Μακεδονίαν ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐ-

4 τῶν παραρίσκεται. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κρατερὸν καὶ ’Αντίπατρον διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς προσαγγελίας καταπλαγέντες συνήδρευσαν μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων. προτεθείσης ὁμοίως δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐδοξέαν ὁμο-

γωνώμονας πρὸς μὲν Ἁιτωλοὺς ἐφ’ οἷς ἦν δυνατὸν διαλυθῆναι, τὰς δὲ δυνάμεις κατὰ τάχος περαιοῦν εἰς τὴν ’Ασίαν καὶ τῷ μὲν Κρατερῷ τὴν τῆς ’Ασίας ἡγεμονίαν περιτιθέναι, τῷ δ’ ’Αντίπατρῳ τὴν τῆς Ἑὐρώπης, προσβεένειν δὲ καὶ πρὸς Πτολεμαίον περὶ κοινοπραγίας, ὁντα τοῦ μὲν Περδίκκου παντελῆς ἀλλότριον, ἕαυτοις δὲ φίλον, κοινῇ δὲ ἑπιβουλεύ-

ῳ μενο. εὐθὺς οὖν πρὸς μὲν Ἁιτωλοὺς διάλυσιν ἐπουθήσαντο, διεγνωκότες ὑστερον αὐτοὺς κατα-

πολεμήσαι καὶ μεταστήσαι πανοκίους ἀπαντᾶς εἰς τὴν ἔρημιαν καὶ πορρωτάτῳ τῆς ’Ασίας κειμένην χώραν, αὐτὸι δὲ δōγμα γράψαντες ἄκολουθον τοῖς προειρημένοις παρεσκευάζοντο τὰ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν.

1 So Madvig: εν τοῖς χιονοβολουμένοι καὶ τροφῆς ἐνδεέσως.
that were covered with snow and lacking in food, the Aetolians were brought into the greatest dangers; for they had either to come down from their mountains and fight against forces numbering many times their own and against famous generals, or to remain and be utterly destroyed by want and cold. When they were already giving up hope of salvation, relief from their troubles appeared of its own accord, just as if one of the gods had been moved to pity by their high courage. For Antigonus, he who had fled from Asia, joined Antipater and told him the whole plot of Perdiccas, and that Perdiccas, after marrying Cleopatra, would come at once with his army to Macedonia as king and deprive Antipater of the supreme command. Craterus and Antipater, dumbfounded by the unexpected news, met in council with their commanders. When the situation had been presented for deliberation, it was unanimously decided to make peace with the Aetolians on whatever terms were possible, to transport the armies with all speed to Asia, to assign the command of Asia to Craterus and that of Europe to Antipater, and also to send an embassy to Ptolemy to discuss concerted action, since he was utterly hostile to Perdiccas but friendly to them, and he in common with them was an object of the plot. Therefore they at once made a treaty with the Aetolians, firmly resolved to conquer them later and to move them all—men, women, and children—to the most distant desert of Asia. When they had recorded a decree embodying these plans, they made preparations for the campaign.

1 The winter of 322/1.

2 Madvig suggests ἐς τῶν ἐφημὴν, and other editors have proposed οἰκέλας or Αἰτωλίας for Ἄσιας.
Περδίκκας δὲ τούς τε φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀθροίσας προεθηκε βουλὴν πότερον ἐπὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν χρὴ στρατεύειν ἡ πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίον ὀρμῆσαι. πάντων δὲ ἐπενεχθέντων ἐπὶ τὸ πρότερον καταπολεμῆσαι τὸν Πτολεμαίον, ὅπως μηδὲν ἐμπόδιον ἔχωσι τῆς κατὰ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ὀρμῆς, Εὐμενὴ μὲν ἐξέσπητε μετὰ δυνάμεως αξιολόγου, προστάξεις ἐφεδρεύει τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον τόπους καὶ τὴν διάβασιν κωλύειν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβῶν τὴν δύναμιν ἕκ τῆς Πιοδικῆς τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξυπτον ἐποιεῖτο.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπιράχθη κατὰ τούτον τὸν ἐνυματὸν.

26. Ἑπ’ ἄρχοντος δ’ Ἀθηνησίος Φιλοκλέος ἐν Ὀλυμπῇ κατεστάθησαν ὑπατοὶ Γαίος Σολπίκιος καὶ Γαίος Αἰλίος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀρρίδαῖος ὁ κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν κατακομβῆν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου σώματος, συνενελεκτὸς τὴν ἀρμάμαζαν ἐφ’ ἥς ἐδει κατακομμῳσθῆναι τὸ βασιλικὸν σῶμα, παρεσκευάζεται τὰ πρὸς τὴν κομμῆν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ κατασκευασθὲν ἔργον, ἀξίον ὑπάρχον τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δόξης, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν δαπάνην διήνεγκε τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς ἀπὸ πολλῶν ταλάντων κατασκευασθέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην περιττότητα περιβοήτου υπῆρξε, καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἀναγράφαι περὶ αὐτόν.

1 τὴν δύναμιν added by Fischer.
2 ἀξίον Dindorf: ἀξιόλογον.
BOOK XVIII. 25. 6—26. 2

Perdiccas, gathering his friends and generals, referred to them for consideration the question whether it was better to march against Macedonia or first to take the field against Ptolemy. When all favoured defeating Ptolemy first in order that there might be no obstacle in the way of their Macedonian campaign, he sent Eumenes off with a considerable army, ordering him to watch over the region of the Hellespont and prevent a crossing; and he himself, taking the army from Pisidia, proceeded against Egypt.¹

Such, then, were the events of this year.

26. When Philocles was archon in Athens, Gaius Sulpicius and Gaius Aelius were elected consuls in Rome.² In this year Arrhidaeus, who had been placed in charge of bringing home the body of Alexander,³ having completed the vehicle on which the royal body was to be carried, was making preparations for the journey. Since the structure that had been made ready, being worthy of the glory of Alexander, not only surpassed all others in cost—it had been constructed at the expense of many talents—but was also famous for the excellence of its workmanship, I believe that it is well to describe it.⁴

tanus (adding that some gave the nomen of the latter as Aulius) and assigns them to the year following the consuls mentioned in chap. 2. 1 above; but the Fasti insert a "dictator year" between the two sets of consuls, and the traditional chronology assigns Sulpicius and his colleague to 323 B.C. See H. Stuart Jones in Cambridge Ancient History, 7. 321-322.

¹ Cp. chap. 3. 5.
² For a discussion of this funeral car cp. Kurt F. Müller, Der Leichenwagen Alexanders des Grossen (Leipzig, 1905), and H. Bulle, "Der Leichenwagen Alexanders," Jahrbuch der Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, 21 (1906), 53-73.
3 Πρώτον μὲν γὰρ ἀρμόζοντι τῷ σώματι κατεσκευαζθαι χρυσοῦν σφυρήλατον ἀγγείον καὶ τούτη ἀναμέσον ἐπιθήρωσαν ἀρωμάτων τῶν ἀμα δυναμένων τὴν εὐωδίαν καὶ τὴν διαμονὴν παρέχεσθαι τῷ σώματι. ἔπανω δὲ τῆς θήκης ἐπετέθειτο καλυπτὴρ χρυσοῦς, ἀρμόζον ἀκριβῶς καὶ περιλαμβάνων τὴν ἀνωτάτων περιφέρειαν. ταύτης δὲ ἐπάνω περίκεφτο φοινικὸς διαπρεπὴς χρυσοποίκιλτος, παρ’ ἦν ἔθεσαν τὰ τοῦ μετηλαχότος ὕπλα, βουλόμενοι συνοικεῖον τὴν ὀλὴν φαντασίαν ταῖς προκατειργασμέναις πράξεις. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα παρέστησαν τὴν τούτου κομπόσαν ἀρμαμαξίαν, ἡς κατεσκεύαστο κατὰ μὲν τὴν κορυφὴν καμάρα χρυσῆ, ἔχουσα φολίδια λυθοκόλλητα, ἡς ἦν τὸ μὲν πλάτος ὁκτὼ πηχῶν, τὸ δὲ μῆκος δώδεκα, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ὑπωροφίαν παρ’ ὅλου τὸ ἔργον θρυγκὸς χρυσοῦς, τῷ σχῆματι τετράγωνος, ἔχουν τραγελάφων προτομᾶς ἐκτύπους, ἐξ ὧν ἠρτητο χρυσοὶ διπάλαιστοι, δὲ ὅλων κατακεκρέμαστο στέμμα πομπικῶν χρώμασι παντοτά.

6 δαπαίδις διαπρεπῶς κατηπιθυμεῖν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀκρῶν ύπήρχε θύσαις δικτυωτὸς ἔχων ευμεγέθεις κώδωνας, ὅστ’ ἐκ πολλοῦ διαστήματος προσπίπτει τὸν ψόφον τοῖς ἐγγίζουσι. κατὰ δὲ τὰς τῆς καμάρας γωνίας ἐφ’ ἐκάστης ἦν πλευρᾶς Νίκη χρυσῆ τροπαιοφόρος. τὸ δ’ ἐκδεχόμενον τὴν καμάραν περίστυλου χρυσοῦ ύπήρχεν, ἔχον Ἰωνικὰ κιονόκρανα. ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ περίστυλου δίκτυου ἦν χρυσοῦ, τὸ πάχος τῆς πλοκῆς δακτυλιαὶ καὶ

1 ἀρμόζον transposed from after σφυρήλατον by Fischer (app. crit.).
2 ἀγγείον conjecturally added by Fischer (app. crit.). Other editors suggest λέκτρον, χρυσοῦ, φάρετρον, ἄγγος.
3 ἐπετέθειτο Dindorf: ἐπετέθητο.
First they prepared a coffin of the proper size for the body, made of hammered gold, and the space about the body they filled with spices such as could make the body sweet smelling and incorruptible. Upon this chest there had been placed a cover of gold, matching it to a nicety, and fitting about its upper rim. Over this was laid a magnificent purple robe embroidered with gold, beside which they placed the arms of the deceased, wishing the design of the whole to be in harmony with his accomplishments. Then they set up next to it the covered carriage that was to carry it. At the top of the carriage was built a vault of gold, eight cubits wide and twelve long, covered with overlapping scales set with precious stones. Beneath the roof all along the work was a rectangular cornice of gold, from which projected heads of goat-stags in high relief.

Gold rings two palms broad were suspended from these, and through the rings there ran a festive garland beautifully decorated in bright colours of all kinds. At the ends there were tassels of network suspending large bells, so that any who were approaching heard the sound from a great distance. On each corner of the vault on each side was a golden figure of Victory holding a trophy. The colonnade that supported the vault was of gold with Ionic capitals. Within the colonnade was a golden net, made of cords the thick-

1 The chamber was, in round numbers, twelve by eighteen feet. For the roof of scales compare that of the Monument of Lysicrates in Athens.

2 Or, reading ὅρανος for ὅρακός, "Beneath the roof and covering the entire chamber there was a rectangular ceiling (?) of gold, from the edges of which projected heads of goat-stags in high relief."

4 ὅρακός Wachsmuth, ὅρανος Ussing : ὅρανος.
Diodorus of Sicily

πίνακας παραλλήλους ξυσοφόρους τέσσαρας ἑσοῦς τοῖς τοῖχοις ἔχον.

27. Τούτων δ’ ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἦν ἔχων ἀρμα το-λευτόν καὶ καθήμενον ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντα σκήπτρον διαπρεπές: περί δὲ τὸν βασιλέα μία μὲν ὑπήρχε θεραπεία καθωπλισ-μένη Μακεδώνων, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ Περσῶν μηλοφόρων καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων ὅπλοφόρων. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος εἶχε τοὺς ἑπακολουθοῦντας τῇ θεραπείᾳ ἐλέφαντας κεκοσμη-μένους πολεμικὸς, ἀναβάτας ἔχοντας ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἐμπροσθεν Ἰνδοὺς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὅπισθεν Μακεδόνας καθωπλισμένους τῇ συνήθει σκεύῃ. ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐπέλευς μμολύμενας τὰς ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεις συναγγυς, ὃ δὲ τέταρτος ναύς κεκοσμημένας πρὸς ναυμαχίαν. καὶ παρὰ μὲν τὴν εἰς τὴν καμάραν εἰσδοθέν ὑπήρχον λέοντες χρυσοὶ, δεδορκότες πρὸς τοὺς εἰσπορευομένους; ἀνὰ μέσον δὲ ἐκάστου τῶν κιόνων ὑπήρχε χρυσοίς ἀκανθος ἀνατεῖνων ἐκ τοῦ κάτω¹ κατ’ ὅλγον μέχρι τῶν κιονοκράνων. ἐπάνω δὲ τῆς καμάρας κατὰ μέσην τὴν κορυφὴν φοινικὸς² ὑπήρχεν ὑπαίθριος, ἔχουσα χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἐλαίας εὐμεγέθη, πρὸς δὲν ὁ ἱλιος προσβάλλων τὰς ἀκτίνας κατεσκεύαξε τὴν αὐγὴν ἀποστείλθησαν καὶ σειο-μένην, ὅστ’ ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος ὀρᾶθαι τὴν πρόσοθον ἀστρατή παραπλησίαν.

3 Ἡ δ’ ὑπὸ τὴν καμάραν καθέδρα δύο εἰχεν ἀξο-

¹ κάτω added by Wilamowitz.
² Wilamowitz suggests χουκίς.

1 The chamber resembled a peripteral Ionic temple. Architrave and frieze are not mentioned and may have been omitted. The goat-stag masks correspond to the water spouts of the temple, but, since they are found on all four
ness of a finger, which carried four long painted tablets, their ends adjoining, each equal in length to a side of the colonnade.  

27. On the first of these tablets was a chariot ornamented with work in relief, and sitting in it was Alexander holding a very splendid sceptre in his hands. About the king were groups of armed attendants, one of Macedonians, a second of Persians of the bodyguard, and armed soldiers in front of them. The second tablet showed the elephants arrayed for war who followed the bodyguard. They carried Indian mahouts in front with Macedonians fully armed in their regular equipment behind them. The third tablet showed troops of cavalry as if in formation for battle; and the fourth, ships made ready for naval combat. Beside the entrance to the chamber there were golden lions with eyes turned toward those who would enter. There was a golden acanthus stretching little by little up the centre of each column from below to the capital. Above the chamber in the middle of the top under the open sky there was a purple banner blazoned with a golden olive wreath of great size, and when the sun cast upon it its rays, it sent forth such a bright and vibrant gleam that from a great distance it appeared like a flash of lightning.

The body of the chariot beneath the covered sides, we must suppose a hip roof or a cloister vault. The cella walls are lacking, but their place is taken by the gold net, which permits the sarcophagus within to be seen. The four tablets correspond in position to the Ionic frieze of the Parthenon.

2 Literally “apple-bearers.” The men of the Great King's bodyguard had golden apples in place of ferrules or spikes at the butts of their spears (Herodotus, 7. 41).

3 Or, reading ἔσωσκες, “There was a base upon which rested a golden olive wreath.”
νας, οὐς περιεδίνευον τροχοί Περσικοί τέσσαρες, ὅν ὑπήρχον αἱ μὲν πλήμναι καὶ αἱ κνημίδες κατακεχρυσωμέναι, τὸ δὲ προσπίπτον τοῖς ἐδάφεσι μέρος σύνηρον. τῶν δὲ ἀξόνων τὰ προέχοντα χρυσά κατεσκεύαστο προτομᾶς ἔχοντα λεόντων 4 σιβύνην ὀδὰς κατεχούσας. κατὰ δὲ μέσον τὸ μῆκος ἐξοκο πόλον ἐνηρμοσμένον μηχανικῶς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ καμάρᾳ, ὥστε δύνασθαι διὰ τοῦτο τὴν καμάραν ἀσάλευτον εἶναι τοῖς σεισμοῖς κατ' ἀν- 5 ωμάλους τόπους. τεσσάρων δ’ ὄντων ῥυμῶν ἐκάστω τετραστοιχίᾳ ξεγών ὑπέζευκτο, τεσσάρων ἡμίδων ἐκάστῳ ξεγύρι προσδεδεμένων, ὥστε τοὺς ἄπαντας ἡμίδους εἶναι ἐξήκοντα καὶ τέσσαρας, ἐπιλεγμένους ταῖς τε βάσισι καὶ τοῖς ἀναστήμα- σιν. ἐκάστος δὲ τούτων ἑστεφάνωτο κεχρυσωμένῳ στεφάνῳ καὶ παρ’ ἑκατέραν τῶν οἰκογόνων ἐξεν ἐξηρτημένον κόσμων χρυσοῦν, περὶ δὲ τῶν τρα- χήλους χλιδώνας λιθοκολλήτους.

28. Ἡ μὲν οὖν άριμάμαξα, τοιαύτην ἔχουσα τὴν κατασκευήν καὶ διὰ τῆς ὀράσεως μᾶλλον ἡ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας φαινομένη μεγαλοπρεπεῖστα, πολλοῦς ἐπεσπάτο θεωρῶν διὰ τὴν περιβολὴν δόξαιν. οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καθ’ ὁς αἰεὶ γίνοιτο πανδημεῖς συνήθειν καὶ πάλιν προεπεμπον, οὐκ ἐμπιπλά- 2 μενοι τῆς κατὰ τὴν θεωρίαν τέρψεως. ἀκολούθοις δὲ ταύτη τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας παρηκολούθει πλήθος ὀδοποιῶν καὶ τεχνιτῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν παραπεμπόντων.

Ἀρριδαίος μὲν οὖν σχεδὸν ἔτη δύο καταναλώσας

1 οὕς περιεδίνευον Dindorf: οὖς περιεδίνευον.
2 ὑπήρχον αἱ μὲν πλήμναι Wesseling: ύπήρχε τα μὲν πλάγια MSS., Fischer.

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chamber had two axles upon which turned four 322 B.C. Persian wheels, the naves and spokes of which were gilded, but the part that bore upon the ground was of iron. The projecting parts of the axle were made of gold in the form of lion heads, each holding a spear in its teeth. Along the middle of their length the axles had a bearing 1 ingeniously fitted to the middle of the chamber in such a way that, thanks to it, the chamber could remain undisturbed by shocks from rough places. There were four poles, 2 and to each of them were fastened four teams with four mules harnessed in each team, so that in all there were sixty-four mules, selected for their strength and size. Each of them was crowned with a gilded crown, each had a golden bell hanging by either cheek, and about their necks were collars set with precious stones.

28. In this way the carriage was constructed and ornamented, and it appeared more magnificent when seen than when described. Because of its widespread fame it drew together many spectators; for from every city into which it came the whole people went forth to meet it and again escorted it on its way out, not becoming sated with the pleasure of beholding it. To correspond to this magnificence, it was accompanied by a crowd of roadmenders and mechanics, and also by soldiers sent to escort it.

When Arrhidacus had spent nearly two years in 321 B.C.

1 There seems to be no satisfactory explanation of this device.
2 The use of several poles on the same vehicle is Persian (Xenophon, Education of Cyrus, 6. 1. 51-52, 6. 4. 2). Bulle (pp. 71-73) suggests that the poles were placed one in front of the other.

3 τὸς σεισμοῦς κατ’ θεί: κατὰ τοὺς σεισμοὺς καὶ. Fischer in app. crit. suggests κατὰ τοὺς βουοειδέως καὶ.
Diodorus of Sicily

περὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ἔργων ἀπεκόμισε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Αἰγυπτόν. 3 Πτολεμαῖος δὲ τιμῶν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπήντησε μετὰ δυνάμεως μέχρι τῆς Συρίας καὶ παραλαβὼν τὸ σῶμα τῆς μεγάλης φροντίδος ἤξιωσεν. Ἐκρίνε γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος εἰς μὲν Ἀμμωνα μὴ παρακομίζειν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκτιμημένην ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πόλιν, ἔπιφανεστάτην οὐδενὶ σχέδον τι τῶν κατὰ τὴν 4 οἰκουμένην ἀποθέσατα. κατεσκεύασεν οὖν τέμενος κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ κατὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς Ἀλέξανδρου δόξης ἄξιον, ἐν δὲ κηδεύσας αὐτὸν καὶ θυσίας ἥρωικαῖς καὶ ἀγώσι μεγαλοπρεποῖ τιμήσας οὐ παρ’ ἄνθρωπῳ μόνῳ ἄλλῳ καὶ παρὰ 5 θεῶν καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἐλαβεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι διὰ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς εὐχάριστον καὶ μεγαλόψυχον συνέτρεχον πάντοθεν εἰς τὴν Ἀλέξανδρείαν καὶ προθύμως ἔαντος εἰς τὴν στρατείαν παρεῖχοντο, καὶ περὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως μελλοῦσις πολεμεῖν πρὸς Πτολεμαίον, καὶ κινδύνων προδήλων καὶ μεγάλων ὄντων ὁμοί ἄπαντες τὴν τοῦτον σωτηρίαν 6 τοῖς ἰδίοις κινδύνοις ἐκουσάς περιποιήσαντο· οἱ δὲ θεοὶ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ εἰς πάντας τοὺς φίλους ἑπιείκειαι ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων παραδόξως αὐτὸν διέσωσαν.

29. Περδίκκας γὰρ υφορώμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν αὐξήσαν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκρίνε μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων τῷ πλείστῳ μέρει τῆς δυνάμεως στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτόν, Ἐμμενή δὲ ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον κυρίζοντα τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Κρατερὸν διαβαίνειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, δοὺς αὐτῷ
making ready this work, he brought the body of the king from Babylon to Egypt.\textsuperscript{1} Ptolemy, moreover, doing honour to Alexander, went to meet it with an army as far as Syria, and, receiving the body, deemed it worthy of the greatest consideration. He decided for the present not to send it to Ammon, but to entomb it in the city that had been founded by Alexander himself,\textsuperscript{2} which lacked little of being the most renowned of the cities of the inhabited earth. There he prepared a precinct worthy of the glory of Alexander in size and construction. Entombing him in this and honouring him with sacrifices such as are paid to demigods and with magnificent games, he won fair requital not only from men but also from the gods. For men, because of his graciousness and nobility of heart, came together eagerly from all sides to Alexandria and gladly enrolled for the campaign, although the army of the kings was about to fight against that of Ptolemy; and, even though the risks were manifest and great, yet all of them willingly took upon themselves at their personal risk the preservation of Ptolemy's safety. The gods also saved him unexpectedly from the greatest dangers on account of his courage and his honest treatment of all his friends.\textsuperscript{3}

29. For Perdiccas, viewing with suspicion Ptolemy's increase in power, decided that he himself and the kings would make a campaign against Egypt with most of the army, but Eumenes he sent to the Hellespont to prevent Antipater and Craterus from crossing

\textsuperscript{1} Cp. Arrian, \textit{FG\v{r}H}, 156. 9. 25, 10. 1; Pausanias, 1. 6. 3; Strabo, 17. 1. 8.
\textsuperscript{2} According to Pausanias, the body was buried at Memphis.
\textsuperscript{3} Cp. chaps. 14. 1 and 33. 3.
Diodorus of Sicily

2 τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν δύναμιν. συνεξέπεμψε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἤγεμόνων τοὺς ἱκανοὺς, διὸ ἦσαν ἐπιφανεστάτα πολέμου τῆς Ἰλλυρίου καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος, καὶ τούτοις παρεκελεύσατο πάντα πειθαρχεῖν Εὐμενεῖ διὰ τὴν στρατηγικὰν αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν τῆς πίστεως βεβαιότητα. ο ὁ δ' Ἕλληνης μετὰ τῆς δοθείσης δυνάμεως παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλήστορον καὶ προκατασκευασάμενος· εκ τῆς ἱδίας σατραπείας ἐπιτυχόντων πλῆθος ἐκσώμησε τὴν στρατιὰν, ἔλλειπτη καθεστώςι κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος.

4 Τῶν δὲ περὶ Κρατερόν καὶ Ἀντίπατρον περαιωσάντων τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τῆς Ἐφικτίας τὸ μὲν Νεοπτόλεμος φθονήσας τῷ Εὐμενεῖ καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐχὼν Μακεδονίκην δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον λάθρα διεπρεβεύσατο πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ συνθέμενος κοινοπραγίαν ἐπεβούλευσε τῷ Εὐμενεῖ. καταφαίνει δὲ γενόμενος καὶ συναναγκασθεὶς μάχην συνάψαι αὐτός τε ἐκκυνδύνεσαι ἀναφερθῆναι καὶ τὴν δύναμιν σχεδὸν ἀπέσαν ἀπέβαλεν· ὁ γὰρ Εὐμενῆς νικήσας καὶ πολλοὺς ἄνελὼν τὸ λουτρὸν τοῦ πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν προετάχθη καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἱδίαν οὐ μόνον διὰ τῆς νίκης ἐπηρύθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσλαβόμενος Μακεδόνων ἀγαθῶν ἄνδρών πλῆθος.

5 Νεοπτόλεμος μὲν οὖν μὲτὰ τριακοσίων ἵππων διασώθης ἐκ τῆς παρατάξεως ἀφίππευσε μετὰ τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον· οὕτω θευρεῖκε τοῦτοι δὲ συνέδρυσαντες περὶ τοῦ πολέμου διήγνωσαν τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς δύο μέρη διελείπον τὸ μὲν ἐτέρον Ἀντίπατρον ἀναλαμβόντα προάγειν ἐπὶ Κιλικίας, διαπολεμήσοντα πρὸς Περδίκκαν, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο μέρος ἔχοντα Κρατερὸν ἐπιβαλεῖν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆν·

1 προσκατασκευασάμενος Dindorf.
into Asia, giving him a suitable force. He also sent 321 B.C. with him enough of the commanders of note, of whom the most prominent were his brother Alcetas and Neoptolemus; and he ordered them to obey Eumenes in all things because of his skill as general and his firm loyalty. Eumenes, with the forces that had been given him, went to the Hellespont; and there, having already prepared a large body of cavalry from his own satrapy, he marshalled his army, which had previously been deficient in that branch.

When Craterus and Antipater had brought their forces across from Europe, Neoptolemus, who was jealous of Eumenes and had a considerable number of Macedonians in his following, secretly entered into negotiations with Antipater, came to an agreement with him, and plotted against Eumenes. On being discovered and forced to fight, he himself was in danger of being killed, and he lost almost all his forces; for Eumenes, after he had won the victory and had killed many, won over the remaining soldiers and increased his own power, not only by the victory but also by having acquired a large number of stout Macedonians. But Neoptolemus, who had saved himself from the battle with three hundred horsemen, rode off with them to Antipater. A council of war was held, and it was decided to divide the forces into two parts. Antipater was to take one part and set out for Cilicia to fight against Perdiccas, and Craterus with the other part was to attack Eumenes and, after

1 Cp. chap. 25. 6. For this campaign cp. Arrian, FGrH, 156. 9. 26-37; Justin, 13. 8. 1-9; Plutarch, Eumenes, 4-7; Nepos, Eumenes, 3-4. It is dated 321/0 by the Parian Marble, and probably took place early in the summer of 321.
καὶ τούτους καταπολεμήσαντα καταντάν πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον, ὅπως εἰς ταῦτα συναχθεῖσαν τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου προσληφθέντος εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν δινατοὶ γένονται περιγενέσθαι τῶν βασιλικῶν δυνάμεων.

30. Εὕμενης δὲ πυθανόμενος προάγει ἔπι αὐτοῦ τοὺς πολεμίους ἥθροισε πανταχόθεν τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ἱππικήν· τοῖς γὰρ πεζοῖς οὐ δυνάμενος ἐξισωθῆναι τῇ Μακεδονικῇ φάλαγγι κατεσκεύαξεν ἀξιόλογον σύστημα τῶν ἱππέων, δι᾽ ἕνον ἡλπίζει κρατήσει τῶν ἐναντίων. ὥς δὲ ἤγγυσαν ἀλλήλαις αἱ δυνάμεις, ὁ μὲν Κρατερὸς συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ παρομηθᾶς εἰς τὸν ἀγώνα τοῖς οἰκείοις λόγοις ἐφθησεν διδόναι τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐὰν κρατήσωσι τῇ μάχῃ, διαρράσαι τὼν πολεμίων πάσας τὰς ἀποσκευὰς. πάντων δὲ προθύμων γενομένων ἔξεταξε τὴν δύναμιν, τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρατος αὐτὸς ἤγομένος, τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου τὴν ἤγεμονίαν παραδόει Νεοπτολέμῳ. εἰπὲ δὲ τοὺς σύμπαντας πεζοὺς μὲν διαμυρίους, ἢν ἦσαν οἱ πλεῖοι Μακεδόνες διαβεβηκόμενοι ταῖς ἄνθρωποις, ἐν ὅς εἰπὲ μάλιστα τὰς ἑλπίδας τῆς νίκης· ἵππεΐς δὲ συνηκολούθουν πλεῖοι τῶν δισχιλίων. 5 Εὕμενης δὲ εἰπὲ πεζοὺς μὲν διαμυρίους, παντοδαποὺς τοὺς γένεσιν, ἵππεΐς δὲ πεντακισχιλίους, δι᾽ ἕνον τῶν κύνδυνον κρίνειν διεγνάκη.

`Ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τοὺς ἵππεὺς διελομένων ἔπι τὰ κέρατα καὶ πολὺ πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος προϊππευσάντων ὁ μὲν Κρατερὸς πρῶτος μετὰ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἑπαρράξας τοὺς πολεμίους ἤγωνίσατο μὲν περιβλέπτως, σφαλέντος δὲ τοῦ ἱπποῦ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν

1 ἔξεταξε Hurtlein: έταξε.
defeating him, to join Antipater. In this way, when 321 B.C. they had combined their forces and had added Ptolemy to the alliance, they might be able to overmatch the royal armies.

30. As soon as Eumenes heard that the enemy was advancing upon him, he collected his forces, particularly his cavalry, from all sides. Since he could not equal the Macedonian phalanx with his foot soldiers, he made ready a noteworthy corps of horsemen, by means of whom he hoped to defeat those opposed to him. When the forces were near each other, Craterus summoned the whole army to an assembly and spurred them to battle with suitable words, saying that, if the soldiers were victorious in the battle, he would give them all the baggage of the enemy to plunder. Now that all had become eager for battle, he drew up the army, taking command of the right wing himself, and giving the command of the left to Neoptolemus. He had in all twenty thousand foot soldiers, chiefly Macedonians famed for their courage, on whom in particular he placed his hopes of victory, and more than two thousand horsemen as auxiliaries. Eumenes had twenty thousand foot soldiers, men of every race, and five thousand cavalry, by whom he had resolved to decide the encounter.

After both leaders had disposed their cavalry on the wings and had ridden far in advance of the line of infantry, Craterus was the first to charge upon the enemy with his picked troops, and he fought admirably; but his horse stumbled, and he fell to the

\[ \text{2 Μακεδόνες Bekker : Μακεδόνων.} \]
\[ \text{διελομένων Wesseling : ἔλομένων.} \]
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΟΙΣ ΣΙΚΗΛΩΝ

γῆν, διὰ δὲ τῶν φυρμῶν καὶ τῆς πυκνότητα τῶν ἐφιππενῶν ἥν, ἁγνοθεὶς δὲ ἡν κατέστρεψὲν. τῇ δὲ τούτου τελευτῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπαρθένων καὶ τῷ πλήθει πανταχόθεν περιχεομένων πολὺς ἐγίνετο φόνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν δεξίον κέρας τούτον τὸν τρόπον θλιβόμενον ἡναγκάζῃ καταφυγεῖν πρὸς τὴν τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγγα, κατὰ κράτος ἡττημένου.

31. Κατὰ δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον Νεοπτολέμου κατ’ αὐτὸν τὸν Εὔμενη τεταγμένου συνέστη φιλοτημία μεγάλη τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπ’ ἀλλήλους ὄρμησάν τοις γνωρισθέντες γαρ ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἱππῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπισήμων συνεπάκτησαν ἀλλήλους καὶ τῇ καθ’ αὐτοὺς μονομαχίᾳ τὴν νίκην ἐποίησαν ἀκολουθήσας. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἀλλήλων καθικόμενοι παράδοξον καὶ παντελῶς ἔξηλλαγμένη μονομαχίαν συνεστήσαντες ἐκφερόμενοι γαρ τῷ θυμῷ καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δυσμενεία ταῖς ἀριστεραῖς χειρῶν ἄφεντες τὰς ἴδιας ἄλληλων ἔδραζαντο. οὐ δυνάμενοι δὲ ἐπεσοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν 3 γῆν. τῆς δὲ ἐπαναστάσεως διὰ τὴν ἡξύπνη καὶ βιαὶς πτωμάτος χαλεπῶς γνωμομένης ἄμφοτέρος, ἄτε καὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐμποδίζόντων τὰ σώματα, ὁ μὲν Εὔμενης ἐφθάσας, πρῶτερος διαναστάς, τοῦ Νεο-πτολέμου τὴν ἤγνυν πατάξαι. μεγάλης δὲ γενομένης διαφερεσσες καὶ σφαλέσθης τῆς βάσεως ὁ μὲν πληγεὶς παραλευμένως έκειτο, κωλυόμενος ύπὸ τοῦ πραύματος διαναστήρας ὀμος δὲ θυσιάς ὑπεραγούσης τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐλάττωσιν ἐν γόνασι

1 ἐφιππενῶν Wesseling: ἀφιππενῶν.
2 περιχεομένων Wesseling: περιχεομένων.
ground, where he was trampled under foot and ended his life ingloriously, unrecognized in the confusion and dense array of the charge. By his death the enemy were so encouraged that they rushed upon the mass from every side, and great slaughter ensued. The right wing, crushed in this way, was compelled to flee to the phalanx of the foot soldiers, overwhelmingly defeated.

31. On the left wing, however, where Neoptolemus was arrayed against Eumenes himself, there occurred a great display of ambitious rivalry as the leaders rushed full at each other. For as soon as they recognized one another by their horses and other insignia, they engaged each other in close combat; and they made the victory depend upon the duel between themselves. After the opening exchange of sword strokes they engaged in a strange and most extraordinary duel; for, carried away by their anger and their mutual hatred, they let the reins fall from their left hands and grappled each other. As a result of this, their horses were carried out from under them by their own momentum, and the men themselves fell to the ground. Although it was difficult for either of them to get up because of the suddenness and force of the fall, especially as their armour hampered their bodies, Eumenes rose up first and forestalled Neoptolemus by striking him in the back of the knee. Since the gash proved to be severe and his legs gave way, the stricken man lay disabled, prevented by his wound from rising to his feet. Yet his courage overcame the weakness of his body, and, resting on his knees, he wounded his

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3 ὑπεξέδραμον Fischer: ἐξέδραμον.
4 γυνομένης Dindorf: γυνομένης.
32. Ἀμὴ δὲ τούτως πραττομένως καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν ἐπιτέων συμπεσοῦν εἰς μάχην πολὺν ἐποίει φόνον. διὸ καὶ τῶν μὲν πυτῶντων, τῶν δὲ τραυματιζομένων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἱσόρροπος ἢ ὁ κύδυνος, μετὰ ταύτα δὲ φανερὰς γενομένης τῆς τοῦ Νεοπτόλεμον τελευτῆς καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ θατέρου κέρατος τροπῆς ἀπαντεῖ πρὸς φυγὴν ἀρμῆσαι καὶ καθάπερ πρὸς τείχος ὀχυρῶν πρὸς τὴν τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγγα κατέφυγον. ὁ δὲ Εὐμενῆς ἀρκεσθεὶς τῷ προτερήματι καὶ τῶν στρατηγικῶν σωμάτων ἀμφοτέρων κυριεύσας ἀνεκαλέσατο τῇ σάλπυγγι τοὺς στρατιώτας. στήσας δὲ τρόπαιον καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς θάμας διεπέμβατο πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἡττημένων φάλαγγα, παρακαλῶν ἐαυτῷ προσθέσθαι καὶ διδοὺς ἐξουσίαν ἐκάστως ὅποι ἂν θέλονταί τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ποιῆσαται. δεξαμένων δὲ τὰς διαλύσεις τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ δόντων τὰς διὰ τῶν ὄρκων πίστεις ἔλαβον ἐξουσίαν ἐν τισὶ κόμωσι πλησίον κείμεναι ἐπιστίσαται. καὶ παρεκρούσαντο τὸν Εὐμενῆν ἀναλαβόντες γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὰς τροφὰς παρα- σκευασάμενοι νυκτὸς ἀπηλλάγησαν καὶ λαβρᾶίς ἀπεχώρουν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτέμιδα. ὁ δὲ Εὐμενῆς ἐπέβαλε τοῦ μὲν κολάσας τὴν ἀθεσίαν τῶν παραβεβηκότων τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ διώκειν ἐκ ποδῶν τὴν φάλαγγα, οὐδὲν δὲ δυνάμενος πράξει διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν ἀποχωροῦντων καὶ διὰ τὴν ἑκ τῶν τραυμάτων ἐλάττωσιν ἀπέγνω τὸν διωγμόν. οὕτως
opponent with three blows on the arm and the thighs. 321 B.C. As none of these blows was fatal and the wounds were still fresh, Eumenes struck Neoptolemus in the neck with a second blow and slew him.

32. Meanwhile the rest of the cavalry had joined battle and were making great slaughter. So, while some fell and others were wounded, the battle at first was even, but afterwards, when they became aware of the death of Neoptolemus and of the rout of the other wing, all made off and fled for refuge to the phalanx of their infantry as to a strong fortress. Eumenes, satisfied with his advantage and master of the bodies of both generals, recalled his soldiers with the sound of the trumpet. After he had set up a trophy and buried the dead, he sent to the phalanx of the vanquished, inviting them to unite with him and giving permission to them severally to withdraw to whatever places they wished. When the Macedonians had accepted the terms of surrender and had pledged their faith by oaths, they received permission to go for food to certain villages that lay near. And they deceived Eumenes; for when they had recovered their strength and collected supplies, they set out at night and went off secretly to join Antipater. Eumenes attempted to punish the faithlessness of these men who had broken their oath and to follow at the heels of the phalanx; but, owing to the hardship of those who were retreating and to the weakness caused by his wounds, he was unable to accomplish anything and gave up the pursuit. So by winning

1 πρὸς added by Fischer. 2 ἐπὶ Stephanus: ἐπὶ.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανεῖ μάχῃ νικήσας καὶ δύο μεγάλους ἡγεμόνας ἀνελὼν μεγάλης ἐνυχεῖ δόξης.

33. Ἀντίσπατρος δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς διασώθεντας ἐκδιέξαμενος καὶ προσαναλαβὼν προῆγεν ἐπὶ Κιλικίαν, σπεύδων βοηθῆσαι τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ. Περδίκκας δὲ πυθόμενος τὴν κατὰ τὸν Εύμενην νίκην πολλῷ θρασύτερος ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν εἰς Αἰγύπτου στρατείαν· ὡς δὲ ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο τοῦ Νεῖλος, κατεστρατοπέδευσεν οὐ μακρὰν πόλεως Πηλωσίου.

2 ἐπιχειρήσας δὲ διωρυγά των παλαιῶν ἀνακαθαίρειν καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ λάβρως ἐκραγέντος καὶ τὰ ἔργα λυμνημένου πολλοί τῶν φίλων ἐγκαταλιπόντες

3 ἀπεχώρησαν πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαίον καὶ γὰρ φονικὸς ἦν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων περιαμύμενος τὰς ἐξουσίας καὶ καθόλου πάντων βουλόμενος ἀρχεῖν βιαίως, δὲ Πτολεμαῖος τοῦναντίον εὐρυγεικὸς καὶ ἐπιευκῆς καὶ μεταδίδον τὰς τοὺς ἡγεμόνι τῆς παρρησίας, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διειληφῶς πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαωρότατος Αἰγύπτου τόπους φυλακαῖς ἀξιολόγοις καὶ βέλεσι παντοδαποῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις

4 ἀπασίν εἰς κατεσκευασμένας.¹ διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐπελεόντει, πολλοῖς

5 ἔχων εὐνοοῦτας καὶ προθύμους διακυκλουνοῦτας. δὲ οὖν Περδίκκας διορθούμενος τὰς ἐλαττώσεις συνήγαγε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ τοὺς μὲν δωρεάς, τοὺς δὲ ἐπαγγελίας μεγάλας, πάντας δὲ φιλανθρώπους

¹ κατεσκευασμένας Dindorf (1844), κατεσκευασμένος Dindorf (1828), Fischer: κατεσκευασμένοις.

¹ According to chap. 37. 1, news of the defeat of Craterus and Neoptolemus did not reach the army until after the death of Perdiccas. Diodorus is probably using and confusing two different sources, unless by “the victory of 104
a notable victory and by slaying two mighty leaders, 321 B.C. Eumenes gained great glory.

33. As soon as Antipater had received and enrolled those who escaped from the rout, he went on to Cilicia, making haste to go to the aid of Ptolemy. And Perdiccas, on learning of the victory of Eumenes,¹ became much more confident in regard to the Egyptian campaign²; and when he approached the Nile, he camped not far from the city of Pelusium. But when he undertook to clear out an old canal, and the river broke out violently and destroyed his work, many of his friends deserted him and went over to Ptolemy. Perdiccas, indeed, was a man of blood, one who usurped the authority of the other commanders and, in general, wished to rule all by force; but Ptolemy, on the contrary, was generous and fair and granted to all the commanders the right to speak frankly. What is more, he had secured all the most important points in Egypt with garrisons of considerable size, which had been well equipped with every kind of missile as well as with everything else. This explains why he had, as a rule, the advantage in his undertakings, since he had many persons who were well disposed to him and ready to undergo danger gladly for his sake. Still Perdiccas, in an effort to correct his deficiencies, called the commanders together, and by gifts to some, by great promises to others, and by friendly intercourse with all, won them

Eumenes "he means the unimportant defeat of Neoptolemus, which is hardly possible in the context. Cp. R. Schubert, Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Diadochenzeit (Leipsig, 1914), 196.

¹ For this campaign and the death of Perdiccas cp. Arrian, FGwH, 156. 9. 28-29; Justin, 13. 8. 10; Pausanias, 1. 6. 3; Strabo, 17. 1. 8.
Διόδορος του Σικυλία

ὅμιλαις ἐξιδιοποιησάμενος προετρέψατο πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους κυνιδύνους. παραγεγέλας δὲ ἑτοίμοις εἶναι πρὸς ἀναξιγην ἁρμησε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀφ’ ἑσπέρας, οὐδὲν δηλώσας τὸν τόπον εἰς δὴν ὅ διεγνωκώς ἦν καταντάν. τὴν δὲ νύκτα πᾶσαν ὀδοιπορήσας ἐν ταχεὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσε παρὰ τὸν Νεῖλον πλησίον φρουρίου τινὸς ὁ προσηγορεύετο Καμήλων τείχος. διαφανούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας διεβίβαζε τὴν δύναμιν ἠγουμένων μὲν τῶν ἐλεφάντων, ἐπακολομώντων δὲ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ κλιμακοφόρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ὁν ἐμελεί τὴν τειχομαχίαν ποιεῖσθαι. ἐπὶ πάσι δὲ ἐπεβάλλοντο οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν ἐπτέων, οὐς διενοεῖτο ἐπιτέμπευσε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίον, ἐὰν τύχωσιν ἐπιφαινόμενοι.

34. Μεσοπορούντων δ’ αὐτῶν ἐπεφάνησαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίον δρόμω προσόντες πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολίσματος ἐπικορίαν. ἡθυσάντων δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ παρεισπεσόντων εἰς τὸ χωρίον καὶ διὰ τῆς σαλπίγγων καὶ βοηθοῦς ἀφανεῖαν ποιησάντων τὴν ἐαυτῶν παρούσιαν, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Περίδικαν ὁυ κατεπλάγησαν, ἀλλὰ τολμηρῶς προσήχον τοῖς 2 τειχίσμασιν. εὐθὺς δ’ οἱ μὲν ὑπασπισταί προσθέμενοι τὰς κλιμακὰς ἀνέβαινον, οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων τῶν χάρακα διέσπεσαν καὶ τῶς ἐπάλξεις ἐφρύπτον. δ’ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ἔχων περὶ αὐτῶν οἱ ἀρίστους καὶ βουλόμενος προτρέψαθαι τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας καὶ φίλους προσέβαλε τοῖς δεινοῖς αὐτῶς ἀναλαβῶν τὴν σάρμαν καὶ στὰς ἐπ’ ἄκρον τοῦ προτειχίσματος τοῦ μὲν ἡγούμενον τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐξετύφλωσεν, ὑπερδέξευς ἔχων τὴν στάσιν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπικαθήμενον Ἡνδὸν τραυματίαν ἐποίησεν, τοὺς

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over to his service and inspired them to meet the coming dangers. After warning them to be ready to break camp, he set out with his army at evening, disclosing to no one the point to which he intended to go. After marching all night at top speed he made camp beside the Nile near a certain fortified post that is called the Fort of Camels. And as day was dawning, he began to send the army across, the elephants in the van, then following them the shield-bearers and the ladder-carriers, and the others whom he expected to use in the attack on the fort. Last of all came the bravest of the cavalry, whom he planned to send against the troops of Ptolemy if they happened to appear.

34. When they were halfway over, Ptolemy and his troops did appear, coming at a run to the defence of the post. Although these got the start of the attackers, threw themselves into the fort, and made their arrival known by blasts of the trumpet and by shouts, the troops of Perdiccas were not frightened, but boldly assaulted the fortifications. At once the shield-bearers set up the scaling ladders and began to mount them, while the elephant-borne troops were tearing the palisades to pieces and throwing down the parapets. Ptolemy, however, who had the best soldiers near himself and wished to encourage the other commanders and friends to face the dangers, taking his long spear and posting himself on the top of the outwork, put out the eyes of the leading elephant, since he occupied a higher position, and wounded its Indian mahout. Then, with utter con-

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1 μὲν added by Rhodoman.
2 ἐπιπέμπετο Wesseling, Fischer: πέμπετον.
3 αὐτόν Dindorf.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

δὲ διὰ τῆς κλίμακος ἀναβαίνοντας καταπεφρονήκτως τύπτων καὶ κατατραμματίζων περιεκύλλουσιν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων. ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῶν φίλων τοῦ Πτολεμαῖον διαγωνιζομένων τὸ μὲν ἐχόμενον θηρίον κατακοντισθέντος τοῦ κυβερνῶντος αὐτῷ Ἰνδοῦ παντελῶς ἀχριστον ἔγενετο. ἐπὶ πολλῶν δὲ χρόνων τῆς τειχομαχίας συνεστώσης οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Περδίκκαν ἐκ διαδοχῆς προσβάλλοντες πᾶσαν σπουδὴν εἰσεφέροντο κατὰ κράτος ἔλειν τὸ χωρίον, ὦ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος αὐτὸς ἀριστεύων καὶ τοὺς φίλους παρακαλῶν ἐνδείξασθαι τὴν εὐνοιαν ἄμα καὶ τὴν ἀρετήν, ἡρωϊκοῦς ἀγώνας συνεστήσατο. πολλῶν δὲ ἀπολλυμένων παρ’ ἀμφοτέρους διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τῶν ἡγεμόνων φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν περὶ τοῦ Πτολεμαῖον ταῖς ὑπεροχαῖς τῶν τόπων πλεονεκτούντων, τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Περδίκκαν τοὺς πληθείν τῷ ὑπερχῶν, τὸ τελευταίον ἀμφοτέρων διημερευσάντων ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις οἱ μὲν Περδίκκας λύσας τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν στρατοπεδεῖαν.

6 Νυκτὸς δ’ ἀναζεύξας λαθραίαν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν καὶ κατήντησεν εἰς τὸν ἀπεναντί τόπον τῆς Μέμφεως, πρὸς ἣ συμβαίνει σχίζεσθαι τὸν Νείλον καὶ ποιεῖν νῆσον δυναμενήν ἀσφαλῶς δεξιάσθαι στρατοπεδεῖαν τε καὶ δύναμιν τῇ μεγίστῃ. εἰς ταῦτην οὖν διεβίβαζε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιπόνως τῶν στρατιωτῶν περαιομένων διὰ τὸ βάθος τοῦ ποταμοῦ μέχρι γὰρ τοῦ γενείου τὸ ρέμα προσπήπτον ἐσάλευε τὰ σώματα τῶν διαβανόντων, ἀτε καὶ τῶν ὄπλων ἐμποδιζόντων τοὺς ἀνδρας.

7. Ὅ δὲ Περδίκκας κατανοήσας τὴν δυναμικὴν τοῦ ἡείθρου τοὺς μὲν ἑλέφαντας, ἐκδεχόμενος τὴν 108
tempt of the danger, striking and disabling those who were coming up the ladders, he sent them rolling down, in their armour, into the river. Following his example, his friends fought boldly and made the beast next in line entirely useless by shooting down the Indian who was directing it. The battle for the wall lasted a long time, as the troops of Perdiccas, attacking in relays, bent every effort to take the stronghold by storm, while many heroic conflicts were occasioned by the personal prowess of Ptolemy and by his exhortations to his friends to display both their loyalty and their courage. Many men were killed on both sides, such was the surpassing rivalry of the commanders, the soldiers of Ptolemy having the advantage of the higher ground and those of Perdiccas being superior in number. Finally, when both sides had spent the whole day in the engagement, Perdiccas gave up the siege and went back to his own camp.

Breaking camp at night, he marched secretly and came to the place that lies opposite Memphis, where it happens that the Nile is divided and makes an island large enough to hold with safety a camp of a very large army. To this island he began to transfer his men, the soldiers crossing with difficulty because of the depth of the river; for the water, which came up to the chins of those who were crossing, buffeted their bodies, especially as they were impeded by their equipment.

35. But Perdiccas, seeing the difficulty caused by the current, in an effort to break the downward rush

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1 ἐν added by Dindorf.
2 τοῦ ποταμοῦ after ἐλέφαντας deleted by Dindorf.
καταφέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, εἰκ τῶν εὐωνύμων ἐπέστησεν, καταπραινοῦντας τὸ βείθρον, τοὺς δ’ ἱππεῖς ἐκ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους ἔταξε, δι’ ὄν ἐξεδέχετο τοὺς παραφερομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ δι’ 2 ἐσώζεν εἰς τὸ πέραν. ΄Ιδιον δὲ τι καὶ παράδοξον συνέβη γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης. τῶν πρώτων γὰρ ἀσφαλῶς διαβάντων οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα περαιούμενοι μεγάλοις περίπποις κινδύνους: ο γὰρ ποταμὸς οὐδεμιᾶς οὔσης αἰτίας φανερᾶς πολλοὶ βαθύτερος ἐγένετο καὶ τῶν συμμάτων ὅλων καταδυνάμενοι ἀπαντεῖς εἰς πολλὴν 3 ἀμπηχώριαν ἐνέπποιον. τῆς δὲ κατὰ τὴν πλήρωσιν αἰτίας ἐπιζητούμενης τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς ἀσυλλόγιστον ἦν, ἐφασαν δ’ οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω τόποις ἐγκεχωσμένην διάρρυγα πάλιν ἐκφρασθῆναι καὶ συμπιεσθῆναι τῷ ποταμῷ βαθύτερον πεποιηκέναι τὸν πόρον, οἱ δ’ ὀμβρουσὶ συν τοὺς ἄνω τόποις γενο- 4 μένους αὐξηθαί τῷ μέγεθος τοῦ Νείλου. τούτων δ’ οὐδέτεροι ἦν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πόρου τὴν μὲν πρώτην διάβασιν ἀσφαλεστέραν συνέβαινε γεγονότα ἀκεραίον τῆς κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν ἄμμου γεγενημένης, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἄλλας υπὸ τῶν προδιαβεβηκότων ὑποθεν τε καὶ ἐλεφάντων έτι δὲ πεζῶν, τοῖς μὲν ποιεὶ τὴν ἄμμου πατομεμείνην καὶ κυνομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ βείθρου κατ- ενεχθῆναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κολλωθέντος τοῦ πόρου βαθύτεραν γενέσθαι τὴν διάβασιν κατὰ μέσον τῶν ποταμῶν.

5 Διὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἄδυνατούσης τῆς λουπῆς δυνάμεως διαβήθην τοῖς ποταμοῦ δ’ Περδίκ-

1 The phrase ἐκδεχόμενος ... τοῦ ποταμοῦ, which the MSS. place after ἐπέστησεν, transposed to its present position by Fischer.
of the river, placed the elephants in line on the left, \textsuperscript{321} B.C. thus mitigating the strength of the current, and placed on the right side the horsemen, through whose agency he kept catching the men who were being carried away by the river and bringing them safe to the other side. A peculiar and surprising thing took place during the crossing of this army, namely, that after the first men had crossed in safety, those who tried to cross afterwards fell into great danger. For although there was no visible cause, the river became much deeper, and, their bodies being totally submerged, they would one and all become completely helpless. When they sought the cause of this rise, the truth could not be found by reasoning. Some said that that somewhere upstream a canal that had been closed had been opened and, joining with the river, had made the ford deeper; others said that rain falling in the regions above had increased the volume of the Nile. It was, however, neither of these things, but what happened was that the first crossing of the ford had been freer from danger because the sand at the crossing had been undisturbed, but in the course of the other crossings by the horses and elephants which had gone over before and then by the infantry, the sand, trodden by their feet and set in motion by the current, was carried down stream, and the place of crossing being hollowed out in this way, the ford became deeper in the middle of the river.

Since the rest of his army was unable to cross the river for this reason, Perdicas was in great difficulty;

\footnote{\textit{ἐνέπττον} Post, \textit{παρεψίνοντο} Dindorf: \textit{περεψίπττον} MSS., Fischer.}
kas eis pollhûn aporîan evêpîsthen kai tón mên diabebhikótovn oûk aξiomákhon ontvon toûs polemíous, tôn de en tî w péran mî dynâmênon bothên tûs idios proswêtaxen eis toupísôw pálôn apieînai 6 pánatas. Diôper anagnashtêntwn anântovn parai-
ouòthai to rêîthra oî mên ëpîstûmenoi kalôs neîn kai toûs swmasw isxyrótaioi metà pollhís kakop-
patías dieneîzantî tûn Neîlou pollâ tûn òplwv 
apobalóntes, tûn de állwv diâ tîn ëpierîan oî mên ùpò toû rêîthra katêpóthêsan, oî de prós tûs polemíous êxêpêson, oî plêistoi de parènênthentès 
epi polûv chrônouv2 ùpò tûn en tî fôtaumô òhrîwv 
katebrôthêsan.

36. 'Apololménwv de plêiónwn ë diisxîlwv, en 
ois kai tûn ètpfavnwv tînês ëgêmônwn ùptîrhoi, 
allotriwv to plîthos èsche prós tûn Perðîkkan. 
de Ptolemaíos ta swmatâ tûn prós autôn 
ekpesôntwv kàwsas kai tîs ármoxouçhs kîdeias 
aξiôsas apèstelle ta òstâ prôs tûs oîkeîous te 
kai fîlous tûn tetelwttikôtovn.

2 Tóutovn de prakhêntovn oî parâ tû Perðîkkas 
Makédones prós mên toûtov pollhî màllon ãp-
èthriûthêsan, prós de tûn Ptolemaíovn âpéklinan 
3 taûs evnoiâs. ëpignomèneis de nuktôs plîrûs õn õ 
parêmbolh klanvbhô kai pènhous, tosoûtovn mên 
àndrôn alôgous âpolwllótovn âneu polemías plêghîs 
kai toûtovn oûk èlattûnov õ òxîwv òhrobrôtovn 
4 gegovôtovn. pollôi mên oûn3 tûn ëgêmônwn suv-
îstantî kai kathgrówn tû Perðîkkou, pása d' õ

1 kai added by Wesseling.
2 tópon Dindorf.
3 oûn added by Dindorf.

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and, as those who had crossed were not strong enough to fight the enemy and those on the nearer bank were not able to go to the aid of their fellows, he ordered all to come back again. When all were thus forced to cross the stream, those who knew how to swim well and were strongest of body succeeded in swimming across the Nile with great distress, after throwing away a good deal of their equipment; but of the rest, because of their lack of skill some were swallowed by the river, and others were cast up on the shore toward the enemy, but most of them, carried along for some time, were devoured by the animals in the river. 1

36. Since more than two thousand men were lost, among them some of the prominent commanders, the rank and file of the army became ill disposed toward Perdiccas. Ptolemy, however, burned the bodies of those who were cast up on his side of the river and, having bestowed on them a proper funeral, sent the bones to the relatives and friends of the dead.

These things having been done, the Macedonians with Perdiccas became much more exasperated with him, but they turned with favour toward Ptolemy. When night had come, the encampment was filled with lamentations and mourning, so many men having been senselessly lost without a blow from an enemy, and of these no fewer than a thousand having become food for beasts. Therefore many of the commanders joined together and accused Perdiccas, and all the

1 i.e. by the crocodiles. Frontinus (Strategemata, 4. 7. 20) adds a picturesque and probably fictitious detail: Ptolemy frightened Perdiccas into withdrawing by a cloud of dust raised by cattle dragging bundles of brush. Strabo (17. 1. 8) implies that Perdiccas succeeded in getting his army across to the island.
φάλαγξ τῶν πεζῶν ἀπαλλοτριωθεῖσα φανερὰν διὰ τῆς ἀπειλούσης φωνῆς τὴν ἱδίαν κατεσκεύασεν ὃ ἀλλοτριότητα. διόπερ πρῶτοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀπεστησάν ὡς ἐκατόν, δὲν ἦν ἐπιφανέστατος Πίθων ὁ τοὺς ἀποστάτας Ἐλληνας καταπολεμῆσας, οὐδὲν ὃς δὲ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου λειπόμενος φίλων ἁρετῆ τε καὶ δόξῃ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τινὲς συμφρονήσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Περδίκκου κατήνυσαν καὶ προσπεσόντες ἀθρόοι κατέσφαξαν τὸν Περδίκκαν.

6 Τῇ δ' ὑστερᾳ γενομένης ἐκκλησίας ὁ Πτολεμαῖος καταβᾶς καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἀσπασάμενος περὶ τὲ τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἀπέλογήσατο καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐκκλησίων ἐχορήγησε σύσταν τε δασφυλῆ ταῖς δυνάμεις καὶ τῶν άλλων ἐπιτηδείων ἐπλήρωσε τὴν παρεμβολὴν. μεγάλης δὲ τυγχάνων ἀποδοχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν βασιλέων διὰ τὴν τοῦ πλῆθους εὔνοιαν τούτου μὲν οὐκ ὄρεξθη, τῷ δὲ Πίθωνι καὶ Ἀρριδαίῳ χάριτας ὀφείλων συγκατεσκεύασε τὴν τῶν δλων ἡγεμονίαν. οἱ γὰρ Μακεδόνες βουλής προτεθέετο περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ συμβουλεύσαντος Πτολεμαίοι πάντες προθύμως εἰλοντο τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιμελητὰς αὐτοκράτορας Πίθωνα καὶ Ἀρριδαίον τὸν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ βασιλέως κατακομίσαντα. Περδίκκας μὲν οὖν ἄρξας ἔτη τρία τούτων τὸν τρόπον ἀπέβαλε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἅμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν.

7 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτου τελευτήν εὐθὺς ἦκον τινὲς ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὅτι παρατάξεως γενομένης περὶ Καππαδοκίαν Εὐμενῆς νενίκησε, Κρατερὸς δὲ καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος ἦττηθέντες ἀνήρμητα. τούτο δ'
phalanx of the infantry, now alienated from him, made clear their own hostility with threatening shouts. Consequently about a hundred of the commanders were the first to revolt from him, of whom the most illustrious was Pithon, who had suppressed the rebellious Greeks, a man second to none of the Companions of Alexander in courage and reputation; next, some also of the cavalry conspired together and went to the tent of Perdiccas, where they fell on him in a body and stabbed him to death.

On the next day when there was an assembly of the soldiers, Ptolemy came, greeted the Macedonians, and spoke in defence of his own attitude; and as their supplies had run short, he provided at his own expense grain in abundance for the armies and filled the camp with the other needful things. Although he gained great applause and was in position to assume the guardianship of the kings through the favour of the rank and file, he did not grasp at this, but rather, since he owed a debt of gratitude to Pithon and Arrhidaeus, he used his influence to give them the supreme command. For the Macedonians, when the question of the primacy was raised in the assembly and Ptolemy advocated this course, without a dissenting voice enthusiastically elected as guardians of the kings and regents Pithon and that Arrhidaeus who had conveyed the body of Alexander. So Perdiccas, after he had ruled for three years, lost both his command and his life in the manner described.

37. Immediately after the death of Perdiccas there came men announcing that, in a battle fought near Cappadocia, Eumenes had been victorious and Craterus and Neoptolemus had been defeated and killed.¹

¹ Cp. chaps. 30-31 and footnote on chap. 33. 1.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

ei dui proteron hymerais egeneto tis Perdikkou teleutias, oudeis an etolmese tas cheiras Perdikka 2 prosenegekein dia to megebos tis euimerias. oi di oin Makedones puthomenoi ta peri ton Eumevin katengwsoan autou thanaton kai twon peri auton epifanwn andrewn pentikonta, en ois hyn kai Al-ketas o adelphos tou Perdikou. apektevnan de kai twon philon tou Perdikou tois malista piasta-tatous kai tis adelphi h autou 'Atalantyn, hyn hyn geneimikos 'Attalos o tois stolou tis hymenian pareilphfous.

3 Meta de tis anairesei tou Perdikou 'Attalos o tois stolou tis hymenian eixon diekribe men peri to Piloysion, os de epibeto tis tis nyvaikos anaireseis kai tou Perdikou, ton stolon analabwon eixePLEUSE kai kathtishein eis Tyron.

4 de tis polleis tauteis phourarchhos 'Arxelas, Makedon to genos, ton 'Attaloun filofronous upedegeato kai tis te polin parkedwken autou kai tis chorimet, dedomeina men upo Perdikou filait- tein, tote de diakw apoedeomena, to de plhous ointi talantwn oktakosiai. de de 'Attalos en tis Tyron diatribh anelambane ton Perdikou philon tois diaswzomenuis ek tis pro tis Mefhei stratopediais.

38. 'Antipatrou de eis tis 'Aasia diaxeviko- tos Antioh katta tas pros Perdikkan syntheias estrateunean eis tis Thesiain, antiperielpasai boulojmeno ton 'Antipatrou. eixon de stratia- wtais pezous men murious kai disykliai, epeteis de tetrakosioi, hyn hyn stratetynos 'Aleksandros Ai-2 toulas. en parodw de tois 'Amphiloseis Lorkous

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If this had become known two days before the death of Perdiccas, no one would have dared raise a hand against him because of his great good fortune. Now, however, the Macedonians, on learning the news about Eumenes, passed sentence of death upon him and upon fifty of the chief men of his following, among whom was Alcetas, the brother of Perdiccas. They also slew the most faithful of Perdiccas’ friends and his sister Atalanta, the wife of Attalus, the man who had received command of the fleet.

After the murder of Perdiccas, Attalus, who had the command of the fleet, was waiting at Pelusium; but when he learned of the murder of his wife and of Perdiccas, he set sail and came to Tyre with the fleet. The commandant of the garrison of that city, Archelaüs, who was a Macedonian by race, welcomed Attalus and surrendered the city to him and also the funds that had been given him by Perdiccas for safe-keeping and had now been honourably repaid, being in amount eight hundred talents. Attalus remained in Tyre, receiving those of the friends of Perdiccas who escaped in safety from the camp before Memphis.¹

38. After the departure of Antipater for Asia,² the Aetolians, in accordance with their compact with Perdiccas, made a campaign into Thessaly for the purpose of diverting Antipater. They had twelve thousand foot soldiers and four hundred horsemen, and their general was Alexander, an Aetolian. On the march they besieged the city of the Amphissian

¹ According to Arrian (FGrHist, 156. 11. 39), he gathered a force of ten thousand foot and eight hundred horse with which he made an unsuccessful attack on Rhodes.
² Cp. chaps. 25. 5, 29. 4.
πολυρκήσαντες τήν τε χώραν αυτῶν κατέδραμον καὶ τινὰ τῶν πλησίων πολισμάτων ἐφέλον. ἐνίκησαν δὲ μάχῃ τὸν Ἀντιπατρὸν στρατηγὸν Πολυκλῆν καὶ τούτον τε καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγους ἄνειλον· τῶν δὲ ξυγγρηθέντων οὔς μὲν ἀπέδοντο, 3 οὐς δὲ ἀπελύτρωσαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐμβαλόντες τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Θετταλῶν ἔπεισαν κοινωνεῖν τῷ πρὸς Ἀντιπατρὸν πολέμου· καὶ ταχέως ἥθροισθησαν οἱ πάντες πεζοὶ μὲν δισμύριοι πεντακισχίλιοι, ἵππεῖς δὲ χίλιοι πεντακόσιοι. 4 τούτων δὲ προσαγομένων τὰς πόλεις Ἀκαρνάν̄νες ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντες πρὸς Ἀιτωλῶν ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν καὶ τὴν τε χώραν ἐδήμου καὶ τὰς πόλεις 5 ἐπολυόρκουν. οἱ δὲ Αἰτωλοὶ πυθόμενοι τὰς ἱδίας πατρίδας κυνδυνεύειν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἀπέλυσον ἐν Θετταλίᾳ. Μένωνα τὸν Φαρσάλιον ἐπιστήσαντες στρατηγὸν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἀναλαβόντες ἢκον συντόμως εἰς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν καὶ τοὺς Ἀκαρνάν̄νες καταπληξάμενοι τὰς πατρίδας 6 ἤλευθέρωσαν τῶν κυνδύνων. τούτων δὲ περὶ ταῦτα ἀσχολομένων Πολυπέρχων ὁ καταλειμμένως ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ στρατηγὸς ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν μετὰ δυνάμεως ἀξιολόγου, νικήσας δὲ παρατάξει τοὺς πολεμίους τὸν τε στρατηγὸν Μένωνα ἄνειλε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατέκοψε τοὺς πλείστους καὶ τὴν Θετταλίαν ἀνεκτήσατο.

39. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀρρίδαίος καὶ Πίθων οἱ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιμεληταὶ ἀναζητοῦντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἢκον 2 εἰς Τριπαράδεισον τῆς ἄνω Συρίας. ἐνταῦθα δὲ

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1 The exact location of Triparadeisus (Three Parks) is

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Locrians, overran their country, and captured some 321 B.C. of the neighbouring towns. They defeated Antipater's general Polycles in battle, killing him and no small number of his soldiers. Some of those who were taken captive they sold, others they released on receiving ransoms. Invading Thessaly next, they persuaded most of the Thessalians to join them in the war against Antipater, and a force was quickly gathered, numbering in all twenty-five thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry. While they were gaining the cities, however, the Acarnanians, who were hostile to the Aetolians, invaded Actolia, where they began to plunder the land and to besiege the cities. When the Aetolians learned that their own country was in danger, they left the other troops in Thessaly, putting Menon of Pharsalus in command, while they themselves with the citizen soldiers went swiftly into Aetolia and, by striking fear into the Acarnanians, freed their native cities from danger. While, however, they were engaged in these matters, Polyperchon, who had been left in Macedonia as general, came into Thessaly with a considerable army and, by defeating the enemy in a battle in which he killed the general Menon and cut most of his army to pieces, recovered Thessaly.

39. In Asia Arrhidæus and Pithon, the guardians of the kings, setting out from the Nile with the kings and the army, came to Triparadeisus in upper Syria.¹

unknown. For the disorder there and the subsequent settlement, including the redistribution of the satrapies, cp. Arrian, FGrH, 156. 9. 31-38, Polyaenus, 4. 6. 4.
Diodorus of Sicily

Εὐρυδίκης τῆς βασιλίσσης πολλὰ περιεργαζομένης καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν ἐπιβολαῖς ἀντιπραττοῦσις οἰ μὲν περὶ τὸν Πίθαωνα δυσχρηστοῦμενοι καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὁρῶντες τοῖς ἐκεῖνης προστάγμασιν ἀεὶ μᾶλλον προσέχοντας συνήγαγον ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἀπείπαντο, οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες ἐπιμελητὴν εἶλοντο τὸν Ἀντίπατρον αὐτοκράτορα. οὗτος δὲ μετ' ὅλιγας ἡμέρας καταντήσας εἰς Τριπαράδεισον κατέλαβε τὴν Εὐρυδίκην στασιάζουσαν καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἀπαλλοτριοῦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου.

ταραχῆς δὲ μεγάλης οὕσης ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεις καὶ κουνῆς ἐκκλησίας συναχθεῖσις ὁ μὲν Ἀντίπατρος διαλεχθεῖς τοῖς πλῆθεσι τῇ μὲν ταραχῇ κατ-έπαυσε, τῇ δὲ Εὐρυδίκην καταπληξίαμεν ἐπεισε τὴν ἦσυχιάν ἄγεων.

5 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὰς σατραπεῖας ἔξ ἀρχῆς ἐμερίσατο καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν τὴν προὐπάρχουσαν προσώρισεν ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἢν τούτου μεταθεῖνα διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τὴν Αὐγοῦστον διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀνδρείας ἐχεῖν οἰονεῖ ἀποκτητον. καὶ Λαομέδουτῳ μὲν τῷ Μιτρυληναίῳ Συρίαν ἔδωκε, Φιλοξένῳ δὲ τῇ Κυλικίᾳ, τῶν δὲ ἀνω σατραπεῖων Μεσοποταμίαν μὲν καὶ τὴν Ἀρβηλίτων Ἀμφιμάχω, τὴν δὲ Βαβυλωνίαν Σελεύκω, Ἀντιγένει γὰρ τῇ Σουσιανή διὰ τὸ τοῦτον πρῶτον πεποιήθαι τῇ ἐπὶ τὸν Περδίκκαν

1 Ἀντιγένει Freinsheim, Wesseling, cp. Arrian, FGvH, 156.
9. 35 : Ἀντιγένει.
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BOOK XVIII. 39. 2–6

There Eurydice,¹ the queen, was interfering in many matters and working against the efforts of the guardians. Pithon and his colleague were distressed by this, and when they saw that the Macedonians were paying more and more attention to her commands, they summoned a meeting of the assembly and resigned the guardianship; whereupon the Macedonians elected Antipater guardian with full power. When Antipater arrived at Triparadeisus a few days later, he found Eurydice stirring up discord and turning the Macedonians away from him. There was great disorder in the army; but a general assembly was called together, and Antipater put an end to the tumult by addressing the crowd, and by thoroughly frightening Eurydice he persuaded her to keep quiet.²

Thereafter he distributed the satrapies anew. To Ptolemy he assigned what was already his, for it was impossible to displace him, since he seemed to be holding Egypt by virtue of his own prowess as if it were a prize of war. He gave Syria to Laomedon of Mitylenê and Cilicia to Philoxenus. Of the upper satrapies Mesopotamia and Arbelitis² were given to Amphimachus, Babylonia to Seleucus, Susianê to Antigones because he had been foremost in making

¹ i.e. Eurydice Adela, whose father was a son of Perdiccas III and whose mother was an illegitimate daughter of Philip II. She was betrothed or married to Philip Arrhidaeaus (who is not to be confused with the Arrhidaeaus of the paragraph).
² According to Arrian (FGH, 156. 9. 33), Antipater narrowly escaped being mobbed by the troops of Perdiccas' army, and only made his way to his own men when Antigonus and Seleucus came to his aid and diverted the angry soldiers at the risk of their own lives.
³ The country about Arbela in the upper Tigris valley.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

ἐπιθεσιν, Πευκέστη δὲ τὴν Περσίδα, Τηλπολέμω δὲ τὴν Καρμανίαν, Πῆθωνι δὲ Μηδίαν, Φιλίσποῳ δὲ τὴν Παρθβαίαν, Ἀρίαν δὲ καὶ Δραγγγήνῃ Στασάνδρῳ τῷ Κυπρίῳ, τὴν δὲ Βακτριανῆν καὶ Σογ-διανῆν Στασάνορι τῷ Σολίῳ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντι νῆσου. Παροπανίσάδας δὲ Ὁξυάρτη προσώρισε τῷ Ῥωξάνης πατρὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου γυναικὸς, τῆς δὲ Ἰνδικῆς τὰ μὲν συνορίζοντα Παροπανίσάδας Πῆθωνι τῷ Ἀγήνορος, τὰς δὲ ἔχομενας βασιλείας τὴν μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν Πώρῳ, τὴν δὲ παρὰ τὸν Ὑδάσπης Ταξίλη (οὐ γὰρ ἣν τούτους τοὺς βασιλείας μετακινήσας χωρίς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἡγεμόνος ἐπιφανοῦς), τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον κεκλιμένων Καππαδοκίαν μὲν Νικάνορι, Φρυγίαν δὲ τὴν μεγάλην καὶ Λυκίαν Ἀντιγόνῳ καθάπερ πρότερον ἐσχε, Καρίαν δὲ Ἀσάνδρῳ, Λυδίαν δὲ Κλείτῳ, Φρυγίαν δὲ τὴν ἐφ' Ἑλλησ-τῶν Ἀρριδαίων, στρατηγὸν δὲ τῆς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως ἀπεδείξεν Ἀντίγονον, ὃ προστεταγμένον ἦν καταπολεμῆσαι Εὔμενῆ τε καὶ Ἀλκέταν παρεξεῖδέ τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ χιλίαρχον τὸν ἱδίον Κασάνδρον, ὡς μὴ δύνηται διαλαθεῖν ἠδοπραγῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τὴν ἱδίαν

1 Ἀσάνδρῳ Wesseling, cp. chap. 3. 1: Κασάνδρῳ.

2 Mention of the re-appointment of Sibyrtius as satrap of Arachosia seems to have been omitted or lost at this point (Arrian, FGrH, 156. 9. 36; cp. chap. 3. 3, and Book 19. 14. 6).
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the attack on Perdiccas, Persia to Peucætes, Car-
mania to Tlepolemu, Media to Pithon, Parthia to
Philip,¹ Aria and Drangenê to Stasander of Cyprus,
Bætrianê and Sogdianê to Stasanor of Soli, who was
from that same island.² He added Paropanisadae to
the domain of Oxyartes, father of Alexander’s wife
Roxanê, and the part of India bordering on Paro-
panisadae to Pithon son of Agenor. Of the two
neighbouring kingdoms, the one along the Indus
River was assigned to Porus and that along the
Hydaspes to Taxiles, for it was not possible to remove
these kings without employing a royal army and an
outstanding general. Of the satrapies that face the
north, Cappadocia was assigned to Nicanor,³ Great
Phrygia and Lycia to Antigonus as before, Caria to
Asander, Lydia to Cleitus, and Hellespontine Phrygia
to Arrhidæus. As general of the royal army he
appointed Antigonus, assigning him the task of fin-
ishing the war against Eumenes and Alcetas; but
he attached his own son Cassander to Antigonus as
chiliarch⁴ so that the latter might not be able to
pursue his own ambitions undetected. Antipater
himself with the kings and his own army went on

¹ Four men of this name are mentioned in this period:
this satrap of Cappadocia, who remained true to Antigonus
and was finally defeated by Seleucus (Book 19. 92); the
friend and general of Ptolemy (chap. 43. 2); Cassander’s
supporter, who commanded the garrison in Munychia (chap.
64. 1, etc.); and Cassander’s brother (Book 19. 11. 8). Cp.
Droysen, Geschichte des Hellenismus, 2. 145, note 2.

⁴ A chiliarch was, properly speaking, a commander of a
thousand, but the Greeks used the term to designate the very
influential official who had commanded the bodyguard of the
Persian king. Alexander gave this title first to Hephaestion
and later to Perdiccas (Arrian, FGrH, 156. 1. 3, cp. chap. 48.
4-5 below).
δύναμιν προήγεν ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν, κατάξων τοὺς
βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα.

40. 'Αντίγονος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀποδεδειγμένος
στρατηγός διαπολεμήσων πρὸς Εὔμενη ἥθροισεν ἐκ
τῆς χειμασίας τὰς δυνάμεις. παρασκευασάμενος
δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν μάχην προήγεν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὔμενην,
2 διατρίβοντα περὶ Καππαδοκίαν. ὁ δὲ Εὔμενης, ἀπο-
στάντος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τινος τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἡγεμόνων
ἐνόματι Περδίκκου, στρατοπεδεύοντος ἀπὸ τριῶν
ἡμερῶν ὀδοὺ μετὰ τῶν συναπστάντων στρατιω-
τῶν πεζῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων, ἵππεων δὲ πεντακο-
σίων, ἔξεπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν Φοίνικα τὸν Τενέδιον,
ἐχοντα πεζοὺς μὲν ἐπιλέκτους τετρακισχιλίους,
3 ἵππεις δὲ χιλίους. οὕτως δὲ νυκτοπορία συντόνῳ
χρησάμενος προσέπεσε τοῖς ἀποστάταις ἀπροσ-
δοκήτως περὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν νυκτερινήν· κατα-
λαβὼν δ' αὐτοὺς κομμωμένους τὸν τε Περδίκκαν
ἐξώγρησε καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐγκρατῆς ἐγένετο.

4 Εὔμενης δὲ τοὺς αὐτωτάτους τῆς ἀποστάσεως
ἡγεμόνας ἑθανάτωσε· τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας τοὺς
ἀλλοις ἀναμίξας καὶ φιλανθρώπως προσενεχθεῖς
ἰδίους ταῖς εὐνοίαις ἐποιήσατο.

5 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δὲ μὲν 'Αντίγονος διαπεμψάμενος
πρὸς Ἀπολλωνίδην τινά, τῶν ἵππεων ἀφηγούμενον
παρ' Εὔμενεί, μεγάλαις ἐπιγγελλίαις δι' ἀπορρήτων

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1 There appears to be a lacuna of considerable length at about this point. Cassander convinced Antipater that his suspicions of Antigonus were ill founded. Antipater accordingly left to Antigonus for use in the war against Eumenes a large part of the army that he himself had brought from Europe. He then returned to Macedonia, accompanied by the kings and probably by Cassander. Eumenes meantime tried in vain to secure the moral aid of Cleopatra, Alexander's
into Macedonia in order to restore the kings to their native land.\footnote{1}

40. Antigonus, who had been designated general of Asia for the purpose of finishing the war with Eumenes, collected his troops from their winter quarters.\footnote{2} After making preparations for the battle, he set out against Eumenes, who was still in Cappadocia. Now one of Eumenes’ distinguished commanders named Perdiccas had deserted him and was encamped at a distance of three days’ march with the soldiers who had joined him in the mutiny, three thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry. Eumenes, accordingly, sent against him Phocnix of Tenedos with four thousand picked foot-soldiers and a thousand horsemen. After a forced night march Phocnix fell unexpectedly on the deserters at about the second watch of the night, and catching them asleep, took Perdiccas alive and secured control of his troops. Eumenes put to death the leaders who had been most responsible for the desertion, but by distributing the common soldiers among the other troops and treating them with kindness, he secured them as loyal supporters.

Thereafter Antigonus sent messages to a certain Apollonides, who commanded the cavalry in the army of Eumenes, and by great promises secretly persist, who was then in Sardes; and his efforts toward effective co-operation with Alcetas were also unavailing. In spite of this he was too strong for Antigonus to attack, and an army sent by Antigonus against Alcetas was defeated. Eumenes spent the winter (321/0) in Greater Phrygia, and then withdrew to Cappadocia. Cp. Arrian, 

\footnote{1} This is the winter of 321/0. For the following campaign cp. Plutarch, Eumenes, 9; Justin, 14. 2. 1-8.
6 αυτομολήσας, τοῦ δὲ Εὐμενοῦς στρατοπεδεύοντος τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἐν τισιν εὐθέτοις πεδίοις πρὸς ἐπιμοχίαν ἐπιβαλὼν ὁ Ἀντίγονος μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως κατελάβετο τὴν ὑπερκειμένην τῶν πεδίων ὑπωρίαν. εἶχε δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἀντίγονος κατ᾽ ἐκείνους τοὺς καρυὸς πεζοὺς μὲν πλεῖο τῶν μυρίων, ἢν ἦσαν οἱ ἡμίσεις Μακεδόνες, θαυμαστοὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας, ἱππεῖς δὲ δισχιλίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ τριάκοντα, ὁ δὲ Εὐμενῆς πεζοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττουσ 8 τῶν δισμυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντακυκλιῶσ. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἐσχυρᾶς καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνίδου μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππέων ποιήσαντος ἀλόγως ἀπὸ τῶν ἱδίων διάστασιν ἐνίκησεν ὁ Ἀντίγονος καὶ ἀνείλεν τῶν ἐναντίων εἰς ὀκτακυκλίωσ. ἐκυρίευσε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς ἀπάσης, ὡστε τοὺς περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ στρατιώτας διὰ μὲν τὴν ἦτταν καταπλαγῆναι, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπώλειαν τῆς ἀποσκευῆς ἀθυμῆσαι.

41. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ μὲν Εὐμενῆς ἐπεβάλετο φεύγειν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ κατοικοῦντων τυχὸς πρὸς τὴν συμμαχίαν συλλαβέσθαι. καταταχούμενος δὲ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὅρων ἀποχωροῦντας πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον κατελάβετο χωρίων 2 ὕψον ὁ προσηγορεύετο Νῶρα. ἦν δὲ τὸ φρούριον τούτῳ παντελῶς μικρὸν διὰ τὸ τὸν περίβολον ἔχειν μὴ πλεῖο δυνεῖν σταδίων, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔρμοντα θαυμαστον. ἐπὶ γὰρ πέτρας ψηλῆς εἶχε τὰς οἰκίας συνωκοδομημένας καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν κατασκευῆς θαυμαστῶς 3 ψιχρωτο. εἶχε δὲ καὶ παραθέσεις σῖτον πολλοῦ

1 ἐπεισε Stephanus, cp. chap. 49. 2: ἐποιήσε.
suaded him to become a traitor and to desert during 320 B.C. the battle. While Eumenes was encamped in a plain of Cappadocia well suited for cavalry fighting, Antigonus fell upon him with all his men and took the foothills that commanded the plain. Antigonus at that time had more than ten thousand foot soldiers, half of whom were Macedonians admirable for their hardihood, two thousand mounted troops, and thirty elephants; while Eumenes commanded not less than twenty thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry. But when the battle became hot and Apollonides with his cavalry unexpectedly deserted his own side, Antigonus won the day and slew about eight thousand of the enemy. He also became master of the entire supply train, so that Eumenes' soldiers were both dismayed by the defeat and despondent at the loss of their supplies.

41. After this Eumenes undertook to escape into Armenia and to bring over to his alliance some of the inhabitants of that land; but as he was being overtaken and saw that his soldiers were going over to Antigonus, he occupied a stronghold called Nora.¹ This fortress was very small with a circuit of not more than two stades,² but of wonderful strength, for its buildings had been constructed close together on the top of a lofty crag, and it had been marvellously fortified, partly by nature, partly by the work of men's hands. Furthermore, it contained a stock of grain,

¹ For the retirement to Nora and the defence of the fortress cp. Plutarch, Eumenes, 9-11; Nepos, Eumenes, 5. 3-7; Justin, 14. 2. 1-4; Strabo, 12. 2. 6. The exact location of Nora is not known; it was probably in the northern part of the Taurus (Hassan Dagh). Eumenes seems to have spent the winter of 320/19 in the fortress.
² About 1200 feet.
καὶ ξύλων καὶ ἄλων ὁστ' εἰς ἐτη πολλὰ δύνασθαι χορηγῆσαι πάντα τοῖς εἰς αὐτὴν καταφυγοῦσι. συνεφυγον δὲ μετ' αυτοῦ τῶν φίλων οἱ ταῖς εὐνοίαις διαφέροντες καὶ κεκρικότες συναποθητίσκειν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς ἑσχάτους κινδύνους· οἱ δὲ πάντες ὑπήρχον ἐπιτεὶς καὶ πεζοὶ περὶ ἐξακοσίους.

4 Ἀντίγονος δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν μετ' Εὐμενοῦς δύναμιν καὶ τῶν σατραπείων καὶ τῶν ἐν ταύταις προσόδων κύριος γενόμενος, έτι δὲ παραλαβὼν πλῆθος χρημάτων μειζόνων πραγμάτων ὁρέγετο· οὐκέτι γάρ οὐδεὶς τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἡγεμόνων ἄξιόμαχον ἔχει δύναμιν διαγωνίσασθαι πρὸς 5 αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν πρωτείων. διὸ καὶ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον κατὰ μὲν τὸ παρὸν προσεποιεῖτο φιλικῶς διακείσθαι, διεγνύκει δὲ τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν ἀσφαλισάμενος μηκέτι προσέχειν μῆτε τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἑμεῖς Ἀντίπατρῳ. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον περιμελάβει τοῦς καταπεφευγότας εἰς τὸ φρούριον διπλοῖς τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ τάφροις καὶ χαρακώμασι βαμμαστοῖς· μετὰ ταῦτα δ' εἰς σύλλογον ἐλθὼν Εὐμενεὶ καὶ τὴν προὐπάρχουσαν φιλίαν ἀνανεωσάμενος ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν κοινοπραγεῖν. δὲ οὖν οἰκίας τὴν τύχην ὁξέως μεταβάλλουσαν μεζόνας ἦτει φιλανθρωπίας τῆς 7 περὶ αὐτοῦ οὐσίας περιστάσεως· ὅπερ γάρ δεῖν αὐτῷ συγχωρηθῆναι τὰς ἐς ἀρχῆς δεδομένας σατραπείας καὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπάντων ἀπόλυσιν. δὲ Ἐντίγονος περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐποιήσατο, τοῦ δὲ χωρίον τὴν ἰκανῆν φυλακὴν ἀπολύσων ὑρμησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς περιγενο-
firewood, and salt, ample to supply for many years all the needs of those who took refuge there. Eumenes was accompanied in his flight by those of his friends who were exceptionally loyal and had determined to die along with him if it came to the worst straits. In all, counting both cavalry and infantry, there were about six hundred souls.¹

Now that Antigonus had taken over the army that had been with Eumenes, had become master of Eumenes' satrapies together with their revenues, and had seized a great sum of money besides, he aspired to greater things; for there was no longer any commander in all Asia who had an army strong enough to compete with him for supremacy. Therefore, although maintaining for the time being a pretence of being well disposed toward Antipater, he had decided that, as soon as he had made his own position secure, he would no longer take orders either from the kings or from Antipater. Accordingly he first surrounded those who had fled to the stronghold with double walls, ditches, and amazing palisades; but then he parleyed with Eumenes, renewed the former friendship, and tried to persuade him to cast his lot with him. Eumenes, however, being well aware that Fortune changes quickly, insisted upon greater concessions than his existing circumstances justified; in fact, he thought that he ought to be given back the satrapies that had been originally assigned to him and be cleared of all the charges. But Antigonus referred these matters to Antipater, and then, after placing a sufficient guard about the fortress, he set out to meet those commanders of the enemy who

¹ In chap. 53. 7 the number who survived the siege is given as five hundred.
μένους ἡγεμόνας τῶν πολεμίων καὶ δυνάμεις ἐχοντας Ἀλκέταν τε τῶν ἄδελφων τοῦ Περδίκκου καὶ Ὀτταλον τὸν τοῦ στόλου παντὸς κυριεύοντα.

42. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Εὐμενής πρὸς τὸν Ἀντί-πατρόν πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλε περὶ τῶν ὁμολογιῶν, ὡς ἢ ἡγούμενος Ἰερώνυμος ὁ τὰς τῶν διαδόχων ἱστορίας γεγραφός. αὐτὸς δὲ πολλάς καὶ ποικί- λας κεχρημένος τοῦ βίου μεταβολαίς οὐκ ἔταπεν- νοῦτο τῷ φρονήματι, σαφῶς εἰδὼς τὴν τύχην ἀξείας τὰς εἰς ἀμφότερα τὰ μέρη ποιομένην μεταβολάς. 2 ἐώρα γὰρ τούς μὲν τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖς κενὸν ἐχοντας τὸ τῆς βασιλείας πρόσχημα, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μεγάλους τοὺς φρονήμασιν ἀνδρὰς διαδεχο-μένους τὰς ἡγεμονίας, πάντας δὲ ἰδιοτραγεῖν βου-λομένους. ἦλπιζεν οὖν, ὅπερ ἦν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, πολλοὺς αὐτοῦ χρείαν ἐξεῖν διὰ τὴν φρόνησιν καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν πολεμικῶν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἐν τῇ πίστει βεβαιοττότος.

3 Ὁρῶ δὲ τοὺς ἑπτας, διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ στενοχώρια τραχύτητα μὴ δυναμένους γυμνάζεσθαι, πρὸς τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἰππομαχίαις χρείαν ἀχρήστους ἐσομένους ἐπενοήσατο τινα ἔξην καὶ παρηλλαγμένην τῶν ἱππῶν γυμνασίαν. τὰς γὰρ κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν ταῖς σειραῖς ἀναδεσμεύων ἐκ τινῶν δοκίμων ἢ παττάλων καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς διχάδας ἐωρήσας συνηνάγκαζεν τοῖς ὑποσθόις ποσίν ἐπιβεβηκέναι, τοῖς δὲ ἐμπρο-

1 περιγενομένους Geer, πλανομένους Unger, ὑπολειπομένους Reiske, ἐπιπροευμένους Rhodoman, Dindorf, Fischer: πορ-ευμένους.
2 καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς διχάδας ἐωρήσας συνηνάγκαζεν Fischer: δύο ἢ τρεῖς δοκίμας ἐωρήσας καὶ συναναγκάζων.
survived and had troops, namely Alcetas, who was 320 B.C. brother of Perdiccas, and Attalus, who commanded the whole fleet.¹

42. Eumenes later sent envoys to Antipater to discuss the terms of surrender. Their leader was Hieronymus, who has written the history of the Successors.² Eumenes himself, who had experienced many and various changes in the circumstances of his life, was not cast down in spirit, since he knew well that Fortune makes sudden changes in both directions. He saw, on the one hand, that the kings of the Macedonians held an empty pretence of royalty, and on the other, that many men of lofty ambitions were succeeding to the positions of command, and that each of them wished to act in his own interests. He hoped, therefore, as truly happened, that many would have need of him because of his judgement and his experience in warfare, and even more because of his unusual steadfastness to any pledge.

Seeing that the horses, unable to exercise themselves because of the rough and confined space, would become unfit for use in mounted battle, Eumenes devised a certain strange and extraordinary exercise for them.³ Attaching their heads by ropes to beams or pegs and lifting them two or three double palms,⁴ he forced them to rest their weight upon their hind

¹ Cp. chap. 37. 2-3.
² Diodorus' account of the Successors of Alexander is based chiefly on the work of Hieronymus. Cp. the Introduction to this volume.
³ Cp. Plutarch, Eumenes, 11. 3-5; Nepos, Eumenes, 5. 4-6.
⁴ The beams and pegs seem to have been part of the framework of the stable roof. The dichas or double palm was a measure of about six inches.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

οθεν μόγις ἡμάς ὑπὸ τὴν γῆς μικρὸν ἀπολείποντας· 
εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ μὲν ἱππὸς βουλόμενος στηρίζεσθαι τοὺς 
ἐμπροσθίους διεπονεῖτο τῷ τε σώματι παντὶ καὶ 
τοὺς σκέλεσι, συμπασχόντων ἀπάντων τῶν κατὰ 
τὸν ὄγκον μελῶν· τοιαύτης δὲ γινομένης κινήσεως 
ἰδρώς τε πολὺς ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἐξεχείτο καὶ τῇ 
τῶν πόνων ὑπερβολὴ τὴν ἀκρότητα τῶν γυμνασίων 
5 τοῖς ξῖσις περιεποιεῖτο. τοῖς δὲ στρατιωταῖς 
ἀπασὶ τὰς αὐτὰς τροφὰς παρείχετο, μετέχων αὐτός 
τῆς λυτότητος, καὶ διὰ τῆς ὁμοίας συμπεριφορᾶς 
πολλὴν εὐνοιαν ἑαυτῷ, τοῖς δὲ συμπεφευγόσι πᾶσιν 
ὁμόνοιαν συγκατεσκεύασε. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὸν 
Ἑλμενῆ καὶ τοὺς συμπεφευγότας εἰς τὴν πέτραν ἐν 
τούτοις ἦν.

43. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀἴγυπτον Πτολεμαῖος παρα- 
δόξως ἀποτετριμμένος τὸν τε Περδίκκαν καὶ τὰς 
βασιλικὰς δυνάμεις τὴν μὲν Ἀἴγυπτον ὡσανεί τινα 
δορίκτητον εἶχεν. ὄρων δὲ τὴν τε Φοινίκην καὶ 
τὴν Κοιλῆν ὁνομαζομένην Συρίαν εὐφυῶς κειμένας 
κατὰ τῆς Ἀἴγυπτος πολλὴν εἰσεφέρετο σπουδὴν 
2 κυριεύσαι τούτων τῶν τόπων. ἐξαπέστειλεν οὖν 
τὴν ἰκανὴν δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν, ἔνα τῶν φιλῶν 
προχειρισάμενος, Νικάνορα. ὅτος δὲ στρατεύσας 
eis τὴν Συρίαν Λαομέδοντα μὲν τὸν σατράπην ἐξώ- 
γρησε, τὴν δὲ Συρίαν ἀπασαν ἐξειρώσατο. ὁμοίως 
de καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Φοινίκην πόλεις προσαγαγό- 
μενος καὶ ποιήσας ἐμφρούρους ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν 
Ἀἴγυπτον, σύντομον τὴν στρατείαν καὶ πρακτικὴν 
pεποιημένος.

44. Ἐν’ ἀρχοντὸς δ’ Ἀθήνησιν Ἀπολλοδώρου

1 μόγις Dindorf, μόνον Wurm: μόνοις.
2 Nitsche followed by Fischer adds βασιλείαν after τινα.
feet with their forefeet just clearing the ground. At 320 B.C., once each horse, in an effort to find footing for its forefeet, began to struggle with its whole body and with its legs, all its members sharing in the exertion. At such activity sweat poured freely from the body and thus kept the animals in top condition through their excessive labours. He gave the same rations to all the soldiers, sharing in their simple food himself; and by his unchanging affability he gained great goodwill for himself and secured harmony among all his fellow refugees. Such was the situation of Eumenes and of those who had fled to the rock with him.¹

43. As for Egypt,² Ptolemy, after he had unexpectedly rid himself of Perdiccas and the royal forces, was holding that land as if it were a prize of war. Seeing that Phoenicia and Coelê Syria, as it was called, were conveniently situated for an offensive against Egypt, he set about in earnest to become master of those regions.³ Accordingly he dispatched an adequate army with Nicanor as general, a man selected from among his friends. The latter marched into Syria, took the satrap Laomedon captive, and subdued the whole land. After he had likewise secured the allegiance of the cities of Phoenicia and placed garrisons in them, he returned to Egypt, having made a short and effective campaign.

44. When Apollodorus was archon at Athens, the 319 B.C.

¹ Continued in chap. 53. 1.
² Continued from chap. 36. 7.
³ For Ptolemy's campaign in Syria cp. Marmor Parium for 319/18; Appian, Syrian History, 52; and chap. 73. 2, below.

² τόπων Dindorf, cp. Book 19. 44. 5: πόλεων.
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΟF ΣΙΚΙΛY

'Ρωμαίοι κατέστησαν ύπάτους Κόντων Ποπίλιον και Κόντων Πόσπιλιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀντίγονος καταπεπολεμηκὼς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ ἔκρυνε στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλκέταν καὶ Ἀτταλοῦν. οὕτως γὰρ ὅπελεύσαντο τῶν Περδίκκου φίλων καὶ οἰκείων ἡγεμόνες μὲν ἀξιόλογοι, στρατιῶτας δὲ ἔχοντες ἰκανοὺς ἀμφισβητήσαι πραγμάτων. ἀναζεύξας οὖν μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκ Καππαδοκίας προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Πισιδίκην, ἐν ὧν συνεβαίνει διατρίβειν τοὺς 2 περὶ τὸν Ἀλκέταν. ὧζειν δὲ καὶ παντελῶς ἐπι- τεταμένη τήν πορείαν πονησάμενος ἐν ἡμέραις ἐπτὰ καὶ ταῖς ἰσαίς νυξὶ διήνυσε σταδίους δισκελίους καὶ πεντακοσίους εἰς τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Κρητῖν τόλμην. λαθὼν δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους διὰ τὴν ὁξύτατα τῆς πορείας καὶ γενόμενος πλησίον αὐτῶν ἀγνοούντων τὴν παρουσίαν ἐφθασεν ἀκρολοφίας 3 τινὰς καὶ δυσχωρίας προκαταλαβόμενος. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀλκέταν πυθόμενοι τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν πολεμίων τῆς μὲν φάλαγγα ταχέως ἔξεταξαν, τούτο δὲ ἱππεύσαι προσπεσόντες τοὺς τὴν ἄκρωρειαν προ- κατέχουσαν ἐφιλοτιμοῦντα βία κρατήσαι καὶ ἄπο 4 τῆς ἀκρολοφίας ἐκβαλεῖν. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἵσχυρᾶς καὶ πολλῶν παρὰ ἀμφιτέρων πεσόντων ὥ μὲν Ἀντίγονος ἐχὼν ἱππεῖς ἐξακυσίλιους ἀπὸ κράτος ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων φάλαγγα, σπεύδων ἀποκόψαι τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀλκέταν τὴν ἐπὶ 5 ταύτην καταφυγήν. οὐ συντελεσθέντος οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρωρείας ὄντες, πολὺ τοὺς τε πλῆθεσιν ὕπερ-

1 Apollodorus was archon in 319/18. Livy (9. 7. 15) gives the consuls for 320 as Q. Pubullius Philo for the third time and L. Papiriis Curtor for the second time. Diodorus' "Populus" is certainly due to dittography. Somewhere in
Romans elected Quintus Popillius and Quintus Poplius 319 B.C. to the consulship. During their term Antigonus, who had defeated Eumenes, decided to make war against Alceatas and Attalus; for these two remained from the friends and household of Perdiccas, noteworthy generals with soldiers enough to make a bid for power. Therefore Antigonus set out with all his forces from Cappadocia and pushed on toward Pisidia, where Alceatas and his army were staying. Making a forced march that strained the endurance of his men to the utmost, he traversed two thousand five hundred stades in seven days and the same number of nights, reaching Cretopolis, as it is called. He escaped the notice of the enemy because of the rapidity of his march, and drawing close to them while they were still ignorant of his coming, he stole a march on them by occupying certain rugged ridges. As soon as Alceatas learned that the enemy was at hand, he drew up his phalanx at top speed and with a mounted force attacked the troops that were holding the ridge, trying with all his might to get the best of them by force and hurl them from the hill. A stubborn battle was waged and many fell on both sides; then Antigonus led six thousand horsemen in a violent charge against the phalanx of the enemy in order to cut Alceatas' line of retreat to it. When this manœuvre had been successfully completed, the forces on the ridge, who were far superior in number

chaps. 26-43 two sets of annual magistrates and some of the events belonging to their years of office have been lost (cp. note on chap. 39. 7).

2 Cp. chaps. 37. 2-3 and 41. 7.

3 About 287 miles, or 41 miles in each 24 hours. The exact site of the "City of the Cretans," like the significance of its name, is unknown, but it seems to have been somewhere in Cabalia or northern Lycia.
DIODOERUS OF SICILY

έχοντες καὶ τῇ δυσχωρίᾳ τῶν τόπων πλεονεκτοῦντες, ἔτρεψαντο τοὺς προσμαχομένους. 1 οἳ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀλκέταν τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς καταφυγής ἀποκεκλεισμένου, τῷ δὲ πλῆθει τῶν πολεμίων εἰς μέσον ἀπειλημμένοι πρόδηλον ἔχον τὴν ἀπώλειαν. διὸ καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας δυσβοηθήτου γενομένης ὁ μὲν Ἀλκέτας πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν μόλις διεξέπεσε πρὸς τὴν τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγγα.

45. Ὡ δ’ Ἀντίγονος εἰς ὑπερδεξίων τῶν ἔπαγγῶν τοὺς τῇ ἐλεφαντας καὶ πάσαν τῇ δύναμιν κατεπλήξατο τοὺς πολεμίους πολὺ πλῆθεις λειτουργοῖς· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ σύμπαντες 2 πεζοὶ μὲν μύριοι καὶ ἐξακισχίλιοι, ἤπειρεις δὲ ἐννάκοσιοι, οἱ δ’ Ἀντιγόνου χωρὶς τῶν ἐλεφάντων πεζοὶ μὲν πλεῖον τῶν τετρακισιῳδῶν, ἤπειρεις δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐπτακισ-2 χιλίους. αἱ δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐπιόντων κατὰ μέτωπον καὶ τῶν ἤπειρων διὰ τὸ πλήθος πανταχῆ περιχεωμένων, 3 ἔτι δὲ τῶν πεζῶν πολλαπλασίων καὶ κρευττόνων ὄντων ταῖς ἀρεταῖς καὶ τῆς στάσεως ὑπερδεξίων ἐχόντων, πολὺς θόρυβος καὶ φόβος κατείχε τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀλκέταν διὰ δέ τῇ ὑπερ-βολῇ τῆς δεξιότητος καὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας οὐδ’ ἐκτάξατο 3 καλῶς τὴν φάλαγγα κατάσχυσε. τροπῆς δὲ παντε-λοὺς γενομένης Ἀτταλος μὲν καὶ Δόκιμος καὶ Πολέμων καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἠγεμόνων ἐξωγρήθησαν, Ἀλκέτας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπερ- ασπιστῶν καὶ παιδῶν ἔφυγε μετὰ τῶν Πισιδῶν τῶν συστρατευμένων εἰς πόλιν Πισιδικὴν ὀνομα

4 Τερμησσόν. ὢ δ’ Ἀντίγονος πάντας 4 μὲν καθ’

1 προσμαχομένους Dindorf: τοὺς μαχομένους RX, τοὺς προ-μαχομένους Π.
2 σύμπαντες Fischer: σύμμαχοι πάντες.

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and also had an advantage from the difficulty of the terrain, routed the attackers. Alcetas, whose retreat to the infantry had been cut off and who was caught in a trap by the superior numbers of the enemy, faced imminent destruction. Therefore now that survival was difficult, he abandoned many even of his men and hardly escaped to the phalanx of the footmen.

45. Antigonus, however, led his elephants and his whole army down from a higher position and struck panic into his opponents, who were far inferior to him in number; for they were in all sixteen thousand foot and nine hundred horse, while Antigonus, in addition to the elephants, had more than forty thousand foot soldiers and above seven thousand horsemen. The elephants were now attacking the army of Alcetas from the front, and at the same time the horsemen because of superior numbers were pouring about them on all sides, while a force of infantry, which far outnumbered them and also surpassed them in valour, was holding a position above them. At this, tumult and panic began to grip Alcetas’ soldiers; and because of the great rapidity and force of the attack, he was unable to draw up the phalanx properly. The rout was complete. Attalus, Docimus, Polemon, and many of the more important officers were taken captive; but Alcetas, accompanied by his own guards and attendants, escaped with his Pisidian allies to a city of Pisidia called Termessus. Antigonus

1 For their fate cp. Book 19. 16.
διδόσειμὸν παραλαβῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς εἰς τὰ ἱδια
τάγματα κατέταξε καὶ φιλανθρώπως αὐτοῖς χρη-
σάμενος ἥξιςε τὴν ἱδίαν δύναμιν οὐ μετρίως.
5 οἱ δὲ Πισίδαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες εἰς ἐξακισ-
χιλίους καὶ ταῖς ἀλκαῖσ διαφέροντες παρεκάλουν
τὸν Ἀλκέταν βαρρεῖν, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι μηδὲν ἐνὶ τῷ
τρόπῳ ἐγκαταλείψειν αὐτόν. διέκειντο γὰρ πρὸς
αὐτοῦ εὐνοϊκῶς καθ’ ὑπερβαλὴν διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς
αἰτίας.
46. Ἀλκέτας μετὰ τὸν Περδίκκου θάνατον οὐκ
ἐχὼν συμμάχους κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκρίνε τοὺς Πι-
σίδας εὐεργετεῖν, νομίζὼν ἐξειν συμμάχους πολε-
μικοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ χώραν ἑσοῦστα ἅμαρσολον καὶ
1 μεστὴν ὁχυρὸν φρουρίων. διόπερ ἐν ταῖς στρατεύ-
αις παρὰ πάντας τοὺς συμμάχους ἐτίμα περιττότε-
ρον τοὺς καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας ὁφελείας
ἐμέριζε αὐτοῖς, διδοῦσι τῶν λαβύρων τὰ ἡμίση,
κατὰ δὲ τὰς ὁμιλίας λόγους φιλανθρώπους χρώ-
μενός καὶ κατὰ τὰ σύνδεσμα καθ’ ἡμέραν τοὺς
ἀξιολογώντας ἐν μέρει παραλαμβάνων ἐπὶ τὰς
ἐστιάσεις, ἐτὶ δὲ τιμῶν πολλοὺς δωρεάς ἀξιολο-
3 γοὺς ἴδιους ταῖς εὐνοίας κατεσκεύασεν. διόπερ
καὶ τότε τὰς ἐλπίδας ἑχοντος ἐν τούτοις Ἀλκέτου
τῶν ἐλπίδων αὐτὸν οὐ διεφεύγαντο. τοῦ γὰρ
Ἀντιγόνου μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως πλησίον
τῆς Τερμησοῦ καταστρατοπεδεύσαντος καὶ τὸν
Ἀλκέταν ἐξαιτούντος, ἔτι δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
συμβουλευόντων ἐκδόθη συσταφέντες οἱ νεώ-
τεροι πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς διαστάντες ἐγκατέσχεντο
πάν ὑπομένειν δεινὸν ἄνεκα τῆς τοῦτος σωτηρίας.
4 οἱ δὲ πρεσβυτέροι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πείθειν ἐπ-
εχέλρουν τοὺς νέους μὴ δι’ ἐνα Μακεδόνα περι-
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obtained the surrender of all the rest by negotiation 319 B.C. and enrolled them in his own ranks; by his kind treatment of them he brought no small addition to his forces. The Pisidians, however, who numbered six thousand and were of outstanding prowess, bade Alcetas be of good courage, promising that they would in no way fail him; for they were exceedingly well disposed to him for the following reasons.

46. Since Alcetas had had no supporters in Asia after the death of Perdiccas, he had decided to show kindness to the Pisidians, thinking that he would thus secure as allies men who were warlike and who possessed a country difficult to invade and well supplied with strongholds. For this reason during the campaigns he honoured them exceedingly above all the allies and distributed to them spoils from the hostile territory, assigning them half the booty. By employing the most friendly language in his conversation with them, by each day inviting the most important of them in turn to his table at banquets, and finally by honouring many of them with gifts of considerable value, he secured them as loyal supporters. Therefore even at this time Alcetas placed his hopes upon them, and they did not disappoint his hopes. For when Antigonus encamped near Tarsus with all his army and demanded Alcetas, and even when the older men advised that he be surrendered, the younger, forming a compact group in opposition to their parents, voted to meet every danger in the interest of his safety.

The older men at first tried to persuade the younger not to permit their native land to become the spoil of
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ιδεῖν τὴν πατρίδα γενομένην δοριάλωτον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀμετάβετον αὐτῶν τὴν ὅρμην ἔωρων, λάθρα. συμφρονήσαντες ἐξεπεμβαν νυκτὸς πρεσβείαν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι τὸν Ἀλκέταν ὡς ζῶν-5 τα παραδώσειν ἢ τετελευτηκότα. ἤζιοιν δ' αὐτῶν ἔοι ἠμέρας τυνᾶς προσβάλλοντα τῇ πόλει καὶ δι' ἀκροβολισμῶν ἐλαφρῶν προαγόμενοι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑποχωρεῖν ὡς φεύγοντα· τούτου γὰρ γενομένου καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων περὶ τὴν μάχην ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως ἀσχολουμένων λήψεθαί καιρὸν οἷκείον ἐκ ταῖς ἴδιαις ἐπιβολαῖς. δ' ἂν Ἀντίγονος πειθεῖ τὰς αὐτῶν καὶ μακρὰν τῆς πόλεως μεταστρατοπεδεύσας διὰ τῶν ἀκροβολισμῶν προεπάτο τοὺς 7 νέους εἰς τὸν ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως ἄγωνα. οἱ δὲ προσβύτεροι μεμονωμένοι ὁρῶντες τὸν Ἀλκέταν καὶ τῶν τε δούλων τοὺς πιστοτάτους καὶ τῶν ἀκμα-ξόντων πολιτῶν ἐπιλέξαντες τοὺς μὴ συστρατευμένους τῷ Ἀλκέτα τῇ ἐπίδεεσιν ἐπουήσαντο κατὰ τὴν ἀποσίαν τῶν νέων. ζωγρῆσαι μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν οὐ κατίσχυσαν (ἐθαγεῖσαι γὰρ αὐτῶν διαχειρισάμενος, ὅπως μὴ ζῶν ὑποχείρος γένηται τοῖς πολεμίοις), τὸ δὲ σῶμα αὐτοῦ βέντες ἐπὶ κλίνοιν καὶ συγκατακαλύσαντες εὐτελεί τρίβωνι κατὰ τὰς πύλας εξήγηκαν καὶ λαθόντες τοὺς ἀκροβολιζο-μένους παρέδωκαν Ἀντιγόνῳ.

47. Διὰ δὲ τῆς ἴδιας ἐπινοίας ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ἐξελόμενοι τὴν πατρίδα τὸν μὲν πόλεμον ἀπεστρέψαντο, τὴν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς νέους ἀλλοτριότητα φυγεῖν οὐ κατίσχυσαν· οὐτοὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἐπανελθόντες καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον ἄκουσαντες πρὸς τοὺς ἴδιους ἀπηγριώθησαν διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀλκέταν

1 ἐκτὸς Reiske: ἐκ.
war for the sake of a single Macedonian; but when 319 B.C. they saw that the young men's determination was not to be shaken, after taking counsel in secret, they sent an embassy to Antigonus by night, promising to surrender Alcetas either alive or dead. They asked him to attack the city for a number of days and, drawing the defenders forward by light skirmishing, to withdraw as if in flight. They said that, when this had happened and the young men were engaged in the battle at a distance from the city, they would seize a suitable occasion for their own undertaking. Antigonus, prevailed on by them, shifted his camp a long way from the city, and by skirmishing with the young men kept drawing them into battle outside the city. When the older men saw that Alcetas had been left alone, selecting the most trustworthy of the slaves and those of the citizens in the prime of life who were not working in his behalf, they made their attempt while the young men were still away. They could not, it is true, take him alive, for he laid hands on himself first in order not to come into the power of his enemies while still living; but his body, laid on a bier and covered with a coarse cloak, they carried out through the gates and delivered to Antigonus without attracting the attention of the skirmishers.

47. By thus delivering their state from danger by their own devices, they averted the war, but they could not escape the disaffection of the younger men; for as soon as these on their return from the fighting heard what had happened, they became enraged at their kinsfolk on account of their own excessive devo-

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2 ἀπετρέψαντο MSS., Fischer, ἀπετρεψαντο Wesseling, Dindorf.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

2 ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εὐνοίας. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καταλαβόμενοι μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἐξηθήσαντο τάς μὲν αὐτίκας ἐμπρήσαν, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ὄπλων ἐκχυθέντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἐχομένους πορθεῖν τὴν ὑπ’ Ἀντίγονον τεταγμένην χώραν, ὦστερον δὲ μετανοήσαντες τοῦ μὲν ἐμπρήσαν τὴν πόλιν ἀπέσχοντο, δόντες δὲ ἐαυτοὺς εἰς ληστείας καὶ καταδρομὰς πολλὴν τῆς πολεμίας χώραν κατέφθειραν.

3 ὅ δ’ Ἀντίγονος παραλαβὼν τὸ σῶμα καὶ καταικισάμενος ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ σῆμαν λαβόντος ἀφεὶς αὐτὸν ἀταφὸν ἀνέξευξεν ἐκ τῆς Πυσιδικῆς. οἱ δὲ τῶν Τερμησσέων νέοι φυλάττοντες τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἡκισμένον εὐνοιαν τὸ τε σῶμα ἀνέλαντο καὶ λαμπρῶς ἐκῆδευον. οὖτως η τῆς εὐεργεσίας φύσις, ἵδιόν τι φίλτρον ἔχουσα πρὸς τούς εἰς πεποικότας, ἀμετάθετον διαφυλάττει τὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς εὐνοιαν. ὁ δ’ οὖν Ἀντίγονος ἀναζεύξας ἐκ τῆς Πυσιδικῆς προήγεν ἐπὶ Φρυγίας μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως. ἂς δὲ κατηνυχεύεν εἰς Κρητῶν πόλιν, ήκεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀριστόδημος ὁ Μιλήσιος ἀπαγγέλλων ὅτι Ἀντίπατρος μὲν τετελεύτηκεν, ἡ δὲ τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονία καὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἡ ἐπιμέλεια μεταπέπτωκεν εἰς Πολυπέρχοντα τὸν Ἐπὶ τούτων εὐγονόσι μετέωρος ἢν ταῖς ἐλπίσαι καὶ διενεῖτο τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐχεσθαί πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς κατ’ αὐτὴν ἡγεμονίας μηδενὶ παραχωρεῖν.

4 Ἐπὶ τοῦ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐν τούτοις ἢν. 48. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μακεδονιῶν Ἀντιπάτρου περιπεσόντος ἀρρωστία βαρυτέρα καὶ τοῦ γῆς συνεργοῦντος πρὸς τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ βίου Ἀθηναίοι μὲν ἐξεπεμήψαν προσβευτῆν πρὸς Ἀντιπάτρου Δη-
tion to Alcetas. At first they gained possession of part of the town and voted to set the buildings on fire and then, rushing from the town under arms and keeping to the mountains, to plunder the country that was subject to Antigonus; later, however, they changed their minds and refrained from burning the city, but they devoted themselves to brigandage and guerrilla warfare, ravaging much of the hostile territory. As for Antigonus, he took the body of Alcetas and maltreated it for three days; then, as the corpse began to decay, he threw it out unburied and departed from Pisidia. But the young men of Ternessus, still preserving their goodwill for the victim, recovered the body and honoured it with splendid obsequies. Thus kindness in its very nature possesses the peculiar power of a love charm in behalf of benefactors, preserving unchanged men’s goodwill toward them. Be that as it may, Antigonus set out from Pisidia and marched toward Phrygia with all his forces. When he had come to Cretopolis, Aristo- demus of Miletus met him with the news that Antipater had died, and that the supreme command and the guardianship of the kings had fallen to Polycper- chon the Macedonian. Being delighted at what had happened, he was carried away by hope and made up his mind to maintain a firm grip upon the government of Asia and to yield the rule of that continent to no one.

This was the situation in regard to Antigonus.¹

48. As to Macedonia,² after Antipater had been stricken by a rather serious illness, which old age was tending to make fatal, the Athenians sent Demades as envoy to Antipater, a man who had the

¹ Continued in chap. 50. ² Continued from chap. 39. 7.
μάδην, δοκοῦντα καλῶς πολυτεύεσθαι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ἀξιοῦντες τὸν 'Αντίπατρον, καθάπερ ἦν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁμολογηκός, ἐξαγαγεῖν τὴν φρουρὰν ἐκ τῆς Μουνυχίας. οὗ δ’ 'Αντίπατρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εὐνοϊκὸς διέκειτο πρὸς τὸν Δημάδην, ὑστερον δὲ Περδίκκου τελευτήσαντος καὶ τινων ἐπιστολῶν εὐρεθεισῶν ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς γράμμασιν, ἐν αἷς ἦν ὁ Δημάδης παρακαλῶν τὸν Περδίκκαν κατὰ τὰ χρόνη διαβαίνειν εἰς τὴν Ἐυρώπην ἐπ’ 'Αντίπατρον, ἀπηλλοτρίῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ κεκρυμμέ-

3 ὡς ἐπήρει τὴν ἐχθραν. διότερ τοῦ Δημάδου κατὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου δεδομένα ἑντολὰς ἀπαιτούντος τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν καὶ παρρησιωδότερον ἀπειλῆσαν

tοις περὶ τῆς φρουρᾶς δ’ μὲν 'Αντίπατρος ὀφειλόμενοι δοὺς ἀπόκρισιν παρέδωκε τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς τιμωρίας τεταγμένοις αὐτὸν τε τὸν Δημάδην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν

4 Δημέαν συμπροσβεβοῦντα τῷ πατρί. οὕτωι μὲν οὖν ἄρα αὐτήντες εἰς τὰ οἴκημα εὐτελεῖς ἑθανατώθησαν διὰ τὰς προερημένας αὐτίκας.

’Ο δ’ 'Αντίπατρος ἐσχάτως ἦδη διακείμενος ἀπεδείξει ἐπιμελητὴν τῶν βασιλέων Πολυπέρχοντα καὶ στρατηγῶν αὐτοκράτορα, πρεσβύτατον χρεοδόν ὑπὸ τῶν 'Αλεξάνδρων συνεστρατευμένων καὶ τιμω-

μενον ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Μακεδονίαν, τὸν δ’ υἱὸν Κάσανδρου χιλιαρχὸν καὶ δευτερεύοντα κατὰ τὴν

1 βασιλικῶν after τινων deleted by Dindorf.

2 αἷς Wurm: ois.

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1 For this mission of Demades cp. Arrian, FGrH, 156. 9. 14; Plutarch, Phocion, 30. 4-6; Demosthenes, 31. 3-4. He did not leave Athens before the end of June, 319 (IG, 2ª. 1. 144
reputation of serving the city well in relation to 319 B.C. Macedonia. They requested Antipater that he, as had been agreed from the beginning, remove the garrison from Munychia. Antipater at first had been well disposed to Demades, but after the death of Perdiccas certain letters were found in the royal archives in which Demades invited Perdiccas to cross over swiftly into Europe against Antipater. At this Antipater was alienated from him and kept his enmity hidden. Therefore when Demades in accordance with the instructions given him by the people demanded the fulfilment of the promise and indulged rather freely in threats about the garrison, Antipater gave him no answer but delivered Demades himself and his son Demeas, who had accompanied his father as an envoy, to those ministers who were in charge of punishments. They were taken away to a common prison and put to death for the reasons mentioned above.

Antipater, who was already at the point of death, appointed as guardian of the kings and supreme commander, Polyperchon, who was almost the oldest of those who had campaigned with Alexander and was held in honour by the Macedonians. 2 Antipater also made his own son Cassander chiliarch and second 383 b). Antipater’s death, accordingly, may be placed late in that summer.

2 Polyperchon, one of the original bodyguard, became a commander of one battalion of the phalanx after Issus (Arrian, Anabasis, 2. 12. 2) but did not rise above this rank during Alexander’s life. Just before Alexander’s death, when ten thousand veterans were sent back to Macedonia, Polyperchon accompanied them as lieutenant to Craterus (Arrian, Anabasis, 7. 12. 4). When Antipater went to Asia against Perdiccas, he left Polyperchon in Macedonia as his representative (chap. 38. 6).
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5 ἔξουσίαν. ἦ δὲ τοῦ χιλιάρχου τάξις καὶ προαγωγὴ
tὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν Περσικῶν βασιλέων εἰς
όνομα καὶ δόξαν προήχθη, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ὑπ'
Ἄλεξανδρον μεγάλης ἐτυχείν ἔξουσίας καὶ τιμῆς,
ὅτε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἱεροκόπων νομίμων ξηλωτῆς
ἐγένετο. διὸ καὶ Ἀντίπατρος κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν
ἀγωγὴν τὸν υἱὸν Κάσανδρον ὄντα νέον ἀπέδειξε
χιλιάρχων.

49. Οὐ μὴν ὁ Κάσανδρός γε τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς τάξιν
συνευδοκήθη, δεινὸν ἡγούμενος εἰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς
ἡγεμονίαν ὁ μὴ προσήκων κατὰ γένος διαδέχεται
καὶ ταῦτ' ὑπὸ γ' ὄντος τοῦ δυναμένου πραγμάτων
ἡγεσίσθαι καὶ δεδωκότος ἡγίᾳ πείραν ἰκανὴν ἁρετῆς
2 τε καὶ ἀνδρείας. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον εἰς ἀγρόν
βαθίσας μετὰ τῶν φίλων τούτων διελέγετο πολλὴν
ἐχών εὐκαιρίαν καὶ σχολήν περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἡγε-
μονίας. ἐκαστὸν δ' αὐτῶν ἐκλαμβάνων κατ' ἰδίαν
προετρέπετο συνγκατασκευάζειν αὐτῷ τὴν δυνα-
στείαν καὶ μεγάλας ἐπαγγελίας πείσας ἐτοίμους
3 ἐπονήσατο πρὸς τὴν κοινοπραγίαν. ἔξαπεστειλε
δὲ καὶ πρὸς Πτολεμαίον λάθρα πρεσβευτάς, τὴν
τε φίλιαν ἀνανεούμενος καὶ παρακαλῶν συμμα-
χεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ ναυτικὴν δύναμιν πέμψατα τὴν
ταχίστην ἐκ τῆς Φωικῆς ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλλησποντοῦ,
ομοίως δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας καὶ
πόλεις ἐξέστημε τοὺς προτρεπομένους ἑαυτῷ συμ-
μαχεῖν. αὐτὸς δὲ κυνηγῶν ἑπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας
συντηρόμενος ἀνύποπτον ἑαυτὸν ἑποίει τῆς ἀπο-
4 στάσεως. Πολυπέρχων δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν τῶν

1 τῶν after ἄλλων deleted by Fischer.
2 τοῦ πατρὸς deleted by Dindorf and Fischer.
3 γ' ὄντος τοῦ added by Hertlein, cp. chap. 50. 2.
in authority. The position and rank of chiliarch had first been brought to fame and honour by the Persian kings, and afterwards under Alexander it gained great power and glory at the time when he became an admirer of this and all other Persian customs. For this reason Antipater, following the same course, appointed his son Cassander, since he was young, to the office of chiliarch.

49. Cassander, however, did not approve of the arrangement made by his father, regarding it as outrageous that one not related by blood should succeed to the command of his father, and this while there was a son who was capable of directing public affairs and who had already given sufficient proof of his ability and courage. First going with his friends into the country where he had plenty of opportunity and leisure, he talked to them about the supreme command; then, taking them apart one by one, he kept urging them privately to join him in establishing his dominion, and having won them by great promises, he made them ready for the joint enterprise. He also sent envoys in secret to Ptolemy, renewing their friendship and urging him to join the alliance and to send a fleet as soon as possible from Phoenicia to the Hellespont. In like manner he sent messengers to the other commanders and cities to urge them to ally themselves with him. He himself, however, by making arrangements for a hunt to last many days, avoided suspicion of complicity in the revolt. After Polypedechon had assumed the guardianship of the

1 For the office of chiliarch cp. note on chap. 39. 7. For the appointment of Polypedechon and Cassander cp. Plutarch, Phocion, 31. 1.

4 τε after τουτοις deleted by Dindorf.
βασιλέων ἐπιμέλειαιαν καὶ συνεδρεύσας μετὰ τῶν
φίλων Ὀλυμπιάδα μὲν σὺν τῇ τῶν συνέδρων γνώ-
μη μετεπέμπτε, παρακαλῶν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ
Ἀλεξάνδρου νῦν παῦσος ὄντως παραλαβεῖν καὶ
dιατρίβειν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἔχουσαν
προστασίαν. ἡ δ᾽ Ὀλυμπιάς ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω χρόνοις
ἐπήγαγεν εἰς Ἡπειρον πεφευγοῦσα διὰ τὴν πρὸς
Ἀντιπάτρου ἀλλοτριότητα.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.
50. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβοθεῖσσας τῆς Ἀντι-
pάτρου τελευτῆς ἀρχὴ πραγμάτων καὶ δὲ 
κάνησις, τῶν ἐν ἑξουσίας ὄντων ἰδιοπραγείν
ἐπιβαλομένων. τούτων δὲ πρῶτος μὲν Ἀντίγονος
προνενικηκὼς Ἐμύνην περὶ Καππαδοκίαν καὶ τὰς
καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις παρειληφῶς, καταπεπολεμη-
κὼς δ᾽ Ἀλκέταν καὶ Ἀτταλον περὶ τὴν Πιοδικήν
καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀνειληφῶς, πρὸς
δὲ τούτοις ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιπάτρου τῆς Ἀσίας στρατηγὸς
αὐτοκράτωρ ἡρημένος, ἀμα δὲ καὶ μεγάλης δυνά-
μεως ἡγεμόνων ἀποδεδειγμένος πλήρης ἦν ὅγκον καὶ
2 φρονήματος. περιβαλλόμενος δὲ τοῖς ἐλπίσαι τὴν
τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίαν ἐγκο μὴ προσέχειν μήτε τοῖς
βασιλεῦσι μήτε τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς αὐτῶν. ὑπελάμ-
βανε γὰρ αὐτὸν κρέαττον δυνάμιν ἔχοντα τῶν κατὰ
τὴν Ἀσίαν θησαυρῶν κύριον ἔσεσθαι, μηδενὸς ὄντος
3 τοῦ δυναμένου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιτάξεσθαι. εἶχε γὰρ
κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον στρατιωτὰς πεζοὺς μὲν
ἐξαικυμυρίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ μυρίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ
τριάκοντα. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἐτοίμας ποιῆσασθαι
καὶ ἄλλας δυνάμεις ἡπιζείν, ἄν ἦ χρεία, δυναμένης
tῆς Ἀσίας χορηγεῖν ἀνεκλείπτως τοῖς στρατο-
4 λογουμένους ἐξέσω τὰς μισθοφορίας. ταῦτα δὲ δια-
BOOK XVIII. 49. 4—50. 4

kings and had consulted with his friends, with their 319 B.C. approval he summoned Olympias, asking her to assume the care of Alexander's son, who was still a child, and to live in Macedonia with regal dignity. It so happened that some time before this Olympias had fled to Epirus as an exile because of her quarrel with Antipater.

This was the state of affairs in Macedonia. 1

50. In Asia, 2 as soon as the death of Antipater was noised abroad, there was a first stirring of revolution, since each of those in power undertook to work for his own ends. Antigonus, who was foremost of these, had already won a victory over Eumenes in Cappadocia and had taken over his army, and he had also completely defeated Alcetas and Attalus in Pisidia and had annexed their troops. 3 Moreover, he had been chosen supreme commander of Asia by Antipater, and at the same time he had been appointed general of a great army, 4 for which reasons he was filled with pride and haughtiness. Already hopefully aspiring to the supreme power, he decided to take orders neither from the kings nor from their guardians; for he took it for granted that he himself, since he had a better army, would gain possession of the treasures of all Asia, there being no one able to stand against him. For at that time he had sixty thousand foot-soldiers, ten thousand horsemen, and thirty elephants; and in addition to these he expected to make ready other forces also if there should be need, since Asia could provide pay without end for the mercenaries he might muster. With these plans in mind he

1 Continued and in part repeated in chap. 54.
2 Continued from chap. 47. 5.
3 Cp. chaps. 40, 44-45.
4 Cp. chap. 39. 7.
νοθείς Ἰερώνυμον μὲν τὸν τὰς ἱστορίας γράψαντα μετετέμισατο, φίλον ὄντα καὶ πολίτην Εὐμενοῦς τοῦ Καρδιανοῦ τοῦ συμπεφευγότος εἰς τὸ χωρίον τὸ καλοῦμενον Νάφα. τοῦτον δὲ μεγάλας δωρεὰς προκαλεσάμενος ἔξαπέστειλε προσβευτὴν πρὸς τὸν Εὐμενῆ, παρακαλῶν τῆς μὲν περὶ Καππαδοκίαν μάχης γενομένης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιλαθέσθαι, γενέσθαι δὲ φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον αὐτῷ καὶ λαβεῖν δωρεὰς πολλαπλασίους ἃν πρότερον ἦν ἐσχηκὼς καὶ σατραπεῖαν μείζονα καὶ καθόλου πρωτεύοντα τῶν παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ φιλῶν κοινωνῶν ἔσεσθαι τῆς ὀλῆς ἐπιβολῆς. 5 εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν φιλῶν συναγαγὼν συνέδριον καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν ὀλων ἐπιβολῆς κοινωσάμενοι δι-έγραψε τῶν ἀξιολόγουν φιλῶν οἷς μὲν σατραπεῖας, οἷς δὲ στρατηγίας· πάσι δὲ μεγάλας ἐλπίδας ὑπο-θεῖσ προδόμους κατεσκεύασε πρὸς τάς ἱδίας ἐπι-βολὰς. διενοεῖτο γὰρ ἐπελθεῖν τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τοὺς μὲν προϋπάρχοντας σατράπας ἐκβαλεῖν, πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φιλῶν καθιστᾶναι τὰς ἴγεμονίας.

51. Τούτου δὲ περὶ ταῦτ’ ὄντος Ἀρριδάιος οὐ τῆς ἢφ᾽ Ἑλλησπόντῳ Φρυγίας σατράπης, γνοὺς αὐτοῖ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν, ἐκρίνειν ἀσφαλισάμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἱδίαν σατραπείαν καὶ τὰς ἀξιολογώτατα πόλεις φρουραίς περιλαμβάνειν. οὕτως δὲ τῆς τῶν Κυζικηνῶν πόλεως ἐπικαιροτάτης καὶ μεγίστης ἀνέξενεν ἐπὶ αὐτὴν ἔχων πεζοὺς μὲν μισθοφόρους πλείους τῶν μυρίων, Μακεδόνας δὲ χιλίους, Πέρσας δὲ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονίτας πεντακοσίους, ἵππεῖς

1 ὁ added by Dindorf.

1 Hieronymus had been sent by Eumenes to Antipater to discuss terms of surrender (chap. 42. 1).

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BOOK XVIII. 50. 4—51. 1

summoned Hieronymus the historian, a friend and fellow citizen of Eumenes of Cardia, who had fled with him to the stronghold called Nora. After endeavouring to attach Hieronymus to himself by great gifts, he sent him as an envoy to Eumenes, urging the latter to forget the battle that had been fought against him in Cappadocia, to become his friend and ally, to receive gifts many times the value of what he had formerly possessed and a greater satrapy, and in general to be the first of Antigonus' friends and his partner in the whole undertaking. Antigonus also at once called a council of his friends and, after he had made them acquainted with his design for gaining imperial power, assigned satrapies to some of the more important friends and military commands to others; and by holding up great expectations to all of them, he filled them with enthusiasm for his undertakings. Indeed he had in mind to go through Asia, remove the existing satraps, and reorganize the positions of command in favour of his friends.

51. While Antigonus was engaged in these matters, Arrhidaeus, the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, discovering his plan, decided to provide for the safety of his own satrapy and also to secure the most considerable cities by means of garrisons. As the city of the Cyziceni was strategically most important and very large, he set out against it with an infantry force consisting of more than ten thousand mercenaries, a thousand Macedonians, and five hundred Persian

2 Cp. chap. 53. 5.
3 The Greek cities of Asia Minor, like those of Greece, were, at least in theory, autonomous allies of Macedon and were not subject to the satraps. For the siege of Cyzicus cp. Marmor Parium for 319/18.
δὲ ὀκτακοσίους, βέλη δὲ παντοδαπὰ καὶ καταπέλτας ὄξυβελεῖς τε καὶ πετροβόλους καὶ τὴν Ἀλλήν χορήγησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνήκουσαν πρὸς πολιορκίαν. ἀφὼν δὲ προσπεσὼν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν πολὺν ὄχλον ἀπολαβὼν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας εἶχετο τῆς πολιορκίας καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καταπληξάμενος ἤναγκαζε δέχεσθαι φρουράν. οἱ δὲ Κυζικοὶ παραδόζου τῆς ἐπιθέσεως γενομένης καὶ τῶν μὲν πλείστων ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας ἀπειλημμένων, ὄλγων δὲ οὖν τῶν ὑπολειμμένων ἀπαράσκευοι παντελῶς ὑπῆρχον πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν. ὃς δὲ κρίναντες ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας φανερῶς μὲν πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψαν τοὺς διαλεξομένους τῷ Ἀρριδαίῳ λύσαι τὴν πολιορκίαν· οὐχὶ δὲ νὰ πάντα τῇ πόλιν Ἀρριδαίῳ πλὴν τοῦ δέχασθαι φρουράν· λάθρᾳ δὲ τοὺς νέους ἀθροίζοντες καὶ τῶν οἰκείων τοὺς εὐθέτους ἐπιλεγόμενοι καθώπλιζον καὶ τὸ τείχος ἀνεπλήρουν τῶν ἀμυνόμενων· τοῦ δὲ Ἀρριδαίου βιαζομένου δέχεσθαι φρουράν ἔφησαν βουλεύοντας τῷ δήμῳ προσανεγκείν περὶ τούτου. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ σατράπου λαβόντες ἀνοχήν ταύτην τε τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νῦκτα βέλτιον παρεσκευάσαντο πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν. δὲ δὲ Ἀρριδαίῳς καταστρατηγηθεῖν καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἑαυτῷ προεμένου καυρὸν διεσφάλη τῆς ἐλπίδος· οἱ γὰρ Κυζικοὶ πολὺν ἔχοντες ὄχυραν καὶ παντελῶς εὐφύλακτον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς διὰ τὸ χερρώνησον αὐτὴν εἶναι καὶ θαλαττοκράτοιντες ῥαδίως ἴμυνοντο τοὺς πολεμίους. μετεπέμποντο δὲ καὶ παρὰ Βυζαντίων στρατιώτας καὶ βέλη καὶ τάλλα τὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν· ἄναντα

1 ἀπολαβῶν Wesseling, καταλαβῶν Rhodoman: ἀναλαβῶν.
2 Dindorf reads ἀμυνομένων.

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bowmen and slingers. He had also eight hundred horsemen, all kinds of missiles, catapults both for bolts and for stones, and all the other equipment proper for storming a city. After falling suddenly upon the city and intercepting a great multitude in the outlying territory, he applied himself to the siege and, by terrifying those who were in the city, tried to force them to receive a garrison. Since the attack had been unexpected, most of the Cyziceni had been cut off in the country; and with only a few people left in the city, they were completely unprepared for the siege. Deciding, nevertheless, to maintain their freedom, they openly sent envoys to confer with Arrhidaeus about raising the siege, saying that the city would do anything for him except receive a garrison; but secretly, after assembling the young men and selecting the slaves who were suitable for the purpose, they armed them and manned the wall with defenders. When Arrhidaeus insisted that the city admit a garrison, the envoys said that they wished to consult the people in regard to this. As the satrap agreed, they obtained a truce, and during that day and the following night they improved their preparations for withstanding the siege. Arrhidaeus, outwitted, missed his opportunity and was balked of his expected success; for since the Cyziceni possessed a city that was strong and very easy to defend from attacks by land thanks to its being a peninsula, and since they controlled the sea, they easily warded off the enemy. Moreover, they sent for soldiers from Byzantium and for missiles and whatever else was of use for withstanding the attack. When the people of
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συντόμως καὶ προθύμως χρησιμότατων ἄνελαβον ἐαυτοὺς ταῖς ἐλπίσει καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους εὑρ-7 ῥησεῖς κατέστησαν. εὐθὺ δὲ καὶ μακρὰς ναῦς καθελκύσαντες παρέπλευν τὴν παραβαλάττιον καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἀναλαμβάνοντες ἀπεκόμιζον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ταχὺ δὲ στρατιωτῶν εὐπορήσαντες καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιορκοῦντων ἀποκτείναντες ἀπετρύμαντο τὴν πολιορκίαν. "Ἀρριδαῖος μὲν οὖν καταστρατηγηθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν ἀπρακτὸς ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν ἴδιαν σατραπείαν.

52. Ἀντέγονος δὲ πυθόμενος τὴν τῶν Κυζικηνῶν πόλιν πολιορκομένην ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν Κελαιναῖς δια-τρίβων, κρίνας δὲ τὴν κινδυνεύσαν πόλιν ἴδιαν κατασκεύασαν πρὸς τὰς μελλούσας ἐπιβολὰς ἀπέλευξεν εἰς ἀπάσης τῆς δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀρίστους, 2 πεζοὺς μὲν δισμυρίους, ὀππεῖς δὲ τρισυγιλλοὺς. τοὺς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν ἐν τάχει προῆγα βοηθῆσον τοῖς Κυζικηνοῖς. βραχὺ δὲ τῶν καρπῶν ὑπερήσασαν φανερὰν μὲν ἔσχε τὴν εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὐνοίαν, τῆς 3 δὲ ὅλης ἐπιβολῆς ἀπέτυχε. ἀρχῶν δὲ Ἀρριδαῖον ἐξέπεμψε προσβεβτόσ, ἔγκαλων ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν Ἐλληνίδα πόλιν σύμμαχον οὗτον καὶ μηδὲν ἄδι-κοῦσαν ἔτολμησε πολιορκεῖν, ἐπειδ' ὅτι φανερὸς ἠστῖν ἀποστατήσων καὶ τὴν σατραπείαν έαυτῷ δυναστεύει κατασκευαζόμενος. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον προσέταττε τῆς σατραπείας παραχωρεῖν καὶ μίαν λαβόντα πόλιν εἰς καταβίων τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀγείν. 4 δὲ Ἀρριδαῖος διακούσας τῶν προσβεβτοῦν καὶ τὸ τῶν λόγων ὑπερήφανον καταμεμφάμενος οὐκ ἔφη παραχωρῆσεν τῆς σατραπείας, τὰς δὲ πόλεις φρου-ραῖς διαλαμβάνων πειράσασθαι τοῖς ὑπολοι διαγωνι-ξεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν. ἀκολούθως δὲ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεις
Byzantium supplied all this quickly and willingly, the Cyziceni became confident and set themselves courageously against the danger. They also launched ships of war at once and, coasting along the shore, recovered and brought back those who were in the country. Soon they had plenty of soldiers, and after killing many of the besieging force, they rid themselves of the siege. Thus Arrhidaeus, outgeneralled by the Cyziceni, returned to his own satrapy without accomplishing anything.

52. Antigonus happened to be tarrying in Celaenae when he learned that Cyzicus was being besieged. Deciding to get possession of the endangered city in view of his forthcoming undertakings, he selected the best from all his army, twenty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry. Taking these he set out in haste to aid the Cyziceni. He was a little too late, but he made his goodwill toward the city manifest, even though failing to gain his entire object. He sent envoys to Arrhidaeus, bringing against him these charges: first, that he had dared to besiege a Greek city that was an ally and not guilty of any offence; and second, that he clearly intended rebellion and was converting his satrapy into a private domain. Finally, he ordered him to retire from his satrapy and, retaining a single city as a residence, to remain quiet. Arrhidaeus, however, after listening to the envoys and censuring the arrogance of their words, refused to retire from his satrapy, and said that in occupying the cities with garrisons he was making the first move in his war to a finish with Antigonus. In accordance with this decision, after making the cities

1 Dindorf, followed by Fischer, reads πειράσεωθαί.
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tάς πόλεις ἀσφαλισάμενος μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως ἐξέπεμψε καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπ' αὐτῆς. τούτῳ δὲ προσέταξε συνάπτειν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ καὶ λύειν τὴν πολιορκίαν τοῦ φρουρίου καὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ τῶν κινδύνων ἀπαλλάξαντα ποιήσασθαι σύμμαχον.

5 Ἀντίγονος δὲ σπεύδων ἀμύνασθαι τὸν Ἀρρηδαίον ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν δύναμιν τὴν διαπολεμήσουσαν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ ἰκανῇ στρατιᾷ ἀναλαβὼν προῆγεν ἐπὶ Λυδίας, βούλομένως ἐκβαλεῖν τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ

6 σατράπην Κλείτον. ὁ δὲ προιδόμενος τῆς ἐφοδίων αὐτοῦ τὰς μὲν ἄξιολογωτάτας πόλεις φρουράς ἀσφαλίσατο, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐξέπλευσε, δηλῶσων τοῖς τε βασιλεύσι καὶ Πολυπέρχοντι τὴν Ἀντίγονον τόλμαν καὶ ἀπάστασιν καὶ ἀξιόσων.

7 ἐαυτῷ βοηθεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντίγονος τὴν μὲν Ἑφεσον ἐξ ἐφοδίου παρέλαβε συνεργησάντων αὐτῷ τινῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καταπλεύσαντος εἰς Ἑφεσον Ἀἰσχύλου τοῦ Ροδίου καὶ κομίζοντος ἐκ Κυκλίας ἐν τέσσαρις ναυσίν ἄργυριον τάλαντα ἐξακούσα απεσταλμένα εἰς Μακεδονίαν πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς παρείλετο, φάσκων ἐαυτῷ χρείαν ἔχειν

8 πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἔξων μισθοφορίας. τούτῳ δὲ πράξας φανερὸς ἐγένετο πρὸς ἰδιοπραγίαν ἀρμηνεὺς καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῖσιν ἐναντιοῦμενος. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Σύμην πολιορκήσας ἐπῆξε τᾶς ἐξῆς πόλεις, ἃς μὲν βία χειρόμενοι, ὁ δὲ πειθὼς προσαγόμενοι.

53. Ἡμεῖς δὲ διεληλύθοτες τὰ περὶ Ἀντίγονον μεταβιβάσομεν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ἐπὶ τὰ συμβάντα περὶ Εὐμενῆ. οὗτος γὰρ μεγάλαις καὶ παραδόξοις μεταβολαῖς χρώμενος διετέλεσεν αἰὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας

2 ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ κακῶν μεταλαμβάνων. πρὸ μὲν γὰρ τούτων τῶν κατὰρῳ συναγωγιζόμενος Περ-
secure, he sent away a part of his army and a general 819 B.C. in command of it. He ordered the latter to get in touch with Eumenes,¹ relieve the fortress from siege, and when he had freed Eumenes from danger, make him an ally. Antigonus, who was anxious to retaliate upon Arrhidaeus, sent a force to carry on the war against him, but he himself with a sufficient army set out for Lydia, from which province he wished to expel the satrap, Cleitus. The latter, foreseeing the attack, secured the more important cities with garrisons, but he himself went by ship to Macedonia to reveal to the kings and to Polyperchon the bold revolt of Antigonus and to beg for aid. Antigonus took Ephesus by assault with the aid of certain confederates within the city. After this, when Aeschylus of Rhodes sailed to Ephesus conveying from Cilicia in four ships six hundred talents of silver that were being sent to Macedonia for the kings, Antigonus laid hands on it, saying that he needed it to pay his mercenaries. By doing this he made it clear that he had begun to act for his own ends and was opposing the kings. Then after storming Symê, he advanced against the cities in order, taking some of them by force and winning others by persuasion.

53. Now that we have finished the activities of Antigonus, we shall turn our narrative to the fortunes of Eumenes. This man experienced great and incredible reversals of fortune, continually having a share in good and evil beyond expectation. For example, in the period preceding these events, when

¹ Cp. chap. 41.

¹ Σύμην πολιορκήσας Capps, Κύμην ἐκπολιορκήσας Madvig: συμπολιορκήσας RX, Fischer, συμπολιορκήσασθαι F.
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δίκα τε καὶ τοὺς βασιλέσσιν ἔλαβε σατραπείαν Καππαδοκίαν καὶ τοὺς συνορίζοντας ταῦτα τόπους, ἐν οἷς μεγάλων δυνάμεων καὶ πολλῶν χρημάτων 3 κυριεύσας περιβόητον ἔσχε τὴν εὐτυχίαν. Κρατε-ρόν μὲν γὰρ καὶ Νεοπτόλεμον, διωνομασμένους ἴγε-μόνας καὶ τὰς ἀνικήτους τῶν Μακεδόνων ἔχοντας δυνάμεις, ἐνίκησε παρατάξει καὶ αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὴν 4 μάχην ἀνείλεν. δόξας δὲ ἀνυπόστατος εἶναι τῆλι-καύτης ἐπειράθη μεταβολῆς ὡστε ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου μεγάλη παρατάξει λειψθῆναι καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων φίλων ἀναγκασθῆναι καταφυγεῖν εἰς τὶ χωρίον παντελῶς μικρόν. εἰς τοῦτο δ' ἐγκλεισθεὶς καὶ περιληψθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων διπλοὺς τείχεσιν ὑπέδει βοηθὸν 5 ἔσχε τῆς ἱδίας συμφορᾶς. ἐναντίον δ' οὕτως τῆς πολιορκίας καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπογυνωσκομένης ἄφων παράδοξος λύσις ἔφαν τῶν ἀτυχημάτων. δ' ἄρα πολιορκῶν τὸν Νευμενῆ καὶ σπεύδων ἀνείλειν Ἀντίγονος ἐκ μεταβολῆς παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν πρὸς κοινοπραγίαν καὶ λαβὼν διὰ τῶν ὁρκῶν τὰς πίστεις 6 τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπέλυσε. 1 μετὰ δὲ τινὰ χρόνον ἀνελπίστως διασωθεὶς τότε μὲν περὶ τὴν Καππα-δοκίαν διέτριβεν ἀναλαμβάνων τοὺς προγεγονότας φίλους καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν πλανωμένους τῶν συνεστρατευκότων αὐτῷ πρότερον. ἀγαπώμενος δὲ διαφερόντως ταχὺ πολλοὺς ἔσχε κοινωνοῦν τῶν αὐτῶν ἑλπίδων καὶ πρὸς τὴν μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατεύαν 7 ὑπακούσαντας. τέλος δὲ ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις χωρίς τῶν ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ συμπεπολιορκημένων φίλων

1 ἀπέλυσε Geer: ἀπελύθη.

1 Cp. chaps. 30–31. 2 That is, Nora. Cp. chaps. 40–42. 3 Nepos (Eumenes, 5. 6–7) seems to reduce this time to about six months, but since the siege ends after news of the

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he was fighting for Perdiccas and the kings, he had received as his satrapy Cappadocia and the adjacent regions, in which as master of great armies and much wealth his good fortune became famous. For he defeated in a pitched battle Craterus and Neoptolemus, famous generals in command of the invincible forces of the Macedonians, and killed them on the field.\(^1\) But although he won the reputation of being irresistible, he experienced such a change of fortune that he was defeated by Antigonus in a great battle and compelled to take refuge with a few friends in a certain very small fortress.\(^2\) Shut up there and surrounded by the enemy with a double wall, he had no one to give him aid in his own misfortune. When the siege had lasted a year \(^3\) and hope of safety had been abandoned, there suddenly appeared an unexpected deliverance from his plight; for Antigonus, who was besieging him and bent on destroying him, changed his plan, invited him to share in his own undertakings, and after receiving an oath-bound pledge, freed him from the siege.\(^4\) Thus unexpectedly saved after a considerable time, he stayed for the present in Cappadocia, where he gathered together his former friends and those who had once served under him and were now wandering about the country. Since he was highly esteemed, he quickly found many men to share in his expectations and to enlist for the campaign with him. In the end, within a few days, in addition to the five hundred friends who had been besieged in the fortress with him, he death of Antipater has reached Asia (Plutarch, \textit{Eumenes}, 12. 1), the longer time is more probable.

\(^4\) Cp. chap. 50. 4. For the terms of the oath and for the alterations that Eumenes made in it cp. Plutarch, \textit{Eumenes}, 12. 1-3; Nepos, \textit{Eumenes}, 5. 7.
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΟΦ ΣΙΚΥΛΗ

πεντακοσίων ἔσχε στρατιώτας ἑθελοντὴν ὑπακούοντας πλείους τῶν δισχιλίων. τῆς τύχης δ' αὐτῷ συνεργοῦσθα τηλικαύτην ἔλαβεν αὐξὴν ὅστε παραλαβεῖν τὰς βασιλικὰς δυνάμεις καὶ προστήναι τῶν βασιλέων πρὸς τοὺς καταλύειν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρχήν τετολμηκότας. ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν μικρὸν υστερον ἀκριβέστερον διεξήμεν ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις καίροῖς.

54. Νως δ' ἀρκοῦντως τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν διελθώντος μεταβησόμεθα πρὸς τὰ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην συντελεσθείσα πράξεις. Κάσανδρος γὰρ ἀποτεευκός τῆς κατὰ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἡγεμονίας οὐκ ἐπητείχεν, ἀλλ' ἐκρινει ἀντέχεσθαι ταύτης, αὐ- σχρόν εἶναι διαλαμβάνων τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἁρχὴν 2 ύφ' ἐτέρων διοικεῖσθαι. ὅρων δὲ τὴν τῶν Μακε- δόνων ὁμήρη κεκλιμένην πρὸς τὸν Πολυπέρχοντα τῶν μὲν φίλων οἰς ἐπιστευει κατ' ἱδίαν προσδια- λεγόμενοι ἐξεύθεμεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἀνω- ὄπτως, ἀυτὸς δ' ἔφη ἡμέρας τινὰς σχολάσας ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ κυνήγια συνιστάμενος ἐγένηκε περὶ αὐτοῦ διάληψιν ὡς οὐκ ἀντιτυποῦμενος τῆς ἁρχῆς. 3 ὥς δ' εὐτρεπὴ πάντα ἢν αὐτῷ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀπο- δημίαν, ἔλαβεν ἀναζεύξας ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας. κατ- αντήσας δ' εἰς τὴν Χερσόνησον κάκειθεν ἀναζεύξας παρῆλθεν εἰς Ἐλλήσποντον. διαπλεύσας δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν πρὸς 'Ἀντίγονον ἡξίου βοηθεῖν αὐτῷ, φήσας καὶ Πτολεμαίοιν ἐπηγγέλθαι συμμαχήσειν. δ' Ἐ- ἄντιγονος προθύμως αὐτὸν προσδιάσάμενος ἐπηγγείλατο πάντα συμπράξειν προθύμως αὐτῷ καὶ δύναμιν παραχρήμα δῶσειν πεζικὴν τε καὶ ναυτικὴν.

1 ἑθελοντὴν Kaelker: ἑθελοντὶ MSS., editors.

1 In chap. 41. 3 the number to take refuge on Nora is given as six hundred. According to Plutarch (Eumenes, 160
had more than two thousand soldiers\textsuperscript{1} who followed \textsuperscript{319 B.C.} him of their own free will. With the aid of Fortune he gained so great an increase in power that he took over the royal armies and championed the kings against those who had boldly tried to end their rule. But we shall relate these events in more detail a little later in their proper place.\textsuperscript{2}

54. Now that we have said enough about affairs throughout Asia, we shall turn our attention to what had taken place at the same time in Europe.\textsuperscript{3} Although Cassander had failed to gain the ruling position in Macedonia, he was not dismayed; but he determined to maintain his claim to it, holding it disgraceful that his father’s office should be administered by others. Since he perceived that the favour of the Macedonians inclined to Polycerchon, he had further private conversations with the friends in whom he most trusted and sent them to the Hellespont without arousing suspicion; and he himself, by spending several days at leisure in the country and organizing a hunt, created the general opinion that he would not try to gain the office. When everything necessary for his departure was ready, however, he set out from Macedonia unobserved.\textsuperscript{4} He came to the Chersonese and departing thence arrived at the Hellespont. Sailing across into Asia to Antigonus he begged him to aid him, saying that Ptolemy also had promised to be an ally. Antigonus eagerly received him and promised to co-operate with him actively in every way and to give him at once a force of infantry and a

\textsuperscript{1} Cp. chaps. 58 ff.
\textsuperscript{2} Continued from chap. 49. 4.
\textsuperscript{3} Cp. \textit{Marmor Parium} for 319/18.
4 τάυτα δ’ ἐπραττε προσποιούμενος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον φιλίαν συνεργεῖν, τῇ δ’ ἀληθεία βουλόμενος τοὺς περὶ Πολυπέρχοντα πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους περιπατημοὺς ἔχειν, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἀκυδόνως τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπέλθη καὶ τὴν τῶν ὦλων ἡγεμονίαν εἰς αὐτὸν περιστήση.

55. Ἀμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις κατὰ μὲν τὴν Μακεδονίαν Πολυπέρχων ὁ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιμελητὴς μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ Κασάνδρου προεώρα μὲν τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πρὸς Κάσανδρον ἐσομένου πολέμου, οὐδὲν δ’ ἀνεύ τῆς τῶν φίλων γνώμης κρίνων πράττειν συνήγαγε τοὺς τε ἡγεμόνας ἀπαντας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων τοὺς ἄξιολογοτάτους. φανεροὶ δ’ οὖντος ὅτι Κάσανδρος μὲν σωματοποιηθεὶς ὑπ’ Ὀστιγόνου τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πόλεων ἀνθέξεται διὰ τὸ τᾶς μὲν αὐτῶν πατρικαὶ φρουραὶς φυλάττεσθαι, τὰς δ’ ὑπ’ ὀλυγαρχίαν διοικεῖται, κυριευομένας ὑπὸ τῶν Ὀστιγόνου φίλων καὶ ξένων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις συμμαχήσεως τῷ Κασάνδρῳ Πολεμαίῳ τε τῶν Αἰγύπτων κρατοῦντα καὶ Ἀντίγονον τὸν φανερῶς ἦδη γενόμενον ἀποστάτην τῶν βασιλέων, ἀμφότεροι δὲ καὶ δυνάμεις μεγάλας καὶ χρημάτων ἔχειν πλήθος, ἐτὶ δὲ πολλῶν ἔθνων καὶ πόλεων ἄξιολόγων κυριεύει—προτεθείσης οὖν βουλῆς πῶς τούτοις πολεμητέοιν ἔστι καὶ πολλῶν καὶ ποικίλων λόγων περὶ τοῦ πολέμου ῥηθέντων ἐδοξεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰς μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πόλεις ἔλευθεροιν τὰς δ’ ἐν αὐταῖς ὀλυγαρχίας καθεσταμένας ὑπ’ Ὀστι-

3 πάτρου καταλύειν ὑπὸς γὰρ ἀν μάλιστα τὸν μὲν Κάσανδρον ταπεινώσειν, ἐναυτῶς δὲ μεγάλην δόξαν καὶ πολλὰς συμμαχίας ἄξιολόγους περιποιήσεων. εὐ-

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fleets. In doing this he pretended to be aiding him because of his own friendship for Antipater, but in truth it was because he wished Polyperchon to be surrounded by many great distractions, so that he himself might proceed against Asia without danger and secure the supreme power for himself.

55. Meanwhile in Macedonia, Polyperchon, the guardian of the kings, after Cassander had slipped away, foresaw the serious character of the war that was to be fought with him, and since he had made up his mind to do nothing without the advice of his friends, he called together all the commanders and the most important of the other Macedonians. It was clear that Cassander, reinforced by Antigonus, would hold the Greek cities against them, since some of the cities were guarded by his father's garrisons and others, dominated by Antipater's friends and mercenaries, were ruled by oligarchies, and since Cassander would also gain as allies both Ptolemy the ruler of Egypt, and Antigonus, who had already openly rebelled against the kings, and each of them possessed great armies and abundant wealth and was master of many nations and cities of consequence. After the question how to fight against these had been laid before them and many shrewd suggestions had been made about the war, it was decided to free the cities throughout Greece and to overthrow the oligarchies established in them by Antipater; for in this way they would best decrease the influence of Cassander and also win for themselves great glory and many considerable allies. At once, therefore, they

1 πολλοὺς Wurm: πολέμους.
θύσι οὖν τούς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων παρόντας πρεσβευτὰς προσκαλεσάμενοι καὶ θαρρεῖν παρακαλέσαντες ἐπηγγείλαντο τὰς δημοκρατίας ἀποκαταστήσεως ταῖς πόλεις καὶ τὸ κυρωθὲν δόγμα γράφαντες ἐδωκαν τοὺς πρεσβευταῖς, ὅπως κατὰ τάχος εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἐπανελθόντες ἀπαγγέλωσι τοῖς δήμοις τὴν τῶν βασιλεῶν καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων εἰς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας εὐνοιαν. ἤν δὲ τὸ διάγραμμα τοιοῦτον.

56. Ὁ Ἔπικός εἰς μεμβέβηκε τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν πολλὰ τοὺς Ἐλλήνας εὐεργετηκέναι, οὕτως εἰς διαφυλάττειν τὴν ἐκείνην προαίρεσιν καὶ πάσιν φανερῶν ποιήσαν τὴν ἡμετέραν εὐνοιαν ἥν ἔχοντες διατελοῦμεν πρὸς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας. πρότερον μὲν οὖν Ἄλεξανδρος μεταλλάξαντος εἰς ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῆς βασιλείας εἰς ἡμᾶς καθηκούσης, ἤγούμενοι δεῖν ἐπαναγαγεῖν πάντας ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ὡς Φίλιππος ὁ ἡμετέρος πατὴρ κατέστησεν, ἐπεστειλάμενες εἰς ἀπάσαις τὰς πόλεις περὶ τοῦ· τῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεβή, μακρὰν ἀπόντων ἡμῶν, τῶν Ἐλλήνων τωσοῦ ὁ ὅρθως γινώσκοντας πόλεον ἐξενεγκεῖν πρὸς Μακεδόνας καὶ κρατηθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ ταῖς πόλεις συμβῆναι, τοῦτων μὲν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς αἰτίους ὑπολάβετε γεγενήσατε, ἡμεῖς δὲ τιμῶντες τὴν εἰς ἀρχῆς προαίρεσιν κατασκευάζομεν ἠμῶν εἰρήνην, πολιτείας δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ Φίλιππον καὶ Ἄλεξανδρος, καὶ τάλλα πράττειν κατὰ τὰ διαγράμματα πρὸτερον ὑπ’ ἐκείνων γραφέντα. καὶ τοὺς μεταστάντας ἢ φυγόντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἢ πρὸς Χρόνους Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβη κατάγομεν καὶ τοὺς ὅφει ἡμῶν κατελθόντας πάντα τὰ αὐτῶν ἔχοντας καὶ 164
called together the envoys who were present from the cities, and after biding them be of good cheer, they promised to re-establish democratic governments in the cities. As soon as they had drafted the decree that had been adopted, they gave it to the envoys, in order that they might quickly return to their native cities and report to their assemblies the goodwill that the kings and the generals entertained for the Greeks. The edict was in such terms as these:

56. "Inasmuch as it has fallen to the lot of our ancestors to perform many acts of kindness to the Greeks, we wish to maintain their policy and to make evident to all the goodwill which we continue to have for that people. Formerly, indeed, when Alexander departed from among men and the kingship descended upon us, since we believed it necessary to restore all to peace and to the forms of government that Philip our sire established, we sent letters to all the cities in regard to these matters. But whereas it happened that, while we were far away, certain of the Greeks, being ill advised, waged war against the Macedonians and were defeated by our generals, and many bitter things befell the cities, know ye that the generals have been responsible for these hardships, but that we, holding fast to the original policy, are preparing peace for you and such governments as you enjoyed under Philip and Alexander, and that we permit you to act in all other matters according to the decrees formerly issued by them. Moreover, we restore those who have been driven out or exiled from the cities by our generals from the time when Alexander crossed into Asia; and we decree that those who are restored by us, in full possession of

1 For the Lamian War cp. chaps. 8-18.
ἀστασιάστους καὶ ἀμησομακουμένους ἐν ταῖς έαυτῶν πατρίσι πολυτεύεσθαι καὶ εἰ τι κατὰ τούτων ἐψηφιστο, ἀκυρον έστω, πλὴν εἰ τινες ἐφ' αἵματι ἤ
5 ἀσεβείᾳ κατὰ νόμον πεφεύγασι. μὴ κατείναι δὲ μηδὲ Μεγαλοπολίτῶν τοῦς μετὰ Πολυαινέτου ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ φεύγοντας μηδ' Ἀμφισσείς μηδὲ Τρικ-
καίους μηδὲ Φαρκαδώνιους μηδὲ Ἡρακλεώτας-
tοὺς δ' ἄλλους καταδεχέσθωσαν πρὸ τῆς τριάκα-
6 δος τοῦ Σανθικοῦ μὴνός. εἰ δὲ των τῶν πολιτευ-
μάτων Φιλιππος ἡ 'Αλέξανδρος ἀπέδειξεν έαυτοῖς ὑπεννατία, παραγινέσθωσαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἵνα διορ-
θωσάμενοι τὰ συμφέροντα καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ ταῖς πόλεις πράττων. 'Αθηναίοις δ' εἶναι τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ καθ-
άπερ ἐπὶ Φιλίππου καὶ 'Αλεξάνδρου, 'Ωρωπῶν δὲ
7 'Ομερίους ἔχειν καθάπερ νῦν. Σάμων δὲ δίδομεν
'Αθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Φιλίππος ἐδωκεν ὁ πατήρ.
ποιήσασθαι δὲ δόγμα πάντας τοὺς "Ελλήνας μηδ-
6 ένα μήτε στρατεύειν μήτε πράττειν ὑπεννατία ἡμῖν.
εἰ δὲ μὴ, φεύγειν αὐτὸν καὶ γενεάν καὶ τῶν ὄντων
στέρεσθαι. προστετάχαμεν δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων καὶ
8 τῶν λοιπῶν Πολυπέρχοντι πραγματεύεσθαι. ὑμεῖς
οὖν, καθάπερ ἡμῖν καὶ πρότερον ἐγράψαμεν, ἀκούετε
toύτου· τοῖς γὰρ μὴ ποιούσι τί τῶν γεγραμμένων
οὐκ ἐπιτρέψομεν."

57. Τούτου δὲ τοῦ διαγράμματος ἐκδοθέντος καὶ
πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς πόλεις ἀποσταλέντος ἐγραφεν ὁ

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1 Nothing seems to be known in regard to any of these exiles.
2 The sixth month in the Macedonian year, normally falling just before the vernal equinox. The year must be 318, the edict itself being issued in the preceding summer or fall.

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their property, undisturbed by faction, and enjoying a complete amnesty, shall exercise their rights as citizens in their native states; and if any measures have been passed to their disadvantage, let such measures be void, except as concerning those who had been exiled for blood guilt or impiety in accordance with the law. Not to be restored are the men of Megalopolis who were exiled for treason along with Polynaenetus, nor those of Amphissa, Tricca, Phar- cdon, or Heraclea; but let the cities receive back the others before the thirtieth day of Xanthicus. If in any case Philip or Alexander published regulations that are inconsistent with each other, let the cities concerned present themselves before us so that, after bringing the provisions into harmony, they may follow a course of action advantageous both to us and to themselves. The Athenians shall possess everything as at the time of Philip and Alexander, save that Oropus shall belong to its own people as at present. Samos we grant to Athens, since Philip our sire also gave it to them. Let all the Greeks pass a decree that no one shall engage either in war or in public activity in opposition to us, and that if anyone disobeys, he and his family shall be exiled and his goods shall be confiscated. We have commanded Polycerchon to take in hand these and other matters. Do you obey him, as we also have written to you formerly; for if anyone fails to carry out any of these injunctions, we shall not overlook him."

57. When this edict had been published and dis-

3 Oropus, geographically a part of Boeotia but throughout most of its history in the possession of Athens, had been assigned to Athens by Philip in 338 (Pausanias, I. 34. 1). It seems to have become free as a result of the Lamian War.

4 Cp. chaps. 8. 7, 18. 9.
DIODEHUS OF SICILY

ἀστασιάστους καὶ ἀμνησικακουμένους ἐν ταῖς ἐαυτῶν πατρίσι πολιτεύεσθαι· καὶ εἰ τι κατὰ τούτων ἐφήμιστο, ἀκυρων ἔστω, πλῆν εἰ τινὲς ἐφ᾽ αἰματι ἢ 5 ἀσεβεία κατὰ νόμον πεφεύγασι. μὴ κατεναί δὲ μηδὲ Μεγαλοπολίτων τοὺς μετὰ Πολυαινέτου ἐπὶ προδοσία φεύγοντας μηδὲ Ἅμφισσεῖς μηδὲ Τρικκαίους μηδὲ Φαρκαδωνίους μηδὲ Ἡρακλεώτας· τοὺς δ᾽ ἄλλους καταδεχόμον τροθὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς τριακά 6 δος τοῦ Σανθικοῦ μηνὸς. εἰ δὲ τινα τῶν πολιτευμάτων Φιλίππος ἢ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπέδειξαν ἕαυτῶν ὑπεναντία, παραγινεόθησαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἵνα διορθώσαμεν τὰ συμφέροντα καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι σαφτωσον. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ εἶναι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ ἐπὶ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλέξανδρου, Ὁρσπὸν δὲ 7 Ὁρσπόνου ἔχειν καθάπερ νῦν. Σάμου δὲ δίδομεν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Φιλίππος ἔδωκεν ὁ πατήρ. ποιήσασθαι δὲ δόγμα πάντας τοὺς "Ἐλληνας μηδένα μήτε στρατεύειν μήτε πράττειν ὑπεναντία ἡμῖν· εἰ δὲ μή, φεύγειν αὐτὸν καὶ γενεὰν καὶ τῶν ὀντῶν στέρεσθαι. προστετάχαμεν δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων καὶ 8 τῶν λοιπῶν Πολυπέρχοντι πραγματεύεσθαι. ὑμεῖς οὖν, καθάπερ ἡμῖν καὶ πρότερον ἔγραψαμεν, ἀκούστε τούτο· τούς γὰρ μὴ ποιοῦσι τι τῶν γεγραμμένων οὐκ ἐπιτρέψωμεν."

57. Τούτου δὲ τοῦ διαγράμματος ἐκδοθέντος καὶ πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς πόλεις ἀποσταλέντος ἔγραψεν ὁ

1 Nothing seems to be known in regard to any of these exiles.
2 The sixth month in the Macedonian year, normally falling just before the vernal equinox. The year must be 318, the edict itself being issued in the preceding summer or fall.
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their property, undisturbed by faction, and enjoying a complete amnesty, shall exercise their rights as citizens in their native states; and if any measures have been passed to their disadvantage, let such measures be void, except as concerning those who had been exiled for blood guilt or impiety in accordance with the law. Not to be restored are the men of Megalopolis who were exiled for treason along with Polynaenetus, nor those of Amphissa, Triece, Pharcadon, or Heraclea; but let the cities receive back the others before the thirtieth day of Xanthicus. If in any case Philip or Alexander published regulations that are inconsistent with each other, let the cities concerned present themselves before us so that, after bringing the provisions into harmony, they may follow a course of action advantageous both to us and to themselves. The Athenians shall possess everything as at the time of Philip and Alexander, save that Oropus shall belong to its own people as at present. Samos we grant to Athens, since Philip our sire also gave it to them. Let all the Greeks pass a decree that no one shall engage either in war or in public activity in opposition to us, and that if anyone disobeys, he and his family shall be exiled and his goods shall be confiscated. We have commanded Polyperchon to take in hand these and other matters. Do you obey him, as we also have written to you formerly; for if anyone fails to carry out any of these injunctions, we shall not overlook him."

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4 Cp. chaps. 8. 7, 18. 9.
Πολυπέρχων πρὸς τε τὴν Ἀργείων πόλιν καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς, προστάτων τους ἀφηγησαμένους ἐπὶ Ἀντιπάτρου τῶν πολιτευμάτων φυγαδεύσαι, τινῶν δὲ καὶ θάνατον καταγινώναι καὶ δημεύσαι τὰς οὐσίας, ὅπως ταπεινωθέντες εἰς τέλος μηδὲν ἱσχύσωσιν 2 συνεργεῖν Κασάνδρῳ. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ὀλυμπιάδα τῇ Αλεξάνδρου μητέρα, διατρίβουσαν ἐν Ἡπείρῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Κάσσανδρον ἔχθραν, ἵνα τὴν ταχύστην εἰς Μακεδονίαν καταντήση καὶ παραλαβοῦσα τὸ Αλεξάνδρου παιδίον ἐπιμελείαν αὐτοῦ ποιήται, μέχρι ἂν εἰς ἠλικίαν ἐλθῇ καὶ τὴν πατρίαν 3 βασιλεῖαν παραλάβῃ. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Εὐμενῆ, γράφας ἐπιστολὴν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν βασιλέων οὐκόματος, ὡς πρὸς μὲν Ἀντίγονον μὴ διαλύσηται τὴν ἀλλοτριότητα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς βασιλείς ἀποκλίνας εἴτε βούλεται καταντᾶν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ κοινοπραγῶν ἐπιμελητῆς εἰναι τῶν βασιλέων, εἴτε μᾶλλον προαιρεῖται μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ λαβῶν δύναμιν καὶ χρήματα διαπολεμεῖν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, φανερῶς ἢδη γεγενημένον ἀποστάτην τῶν βασιλέων. ἀποκαθιστάνει δ’ αὐτῷ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τὴν τε σατραπείαν ἢν Ἀντίγονος ἀφήρηται καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς αὕτας ὡσας πρότερον εἴχε κατὰ 4 τὴν Ἀσίαν. τὸ δ’ ὄλον ἀπεφαινέτο μάλιστα πάντων πρέπειν Εὐμενῆ τῆς βασιλικῆς οἰκίας κήδεσθαι καὶ φροντίζειν, ἀκολουθοῦντα τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πεπολυτευμένους 3 πρὸς τὴν βασιλικὴν οἰκίαν. ἦν δὲ μείζονος δυνάμεως προσδέχεται, καὶ αὐτός μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἀναζεύξειν ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετὰ πάσης τῆς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως.

Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράξθη κατὰ τούτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν.
patched to all the cities, Polyperchon wrote to Argos 319 B.C.
and the other cities, ordering them to exile those who
had been leaders of the governments in the time of
Antipater—even to condemn certain of them to death
and to confiscate their property—in order that these
men, stripped of all power, might at last be unable
to co-operate with Cassander in any way. He also
wrote to Olympias, the mother of Alexander, who was
staying in Epirus because of her quarrel with Cas-
sander, asking her to return to Macedonia as soon as
possible, to take charge of the son of Alexander, and
to assume responsibility for him until he should
become of age and receive his father's kingdom. He
also sent to Eumenes, writing a letter in the name of
the kings, urging him not to put an end to his enmity
toward Antigonus, but turning from him to the kings,
either to cross over to Macedonia, if he wished, and
become a guardian of the kings in co-operation with
himself, or if he preferred, to remain in Asia and
after receiving an army and money fight it out with
Antigonus, who had already clearly shown that he
was a rebel against the kings. He said that the
kings were restoring to him the satrapy that Anti-
gonus had taken away and all the prerogatives that
he had ever possessed in Asia. Finally he set forth
that it was especially fitting for Eumenes to be careful
and solicitous for the royal house in conformity with
his former public services in its interest. If he
needed greater military power, Polyperchon promised
that he himself and the kings would come from
Macedonia with the entire royal army.

This is what happened in that year.


1 Fischer reads προτεπολεμέονοι.
58. 'Επ' ἀρχοντός δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἀρχίππου Ῥωμαίοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Κόντον Αἴλιον καὶ Λεύκιον Παπίριον. ἔπει δὲ τούτων Εὐμενὴς μὲν ἄρτι τὴν ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου πεποιημένος ἀποχώρησε ν ἐκομάσατο τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς ἀποσταλέσας ὑπὸ Πολυπέρχοντος, ἐν αἰς ἦν γεγραμμένον χωρίς τῶν προειρημένων ὅτι πεντακόσια μὲν τάλαντα διδάσκα-σιν αὐτῷ δωρεᾶν οἱ βασιλεῖς εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν γεγενημένων περὶ αὐτῶν ἑλαστιμάτων καὶ διότι γράμματα ἀπέστειλαν οἱ βασιλεῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ στρατηγοὺς καὶ θησαυροφύλακας, ὅπως αὐτῷ τὰ πεντακόσια τάλαντα δῶσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων δόσα ἀν αἴτησῃ πρὸς τε τὰς ἕξενολογίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς κατεπειγούσας χρέας, τοὺς τε τῶν ἀργυρασπιδῶν Μακεδόνων τρισχιλίων ἀργυρο-μένος, ἦν παραδόσεως αὐτοῦς Ἐὐμενεί καὶ τάλλα συμπράττοσι προθύμως, ὅς ἦν ἀποδεδειγμένως στρατηγῷ τῆς ὀλίς Ἀσίας αὐτοκράτορι. ἦκεν δὲ καὶ παρ’ Ὀλυμπιάδος αὐτῷ γράμματα, δεομένης καὶ λυπαροῦσης βοηθεῖν τοῖς βασιλεύσι καὶ ἐαυτῆ-μόνιον γὰρ ἐκείνου πιστότατον ἀπολελειφθαί τῶν φιλῶν καὶ δυνάμενον διορθώσασθαι τὴν ἔρημαν τῆς βασιλικῆς ὁικίας. ἦξίοι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν Ὀλυμπιάδος συμβουλεύσαι πότερον αὐτῷ δοκεῖ συμφέρειν μέ-νειν αὐτὴν ἐν Ἡπείρῳ καὶ μὴ πιστεύειν τοῖς αἰεὶ δοκοῦσι μὲν ἐπιμεληταῖς εἶναι, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τὴν

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1 Archippus was archon in 318/17. Livy (9. 15. 11) gives as consuls for 319, L. Papirius Cursor for the third time or L. Papirius Muggilanus (the former is more probable) and Q. Aulus Cerretanus for the second time. The latter had been consul in 323, where he is called Gaius Aelius by Diodorus (chap. 26. 1) and Q. Aemilius Cerretanus by Livy (8. 37. 1).
BOOK XVIII. 58. 1-3

58. When Archippus was archon of Athens, the Romans elected Quintus Aelius and Lucius Papirius consuls. While these held office Eumenes, just after he had made good his retreat from the fortress, received the letters that had been dispatched by Polyperchon. They contained, apart from what has been told above, the statement that the kings were giving him a gift of five hundred talents as recompense for the losses that he had experienced, and that to effect this they had written to the generals and treasurers in Cilicia directing them to give him the five hundred talents and whatever additional money he requested for raising mercenaries and for other pressing needs. The letter also added that they were writing to the commanders of the three thousand Macedonian Silver Shields ordering them to place themselves at the disposal of Eumenes and in general to co-operate wholeheartedly with him, since he had been appointed supreme commander of all Asia. There also came to him a letter from Olympias in which she begged and besought him to aid the kings and herself, saying that he alone was left, the most faithful of her friends and the one able to remedy the isolation of the royal house. Olympias asked him to advise her whether he thought it better for her to remain in Epirus and place no trust in those who were from time to time supposed to be guardians of the kings, but were in truth trying to transfer the kingdom to

2 Cp. chap. 53. 5. The activities of Eumenes described in the following chaps. (58-63) all belong to 318.

3 The Silver Shields, heavy armed Macedonians picked for their valour, are first heard of in the battle at Arbela (Book 17. 57. 2). They were now old men, but tough and troublesome (Book 19. 41. 9, 43. 7, 48. 3-4). They had been sent to Cilicia as guard for the royal treasure.
4 δ' Ἐυμενής πρὸς μὲν τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα παραχρῆμα ἀντέγραψε, συμβουλεύων κατὰ τὸ παρὸν μένειν ἐν Ἰππείρῳ, μέχρι δὲ ὁ πόλεμος λάβῃ τινὰ κρίσιν. αὐτὸς δ' ἀεὶ τὴν εὐνύχιαν βεβαιοτάτην πρὸς τοὺς βασιλείς τετηρηκὼς ἐκρίνεν Ἀντιγόνων μὲν μὴ προσέχειν ἐξιδιαζομένη τὴν βασιλείαν, τοῦ ἀληθείας παίδος προσδεομένου βοηθείας διὰ τῆς ὀρφανίας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡγεμόνιαν πλεονεξίαν διελαβείν ἀρμόζειν ἑαυτῷ πάντα κίνδυνον ἀναδέχεσθαι τῆς τῶν βασιλείων σωτηρίας ἑνεκα.

59. Ἐυμενὴς οὖν παραγγείλας τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀναζευγνύειν προῆγεν ἐκ Καπαδοκίας, ἔχων ἢπεῖς μὲν περὶ πεντακοσίους, πεζοὺς δὲ πλείους τῶν δισιχίλων· οὐ γὰρ ἔσχεν ἀναστροφή προσδέξασθαι τοὺς ἀφυστεροῦντας τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων συστατεύσεθαι διὰ τὸ προσάγειν παρ’ Ἀντιγόνου δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον καὶ στρατηγοῦς τοὺς περὶ Μένανδρου, κωλύσοντας αὐτὸν ἐνδιατρίβειν τῇ Καπαδοκίᾳ, 2 πολέμων γενόμενον τοὺς περὶ Ἀντίγονον. ἄλλα γὰρ ἡ δύναμις αὐτὴ τρισὶν υστερον ἡμέρας παραγενόμενη καὶ τῶν κατόρθωσις ἐπεβάλετο μὲν διοίκησις τοὺς μετ’ Ἐυμενοῦς προάγοντας, οὐ δυναμένη δὲ καταλαβεῖν ἐπανήλθεν εἰς Καπαδοκίας.

3 δ' Ἐυμενῆς συντόνους τὰς ὁδοιπορίας ποιησάμενος καὶ ταχὺ τὸν Ταύρον ύπερβαλὼν ἤκεν εἰς τὴν Κυλικίαν. οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀργυροπετῶν ἡγεμόνες Ἀντιγόνης καὶ Τεύταμος, πειθαρχοῦντες ταῖς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιστολαῖς, ἀπάντησιν ἐπούσαντο τῷ Ἐυμενεῖ μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐκ πολλοῦ διαστήματος. ἀσπασάμενοι δὲ φιλοφρόνως καὶ συγχαρέν—

1 γενόμενον Dindorf: γενόμενον.
themselves, or to return to Macedonia. Eumenes at once replied to Olympias, advising her to remain in Epirus for the present until the war should come to some decision. As for himself, since he had always observed the most unwavering loyalty toward the kings, he decided not to take orders from Antigonus, who was trying to appropriate the kingship for himself; but since the son of Alexander was in need of help because of his orphaned state and the greediness of the commanders, he believed that it was incumbent upon himself to run every risk for the safety of the kings.

59. Immediately, therefore, Eumenes bade his men break camp and departed from Cappadocia with about five hundred horsemen and more than two thousand foot soldiers. Indeed, he did not have time to wait for the laggards among those who had promised to join him, for a considerable army was drawing near, sent from Antigonus under the general Menander to prevent Eumenes from staying in Cappadocia now that he had become an enemy of Antigonus. In fact, when this army arrived three days later, although it had missed its opportunity, it undertook to follow those who had gone with Eumenes; but since it was not able to come up with them, it returned to Cappadocia. Eumenes himself quickly passed over the Taurus by forced marches and entered Cilicia. Antigenes and Teutamus, the leaders of the Silver Shields, in obedience to the letters of the kings, came from a considerable distance to meet Eumenes and his friends. After bidding him welcome and con-

1 Cp. chap. 53. 7 and footnote.
2 For Eumenes' reception by the Silver Shields and their commanders cp. Plutarch, Eumenes, 13. 2-8; Justin, 14. 2. 6-12.
DIDORUS OF SICILY

tes ἐπὶ τῷ διασεσῶσθαι παραδόξως αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων κυνύων ἐπηγγέλλοντο πάντα συμπράξειν αὐτῷ προθύμως· οἱ τε ἀργυράσπιδες Μακεδόνες, ὄντες περὶ τρισχιλίους, ὁμοίως ἀπήνιν-

ταν μετὰ φιλοφροσύνης τε καὶ ὀρμῆς. πάντες δὲ ἐθαύμαζον τὸ τῆς τύχης εὐμετάβολον καὶ παράδοξον, ὀρθώτες τούς τε βασιλείς καὶ τοὺς Μακε-

δόνας ὁλίγω μὲν χρόνῳ πρότερον κατεγνωκότας Εὐμενοῦς καὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ θάνατον, τότε δὲ ἐπιλαθομένους τῆς ὑδάες κρίσεως μὴ μόνον ἀθείουν ἀθεικότας τῆς τιμωρίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης τῆς βασιλείας τῆς ἤγερον αὐτῷ παραδεδωκότας.

καὶ τοῦτ' εὐλόγως ἔπασχον ἀπαντεῖς οἱ τότε τὰς Εὐμενοῦς ἐπισκοποῦμενοι περιπετείαις. τὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν λαβῶν ἐξοικήτο χρίσα κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίων ἀνωμαλίας καταπλαγεῖται τὴν ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τὰ μέρη τῆς τύχης παλάρριον; ἢ τὰς ἄν τὰς κατὰ τὴν εὔτυχίαν ἐξουσίας πιστεύσας ἀναλάβοι φρό-

νημα μεῖζον τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ἀσθενείας; οἱ γὰρ κοινὸς βίος ὁστέρ ὑπὸ θεῶν τινὸς οἰκείος ἐναλλαξ ἀγαθοῖς καὶ κακοῖς κυκλεῖται πάντα τοῖν αἰῶνα. διότερ παραδόξον ἔστων οὐκ εἰ γέγον ἐν τι παράλογον, ἄλλ' εἰ μὴ πᾶν ἐστὶ τὸ γνώμουν ἀνέλπιστον. διὸ καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν προσηκότως ἄν της ἀποδέξατο· τῇ γὰρ τῶν πράξεων ἀνωμαλία καὶ μεταβολὴ διορθόται τῶν μὲν εὐτυχοῦντων τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν, τῶν δ' ἀκληροῦντων τὴν ἀθυρίαν. 2

60. "Ἀ καὶ τότε διανοούμενος Εὐμενῆς ἐμφρόνως τὰ καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἰσφαλίσατο, προορώμενος τὴν τῆς

1 γέγον' ἐν Capps: γέγονέν.

2 ἀθυρίαν Post, ἄθυμιαν Wurm: ἀθυρίαν MSS., Dindorf, Fischer.
BOOK XVIII. 59. 3—60. 1

gratulating him on his unexpected escape from very great dangers, they promised to co-operate willingly with him in everything. The Macedonian Silver Shields, about three thousand in number, likewise met him with friendship and zeal. All wondered at the incredible fickleness of Fortune, when they considered that a little while before the kings and the Macedonians had condemned Eumenes and his friends to death, but now, forgetting their own decision, they not only had let him off scot-free of punishment, but also had entrusted to him the supreme command over the entire kingdom. And it was with good reason that these emotions were shared by all who then beheld the reversals in Eumenes’ fortunes; for who, taking thought of the inconstancies of human life, would not be astonished at the alternating ebb and flow of fortune? Or who, putting his trust in the predominance he enjoys when Fortune favours him, would adopt a bearing too high for mortal weakness? For human life, as if some god were at the helm, moves in a cycle through good and evil alternately for all time. It is not strange, then, that some one unforeseen event has taken place, but rather that all that happens is not unexpected. This is also a good reason for admitting the claim of history, for in the inconstancy and irregularity of events history furnishes a corrective for both the arrogance of the fortunate and the despair of the destitute.

60. Eumenes, who at this time also kept these things in mind, prudently made his own position secure, for he foresaw that Fortune would change
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τούχης κανωτομίας. ὃρῶν γὰρ ἐαυτὸν μὲν ξένον ὄντα καὶ μηδὲν προσήκοντα βασιλικάς ἐξουσίας, τοὺς δ᾿ ὑποταττομένους Μακεδόνας θάνατον αὐτοῦ προκατεγνωκότας, τοὺς δὲν ταῖς στρατιωτικαῖς ἡγεσιονίας διατρίβοντας φρονήματος πλήρεις ὑπό ἄρχοντας καὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων ὁρεγομένους, ὑπελαβεῖν ἔσεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ συντόμως καταφράνησιν ἀμα καὶ φθόνον καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον τὸν περὶ τοῦ ξῆν κίνδυνον μηδένα γὰρ πονήσεων ἐκουσίως τὸ προστατέουμεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡττόνων εἶναι δοκοῦντων μηδὲ καρτηρήσεις δεσποζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ὁφειλόντων ἐτέρων ὑποτάττεσθαι. δεὸς δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ τούτων λόγον πρὸς μὲν διδομένων αὐτῷ τῶν πεντακοσίων ταλάντων κατὰ τὰς τῶν βασιλεῶν ἐπιστολάς εἰς ἀνάληψιν καὶ κατασκευὴν οὐκ ἔφησε λήψεθαι· μὴ γὰρ προσδείσθαι τηλικάυτης δωρεᾶς, ἡς ἂν μηδεμᾶς αὐτοῦ σπεύδοντος τυχεῖν 3 ἡγεμονίας. καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐχ ἐκουσίως αὐτὸν ὑπακηκοέναι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν χρείαν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλεῶν συνηγαγάσθαι προσδέξασθαι τὴν τοιαύτην λειτουργίαν. καθόλου γὰρ διὰ τὴν συνέχειαν τῆς στρατείας μηκέτι δύνασθαι φέρειν τὰς κακοπαθίας καὶ πλάνας, καὶ ταῦτα μηδεμᾶς ὑποκειμένης ἁρχῆς ξένω καὶ τῆς ὄμοθυνοις τοῖς 4. Μακεδόνων ἐξουσίας κεχωρισμένως. ἀπεφαίνετο δὲ αὐτὸν ἐωρακέναι κατὰ τὸν ὑπνον ὃθιν παράδοξον, ἣν ἀναγκαῖον ἡγεσίαν δηλώσαι πᾶσι· δοκεῖν γὰρ αὐτὴν πολλὰ συνεργήσεις πρὸς τε ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὸ 5 κοινὴ συμφέρον. δόξαι γὰρ κατὰ τὸν ὑπνον ὃθιν 'Αλέξανδρον τὸν βασιλέα ξένατα καὶ τῇ βασιλικῇ

1 Fischer suspects the loss of one or more words after κατασκευήν.

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again. He perceived that he himself was a foreigner 319 B.C. and had no claim to the royal power, that the Macedonians who were now subject to him had previously decreed his death, and that those who occupied the military commands were filled with arrogance and were aiming at great affairs. He therefore understood that he would soon be despised and at the same time envied, and that his life would eventually be in danger; for no one will willingly carry out orders given by those whom he regards as his inferiors, or be patient when he has over him as masters those who ought themselves to be subject to others. Reasoning about these matters with himself, when the five hundred talents for refitting and organization were offered him in accordance with the kings' letters, he at first refused to accept them, saying that he had no need of such a gift as he had no desire to attain any position of command. Even now, he said, it was not of his own will that he had yielded with respect to his present office, but he had been compelled by the kings to undertake this great task. In any case, owing to his continuous military service, he was no longer able to endure the hardships and journeyings, especially since no magistracy was in prospect for one who was an alien and hence was excluded from the power that belonged of right to the Macedonians. He declared, however, that in his sleep he had seen a strange vision, which he considered it necessary to disclose to all, for he thought it would contribute much to harmony and the general good.\footnote{For this device of Eumenes cp. Plutarch, \textit{Eumenes}, 13. 3-4; Nepos, \textit{Eumenes}, 7. 3-3; Polyænus, 4. 8. 2.} He said that in his sleep he had seemed to see Alexander the king, alive and clad in his kingly garb, presiding over
σκενηῇ κεκοσμημένον χρήματίζειν καὶ τὰ προστάγματα διδόναι τοὺς ἤγεμονι καὶ πάντα τὰ κατὰ ὥ τῆς βασιλείας διουκεῖν ἐνεργῶς. "διότερον οὖν, δέν ἡ τῆς βασιλικῆς γάζης κατασκευάσαι χρυσοὺν θρόνον, ἐν δέ τεθέντος τοῦ διαδήματος καὶ σκηπτροῦ καὶ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς ἐπιθύμειν ἀμὴ ἡμέρα πᾶντας αὐτῶν τοὺς ἤγεμόνας καὶ πλησίον τοῦ θρόνου συνεδρεύειν καὶ τὰ προστάγματα λαμβάνειν ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς ζωντος καὶ προστηκότος τῆς ἱδίως βασιλείας." 61. Πάντων δ' ἀποδεξαμένων τοὺς λόγους ταχέως ἀπαντά κατεσκευάσθη τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, ὡς ἂν πολυχρύσῳ τῆς βασιλικῆς οὐσίας γάζης. εὐθὺς οὖν κατασκευασθείσης μεγαλοπρεποῦς σκηνῆς ὁ τε θρόνος ἔχων τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὸ σκήπτρον ἐτέθη καὶ τὰ ὀπλα οἶς εἰσώθει χρῆσθαι. καὶ κειμένης ἐσχάρας ἔχουσις πῦρ ἐπέθυνον ἐκ κιβωτίων χρυσοῦ πάντες οἱ ἤγεμόνες τὸν τε λιβανωτὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐωδίων" τὰ πολυτελέστατα καὶ προσεκύνουν 2 ὡς θεὸν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτων δήφρων πολλῶν κειμένων ἐκάθισον ἐπὶ τούτων οἱ τὰς ἤγεμονίας ἔχοντες καὶ συνεδρεύοντες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἀεὶ κατεπεγόντων. ο' δ' Ἠμενής ἐν πάσι τοῖς χρηματιζόμενοι ὡς ἐαυτὸν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἤγεμοσιν ἀποδεικνύοντο καὶ πάντας ταῖς φιλανθρωποτάταις ὁμολογών ἰδμαγωγῶν τὸν τε καθ' ἑαυτὸν ϕόνον ἀπετρήσατο καὶ πολλὴν εὐνοιαν ἐν 3 τοῖς ἤγεμοσι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν κατεσκεύασαν, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν βασιλέα δεισιδαιμονίας ἐνισχυοῦ-

1 οἵμας MSS., Fischer : οἶοσθαί Dindorf.
2 εὐωδίων Geer, cr. Book 1. 18. 6, θημαμάτων εὐωδίων Fischer : εὐωδίων.
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a council, giving orders to the commanders, and actively administering all the affairs of the monarchy. "Therefore," he said, "I think that we must make ready a golden throne from the royal treasure, and that after the diadem, the sceptre, the crown, and the rest of the insignia have been placed on it, all the commanders must at daybreak offer incense to Alexander before it, hold the meetings of the council in its presence, and receive their orders in the name of the king just as if he were alive and at the head of his own kingdom."

61. As all agreed to his proposal, everything needed was quickly made ready, for the royal treasure was rich in gold. Straightway then, when a magnificent tent had been set up, the throne was erected, upon which were placed the diadem, the sceptre, and the armour that Alexander had been wont to use. Then when an altar with a fire upon it had been put in place, all the commanders would make sacrifice from a golden casket, presenting frankincense and the most costly of the other kinds of incense and making obeisance to Alexander as to a god. After this those who exercised command would sit in the many chairs that had been placed about and take counsel together, deliberating upon the matters that from time to time required their attention. Eumenes, by placing himself on an equality with the other commanders in all the matters that were discussed and by seeking their favour through the most friendly intercourse, wore down the envy with which he had been regarded and secured for himself a great deal of goodwill among the commanders. As their reverence for the king grew stronger, they were all filled with
σης ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδων ἀπαντεῖ ἐπιηροῦντο, καθάπερ θεοῦ τινος αὐτῶν ἣγουμένου. ὁμοίως δὲ τούτως καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀργυράσπιδας Μακεδόνας πολιτευόμενος ἀποδοχῆς μεγάλης ἐτύγχανεν παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἄξιος ὑπ’ τῆς τῶν βασιλέων φρουτίδος.

4 Προχειρισάμενος δὲ τῶν φίλων τοὺς εὐθετωτάτους καὶ δοὺς χρήματα δαμιλή πρὸς τὴν ἤξευλογίαν ἐξέπεμψεν ὀρίσαις ἄξιολογοὺς μισθοὺς. εὐθὺς δ’ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν Πισιδικὴν καὶ Λυκίαν καὶ τὴν πλησίον χωρὸν παρελθόντες ἐξευλογοῦν ἐπιμελῶς, οἱ δὲ τὴν Κιλικίαν ἐπεπορεύοντο, ἀλλοὶ δὲ τὴν Κόλπην Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην, τυνές δὲ τὰς ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ πόλεις. διαβοθείσης δὲ τῆς ἤξευλογίας καὶ τῆς μισθοφορᾶς ἄξιολογοῦ προκειμένης πολλοὶ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεων ἐθελοῦν κατήντων καὶ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν ἀπεγράφοντο, ἐν οἷον ὁμοι ζῶνος συνήχθησαν πεζοὶ μὲν πλεῖον τῶν μυρίων, ἵππεις δὲ δισχίλιοι χωρίς τῶν ἀργυρασπιδών καὶ τῶν μετ’ Ἐγγενοὺς κατηκτηκότων.

62. Παραδόξου δὲ καὶ τοχείας τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἐγγένη γενομένης αὐξήσεως Πτολεμαίος μὲν μετὰ στόλου πλεύσας εἰς Ζεφύριον τῆς Κιλικίας διεπέμπετο πρὸς τούς τῶν ἀργυρασπιδῶν ἡγεμόνας, παρακαλών μὴ προσέχεων τῷ Ἐγγενεῖ, καθ’ οὗ πάντες Μακεδόνες θάνατον κατέγνωσαν. ὁμοίως δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Κύνδοις φρουρῶν τεταγμένοις ἐξέπεμψε διαμαρτυρόμενος μὴ διδόναι μηδὲν τῶν χρημάτων Ἐγγενεῖ, καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγείλατο παρέξεσθαι. ἀλλὰ τούτω μὲν οὖν οὕδεισ

1 ἐκ τῶν Dindorf: τῶν ἐκ.
happy expectations, just as if some god were leading 318 B.C. them. And by conducting himself toward the Macedonian Silver Shields in a similar way, Eumenes gained great favour among them as a man worthy of the solicitude of the kings.

Eumenes selected the most able of his friends, gave them ample funds, and sent them out to engage mercenaries, establishing a notable rate of pay. Some of them went at once into Pisidia, Lycia, and the adjacent regions, where they zealously enrolled troops. Others travelled through Cilicia, others through Coelē Syria and Phoenicia, and some through the cities in Cyprus. Since the news of this levy spread widely and the pay offered was worthy of consideration, many reported of their own free will even from the cities of Greece and were enrolled for the campaign. In a short time more than ten thousand foot soldiers and two thousand horsemen were gathered together, not including the Silver Shields and those who had accompanied Eumenes.

62. At Eumenes' unexpected and sudden rise to power, Ptolemy, who had sailed to Zephyrium in Cilicia with a fleet, kept sending to the commanders of the Silver Shields, exhorting them not to pay any attention to Eumenes, whom all the Macedonians had condemned to death.¹ Likewise he sent to those who had been placed in command of the garrisons in Cyinda,² protesting solemnly against their giving any of the money to Eumenes, and promised to guarantee their safety. But no one paid any attention to him.

¹ Cp. chap. 37. 2. For the various plots against Eumenes cp. Plutarch, Eumenes, 8. 6, 13. 6, 16. 1.
² Called Quinda (Κώνινδα) in Book 20. 108. 2, a fortress in Cilicia where the royal treasure had been deposited. The exact location is unknown.
προσείχε διὰ τὸ τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τὸν ἐπιμελητὴν αὐτῶν Πολυπέρχοντα, ἔτι δὲ Ἤλυμπιάδα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μητέρα γεγραφέναι πάντα ὑπηρετεῖν Εὐμενεῖ, ὡς ὄντι τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοκράτορι στρατηγῷ. μάλιστα δ’ Ἀντιγόνῳ δυσηρέστει τότε τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐμενοῦς προαγωγὴν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν συνισταμένης ἐξουσίας· ὑπελάμβανε γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πολυπέρχοντος τούτον ἑαυτῷ κατασκευάζεσθαι μέγιστον ἀντίπαλον ἀποστάτη γεγονότι τῆς βασιλείας. διόπερ κρίνας ἐπιβουλὴν συστήσασθαι κατ’ αὐτοῦ προσχείριστο τῶν φίλων Φιλόσταν καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἐδωκεν ἐπιστολὴν γεγραμμένην πρὸς τέ τοὺς ἀργυράσπιδας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετ’ Εὐμενοῦς Μακεδόνας, συνεξέπεμψε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλους τριάκοντα Μακεδόνας τῶν περιέργων καὶ λάλων, οἷς ἦν προστεταγμένοι κατ’ ἱδίαν ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς ἠγεμόνις τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων 'Αντιγένει καὶ Τευτάμῳ καὶ διὰ τούτων συστήσασθαι τινα κατ’ Εὐμενοῦς ἐπιβουλὴν, δωρεὰς τε μεγάλας ἐπαγγελλομένους καὶ σατραπείας μείζονας, ὡμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων τοῖς γνωριζόμενοι καὶ πολίταις ἐντυχανέων καὶ διαφθείρεων δωρεάσ πρὸς τὴν κατ’ Εὐμενοῦς ἐπιβουλὴν. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων οὐδένα πείσαι κατίσχυσαν, Τευτάμος δὲ ὁ τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων ἠγεμόνις διαφθαρεῖς ἐπέβαλετο καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα Ἀντιγένην πείσαι κοινονήσας τῆς πράξεως. δ’ ὁ Ἀντιγένης, συνέσει καὶ πίστεως βεβαιότητι διαφέρων, οὐ μόνον ἀντεῖπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετέπεισε τὸν προδιεφθαρμένον. ἐδίδαξε γὰρ αὐτὸν συμφέρειν ζην τὸν Εὐμενῆ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν Ἀντίγονον· ἐκείνον μὲν γὰρ εἰς πλείον ισχὺν·

1 ἐπαγγελλομένος Reiske: ἐπαγγέλλομενος.
because the kings and Polyperchon their guardian 318 B.C. and also Olympias, the mother of Alexander, had written to them that they should serve Eumenes in every way, since he was the commander-in-chief of the kingdom. Antigonus in particular was displeased with the advancement of Eumenes and the magnitude of the power that was being concentrated in him; for he assumed that Eumenes was being made ready by Polyperchon as the strongest antagonist of himself now that he had become a rebel against the monarchy. Deciding, therefore, to organize a plot against Eumenes, he selected Philotas, one of his friends, and gave him a letter that he had written to the Silver Shields and to the other Macedonians with Eumenes. With him he also sent thirty other Macedonians, meddlesome and talkative persons, whom he instructed to meet separately with Antigenes and Teutamus, the commanders of the Silver Shields, and through them to organize some plot against Eumenes by promising great gifts and greater satrapies. Antigonus also told them to get in touch with their acquaintances and fellow citizens among the Silver Shields and secure their support for the plot against Eumenes by corrupting them with bribes. Now although they were unable to persuade any others, Teutamus, the leader of the Silver Shields, was bribed and undertook to persuade his fellow commander, Antigenes, to share in the enterprise. Antigenes, however, who was a man of great shrewdness and trustworthiness, not only argued against this, but he even won back the man who had been bribed; for he showed him that it was to his advantage that Eumenes rather than Antigonus should remain alive. The latter, indeed, if he became more
διοδότοι επιστολήν ἀνα-
δόντος τοῖς ἡγεμόνις συνήχθησαν οἱ τοῦ ἀργυρ-
ἀσπίδες καὶ οἱ ἅλλοι Μακεδόνες κατ’ ἱδίαν ἅνευ τοῦ Ἐὐμενοῦς καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν προσέταξαν ἀνα-
2 γνωσθῆναι. ἦν δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμμενή κατηγορία μὲν τοῦ Ἐὐμενοῦς, παράκλησις δὲ τῶν Μακεδό-
νων συλλαβεῖν τὸν Ἐὐμηνῆ ταχέως καὶ ἀποκτείναν
eἀν ἰητεία μὴ πράξωσιν, ὅτι μετὰ πάσης τῆς
dυνάμεως ἦζει πολεμήσων αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς μὴ
πειθάρχουσι τὴν προσήκουσαι ἐπιθῆσει τιμωρίαν.
3 ἀναγνωσθείσης δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς εἰς πολλὴν ἀπορίαν ἐνέπεσον οἱ τὸ ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ Μακε-
δόνες πάντες: ἀναγκαίον γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἡ πρὸς τοὺς
βασιλείς ἀποκλίναντας ὑπ’ Ἀντιγόνου τιμωρίας
tυχεῖν ἠ πειθάρχησαντας Ἀντιγόνου ὑπὸ Πολυπέρ-
4 χοντος καὶ τῶν βασιλέων κολασθῆναι. τοιαύτης δὲ
υγχύσεως ἐπεχοῦσης τὰ πλήθη ἤκεν ὁ Ἐὐμηνῆς καὶ
tὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγνοῦν παρεκάλεσε τοὺς
Μακεδόνας πράττειν τὰ τοῖς βασιλεῖσι δεδομένα,
5 τῷ δὲ ἀποστάτη γεγονότι μὴ προσέχειν. πολλὰ
de διαλεξθεῖσι οἰκεία τῆς ύποθέσεως οὐ μόνον αὐ-
tοῦ ἀπελύθη τῶν ἐνεπτότων κινδύνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ
πλῆθος εἰς εὐνοιαν μείζονα τῆς προϋπαρχοῦσης
cπαρεστήσατο. οὗτος μὲν οὖν πάλιν εἰς ἀνελπί-
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powerful, would take away their satrapies and set up some of his friends in their places; Eumenes, however, since he was a foreigner, would never dare to advance his own interests, but, remaining a general, would treat them as friends and, if they co-operated with him, would protect their satrapies for them and perhaps give them others also. So those who were contriving plots against Eumenes met with failure in the way described.

63. When, however, Philotas gave the commanders the letter that had been addressed to all in common, the Silver Shields and the other Macedonians came together privately without Eumenes and ordered the letter to be read. In it Antigonus had written an accusation against Eumenes and had exhorted the Macedonians to seize Eumenes quickly and put him to death. If they should not do this, he said that he would come with his whole army to wage war against them, and that upon those who refused to obey he would inflict suitable punishment. At the reading of this letter the commanders and all the Macedonians found themselves in great perplexity, for it was necessary for them either to side with the kings and receive punishment from Antigonus, or to obey Antigonus and be chastised by Polyperchon and the kings. While the troops were in this confused state, Eumenes entered and, after reading the letter, urged the Macedonians to follow the decrees of the kings and not listen to one who had become a rebel. He discussed many matters pertinent to the subject and not only freed himself from the imminent danger but also gained greater favour with the crowd than before. Thus once more Eumenes, after falling
στους κυνόνους ἐμπεσῶν παραδόξως ἴσχυροτέραν κατασκεύασε τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν δύναμιν. διὸ καὶ τοῖς στρατιῶταις παραγγείλας ἀναξευνύεων προῆγεν ἐπὶ Φουίκης, σπεύδων τὰς ναύς ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν πόλεων ἀθροίσαι καὶ στόλον ἀξίολογον κατασκευάσαι, ὅπως Πολυπέρχων μὲν προσλαβόμενος τὰς ἐκ τῆς Φουίκης ναύς θαλαττοκρατῆ καὶ δύνηται διαβιβάζειν ἀσφαλῶς, ὅταν βούληται, τὰς ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπ᾽ Ἀντίγονον. οὖτος μὲν οὖν ἐν Φουίκη διέτριβε κατασκευαζόμενος τὴν ναυτικὴν δύναμιν.

64. Ἀμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Νικάνωρ δὲ τὴν Μουνχίαν κατέχων ἄκοιντον τὸν μὲν Κάσανδρον ἐκ Μακεδονίας κεχωρίσθαι πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, τὸν δὲ Πολυπέρχοντα προσδόκιμον εἰναι συντόμως ἦσεν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἥξιον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαφυλάττειν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Κάσανδρον εὖνοιαν. οὕθεν δὲ αὐτῷ προσέχοντος, ἄλλα καὶ τὴν φρουράν πάντων οἰκιμένων δείν ἐξάγειν τὴν ταχύτητα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παρακρουσάμενος τὸν δήμον ἐπείσεν ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐπισχεῖν, πράξειν γὰρ αὐτὸν τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πόλει, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τινας ἡμέρας ἦσουν ἐχάντων ἐλάθε νυκτὸς κατ᾽ ὀλίγους3 στρατιώτας εἰσαγαγὼν εἰς τὴν Μουνχίαν, ὅστε γενέσθαι δύναμιν ἀξίωρως τηρεῖν τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίοις γνώντες τὸν Νικάνορα μηδὲν ύγιὲς πράττοντα πρὸς μὲν τοὺς βασιλέας2 καὶ Πολυπέρχοντα

1 κατ᾽ ὀλίγους MSS. and editors, οὐκ ὀλίγους Wurms.
2 τοὺς βασιλέας Fischer, cp. chap. 65. 1 : τὸν βασιλέα.

3 Continued in chap. 73. 1.
into unforeseen danger, unexpectedly made his own 318 B.C. power greater. Therefore he ordered the soldiers to break camp and led them to Phoenicia, desiring to gather ships from all the cities and assemble a considerable fleet, so that Polyperchon, by the addition of the Phoenician ships, might have control of the sea and be able to transport the Macedonian armies safely to Asia against Antigonus whenever he wished. Accordingly he remained in Phoenicia preparing the naval force.¹

64. Meanwhile Nicanor, the commander of Munychia,² on hearing that Cassander had gone from Macedonia to Antigonus and that Polyperchon was expected to come shortly into Attica with his army, asked the Athenians to continue to favour Cassander. No one approved, but all thought that it was necessary to get rid even of the garrison as soon as possible. Nicanor therefore at first deceived the Assembly and persuaded them to wait for a few days, saying that Cassander would do what was for the advantage of the city; but then, while the Athenians remained inactive for a short time, he secretly introduced soldiers into Munychia by night, a few at a time, so that there was a force there strong enough to maintain the guard and fight against any who undertook to besiege the garrison. The Athenians, when they found out that Nicanor was not acting honourably with them, sent an embassy to the kings and to Polyperchon, asking

¹ Immediately after Antipater's death, Cassander appointed Nicanor commander of Munychia in place of Menyllus (Plutarch, Phocion, 31. 1; cp. chap. 18. 5 above). For Nicanor cp. note on chap. 39. 6. The following events to the death of Phocion (chap. 67. 6) belong to the winter of 319/18. For events in Greece to the death of Phocion cp. Plutarch, Phocion, 31-87; Nepos, Phocion, 3-4.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

πρεσβείαν ἐξέπεμψαν, ἠξιοῦντες βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ διάγραμμα τὸ γραφὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτονομίας: αὐτοὶ δὲ πλεονάκως ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγόντες ἐβούλευσoντo πῶς χρηστέον εἴη περὶ 4 τοῦ πρὸς Νικάνορα πολέμου. τούτων δ’ ἔτι περὶ ταῦτ’ ἀσχολουμένων ὁ Νικάνωρ, πολλοὺς ἡξενολογήκως, λάθρα νυκτὸς ἡξαγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας κατελάβετο τὰ τείχη τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ τοῦ λιμένος τὰ κλεῖδρα. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι τὴν μὲν Μουνικίαν οὐκ ἀπειλήφθες, τὸν δὲ Πειραιᾶ προσαποβεβλή-5 κότες χαλεπῶς ἔφερον. διόπερ ἔλομενοι πρεσβεῖς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ φιλίαι ἐχόντων πρὸς Νικάνορα Φωκίων τὸν Φώκου καὶ Κόνωνα τὸν Τιμοθέου καὶ Κλέαρχον τὸν Ναυσικλέους ἥξαπ-έστειλαν, ἐγκαλοῦντες μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πεπραγμένους, ἠξιοῦντες δὲ ἀποδοθῶν τὴν αὐτονομίαν αὐτοῖς κατὰ 6 τὸ γεγενημένον διάταγμα. οἱ δὲ Νικάνωρ ἀποκρίσεις ἔδωκε πρεσβεύειν αὐτοὺς πρὸς Κάσανδρον ὡς ἐκείνον γὰρ καθεσταμένον φρούραρχον μηδαμῶς ἔχειν ἑξοσοπίαν ἰδιοπραγεῖν.

65. Κατὰ δὲ τούτον τὸν καυρὸν ἦκεν ἐπιστολὴ Νικάνορι παρ’ Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐν ᾗ προσέταττεν ἀποδοθῶν Ἀθηναίοι τὴν τε Μουνίχιαν καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ. δὲ Νικάνωρ ἀκούων ὦτι μέλλουσι οἱ βασιλεῖς καὶ Πολυπέρχοις κατάγει εἰς Μακεδονίαν τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ τοῦ τε παιδίου τῇ ἐπιμέλειᾳ ἐκείνη παραδίδοναι καὶ τὴν προὐπάρχουσαν ἀποδοχὴν καὶ τιμὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ζῶντος ἀποκαθιστά-ναι Ὀλυμπιάδο, φοβηθεῖς ἐπηγγείλατο μὲν παρα-δώσειν, αἰὲ δὲ προφάσεις τινὰς ποιούμενος παρῆγε

1 Cp. chaps. 55, 56.
2 Timotheüs was a leading statesman of Athens in the
them to send aid in accordance with the edict that had been issued concerning the autonomy of the Greeks; and they themselves, holding frequent meetings of the Assembly, considered what ought to be done about the war with Nicanor. While they were still engaged in this discussion, Nicanor, who had hired many mercenaries, made a secret sally by night and took the walls of the Piraeus and the harbour boom. The Athenians, who not only had failed to recapture Munychia but also had lost the Piraeus, were angry. They therefore selected as envoys some of the prominent citizens who were friends of Nicanor—Phocion the son of Phocus, Conon the son of Timotheus, and Clearchus the son of Nausicles—and sent them to Nicanor to complain about what he had done and also to request him to restore their autonomy according to the edict that had been issued. Nicanor, however, answered that they should direct their mission to Cassander, since as a garrison commander appointed by Cassander he himself had no power of independent action.

65. At this time a letter came to Nicanor from Olympias, in which she ordered him to restore Munychia and the Piraeus to the Athenians. Since Nicanor had heard that the kings and Polyaerchus were going to bring Olympias back to Macedonia, entrust to her the upbringing of the boy, and re-establish her in the state and honour that she had enjoyed during the lifetime of Alexander, he was frightened and promised to make the restoration, but he avoided the fulfilment of the promise by constantly making excuses.

second quarter of the century. His father, Conon, had restored the walls of the Piraeus in 393 B.C. Nausicles was a statesman of the second rank and a supporter of Demosthenes.

3 Cp. chap. 57. 2.
2 τὴν πράξιν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι πεπολυωρηκότες ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ νομίσαντες τὰς μὲν ταύτης δεδομένας τιμὰς ὄντως γεγονέναι, τὴν δὲ ἀπόληψιν τῆς αὐτονομίας διὰ ταύτης ἐξπίλοντες ἀκινδύνως ἔσεθαν περιχαρεῖς.

3 ἦσαν. ἀτελεότατοι δ’ ἐτι τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν οὐσῶν ἦκεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πολυπέρχοντος οὐδὲ μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναίοι διέλαβον αὐτὸν ἠκείνων ἀποκαταστήσοντα τῷ δὴμῳ τὴν τε Μονυχίαν καὶ τὸν Πειραιά, τὸ δ’ ἄληθες οὐχ οὕτως εἰχεν, ἀλλὰ τούναντιν αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ παραληψόμενος ἀμφότερα παρῆν2 πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ χρείας. τῶν γὰρ Ἀντιπάτρῳ γεγονότων φιλῶν τινὸς, ὁ δὲ ὑπηρχον καὶ οἱ περὶ Φωκίωνα, φοβούμενοι τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίας ὑπήντησαν τῷ Ἀλέξανδρῳ καὶ διδάξαντος τὸ συμφέρον ἐπεισόντα αὐτὸν ἰδίᾳ κατέχειν τὰ φρούρια καὶ μὴ παραδιδόναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, μέχρι ἂν ὁ Κάσανδρος καταπολεμήσῃ. ὃ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος πλησίον τοῦ Πειραιῶς καταστρατοπεδεύσας τοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίους οὐ παρελάμβανεν πρὸς τὰς ἐνεπεξε ὑπὸ τὸν Νικάνορα, ἰδίᾳ δὲ συνιόν εἰς λόγους καὶ ἐν ἀπορρήτους διαπραττόμενος φανερὸς ἦν ἀδικεῖν μέλλων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὃ δὲ δὴμος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνελθὼν τὰς μὲν ὑπαρχοῦσας ἀρχὰς κατέλυσεν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν δημοτικωτάτων τὰ ἀρχεῖα καταστήσας τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς ὀλυγρυχίας γεγονότας ἀρχοντας κατεδίκασε τοὺς μὲν θανάτῳ, τοὺς δὲ φυγῇ καὶ δημεύσει τῆς

1 Dindorf reads δεδομένας.
2 παρῆν added by Reiske, followed by Fischer in his corrigenda. Dindorf indicates a lacuna after χρείας.
3 ὁν added by Reiske.

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BOOK XVIII. 65. 1-6

The Athenians, who had had great respect for Olym- pias in former times and now regarded the honours that had been decreed for her as actually in effect, were filled with joy, hoping that through her favour the recovery of their autonomy might be accomplished without risk. While the promise was still unfulfilled, however, Alexander the son of Polyperchon arrived in Attica with an army. The Athenians, indeed, believed that he had come to give back Munychia and the Piraeus to the people; this, however, was not the truth, but on the contrary he had come from interested motives to take both of them himself for use in the war. Now certain Athenians who had been friends of Antipater, of whom Phocion was one, fearing the punishment due them in accordance with the laws, went to Alexander and, by showing him what was to his own advantage, persuaded him to hold the forts for himself and not deliver them to the Athenians until after the defeat of Cassander. Alexander, who had pitched his camp near the Piraeus, did not admit the Athenians to his parley with Nicanor; but by conferring with him in private and negotiating secretly, he made it evident that he did not intend to deal fairly with the Athenians. The people, coming together in an assembly, removed from office the existing magistrates, filling the offices with men from the extreme democrats; and they condemned those who had held office under the oligarchy, decreeing the death penalty for some of them, exile and confiscation of

1 In March, 318 B.C.
οὺσίας· ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Φωκίων ὁ ἐπὶ Ἀντιπάτρου τὴν τῶν ἀλώνν ἀρχήν ἐσχηκὼς.

66. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐκβληθέντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως κατέφυγον πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πολυπέρχοντος καὶ διὰ τούτου τὴν σωτηρίαν ἑαυτοῖς πορίζειν ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο. προσδεχόντες δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φιλο-φρόνος γράμματα ἐλαβον πρὸς τὸν πατέρα Πολυ-πέρχοντα, ὅπως μηδὲν πάθωσιν οἱ περὶ Φωκίωνα, τάκεινον πεφρονηκότες καὶ νῦν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι 2 πάντα συμπράξειν. ἀποστείλαντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου προσβείαν πρὸς τὸν Πολυπέρχοντα τὴν κατηγοροῦσαν μὲν τῶν περὶ Φωκίωνα, παρακαλοῦ-σαν δὲ τῆς Μαυριχίαν αὐτοῖς δούναι μετὰ τῆς αὐτονομίας, ὁ Πολυπέρχων ἔσπευδε μὲν φρουρὰς κατέχειν τὸν Πειραιᾶ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ δύνασθαι χρησιμεύειν τὸν λιμένα πρὸς τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις χρείας αἰσχυνόμενος δὲ ἐναντία πράττειν τὸν ὑπὸ ἑαυτοῦ γεγραμμένον διαγράμματι καὶ νομίζον ἀπιστοὺς κριθήκοντας παρὰ τοὺς Ἑλλησπονεῖς εἰς τὴν ἑπι-φανεστάτην παρανομήν πόλιν, μετενόησε τῇ 3 γνώμῃ. διακόουσα δὲ τῶν πρόσβεσιν τοῖς μὲν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου προσβείοννοι φιλανθρώπως κεχαρισμένα ἐδωκεν ἀποκρίσεις, τοὺς δὲ περὶ Φωκίωνα συλ-λαβών ἀπέστειλε δεσμίους εἰς τὰς Ἀθῆνας, διδοὺς τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ δῆμῳ εἴτε βούλεται βασιλείαν εἴτ' ἀπολύσαι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων.

4 Συναχθείσης οὖν ἐκκλησίας ἐν ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς καὶ προτεθείσης κρίσεως τοῖς περὶ τὸν Φωκίωνα πολ-λοὶ τῶν τε φυγάδων γεγονότων ἐπί Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων κατηγόρησαν αὐτῶν

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1 This audience is described in some detail by Plutarch (Phocion, 33. 5-7).
property for others, among whom was Phocion, who \textit{318 B.C.} had held supreme authority under Antipater.

66. These men, on being driven from the city, fled to Alexander the son of Polyperchon and strove to secure safety for themselves through his good offices. They were well received by him and given letters to his father, Polyperchon, urging that Phocion and his friends should suffer no ill, since they had favoured his interests and now promised to co-operate with him in every way. The Athenian people also sent an embassy to Polyperchon laying charges against Phocion and praying Polyperchon to restore to them Munychia and their autonomy. Now Polyperchon was eager to occupy the Piraeus with a garrison because the port could be of great service to him in meeting the needs of the wars; but since he was ashamed of acting contrary to the edict that he himself had issued, believing that he would be held faithless among the Greeks if he broke his word to the most famous city, he changed his purpose. When he had heard the embassies,\textsuperscript{1} he gave a favourable answer in friendly terms to the one sent by the people, but he arrested Phocion and his companions and sent them bound to Athens, granting the people the authority either to put them to death or to dismiss the charges as they pleased.

When an assembly was called together in Athens and the case of Phocion and his fellows was brought forward, many of those who had been exiles in the days of Antipater \textsuperscript{2} and many of those who had been

\textsuperscript{1} Cp. chap. 18. 4-5. These exiles had been restored by Polyperchon's decree (chap. 56). According to Plutarch (\textit{Phocion}, 32. 2), one important purpose of the restoration of the exiles was to make possible the ruin of Phocion. For the trial and death of Phocion cp. Plutarch, \textit{Phocion}, 34-37.
Diodorus of Sicily

5 θανάτου, ἤν δ’ ὁ σύμπας τῆς κατηγορίας λόγος ὅτι οὗτοι παραίτησι γεγένηται μετὰ τὸν Δαμιακὸν πόλεμον τῆς τε δουλείας τῆς πατρίδι καὶ τῆς καταλύσεως τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν νόμων. ὡς δὲ τοῖς ἀπολογουμένοις δ’ ἱκαρίς παρεδόθη τῆς ἀπολογίας, ὦ μὲν Φωκίων ἡρέτατο ποιεῖται τὸν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τοῖς θορύβοις ἐξέσει ς τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ὥστ’ εἰς πολλὴν ἀπορίαν παραγενέσθαι
tοὺς ἀπολογουμένους. λήσαντος δὲ τοῦ θορύβου πάλιν ὦ μὲν Φωκίων ἀπελογεῖτο, δ’ ὦ ὅχλος κατεβόα καὶ τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ κυνδυνεύοντος ἐκάλυψεν ἐξακούσας τὸ γὰρ πλῆθος τῶν δημοτικῶν, ἀπωσμένον τῆς πολιτείας καὶ παρ’ ἐλπίδας τετευχός τῆς καθόδου, πικρῶς διέκειτο πρὸς τοὺς ἀφηρημένους τὴν αὐτονομίαν.

67. Βιαζομένου δὲ τοῦ Φωκίωνος καὶ πρὸς περιστασιαν ἀπεγνωσμένην ὑπὲρ τοῦ ζῆν ἀγωνιζομένου οἱ μὲν πλησίον ὄντες ἦκουν τῶν τῆς ὑποθέσεως δικαίων, οἱ δὲ μακρότερον διεστηκότες διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς κραυγῆς τῶν θορυβοῦντων ἦκουν μὲν οὐδέν, αὐτὴν δὲ μόνην ἐθεώρουν τὴν τοῦ σώματος κύησιν, γυνομένην ἐναγωγὸν καὶ ποικίλη διὰ τὸ
2 μέγεθος τοῦ κυνδύνου. τέλος δὲ ἀπογονοῦ τὴν σωτηρίαν ὦ Φωκίων ἀνεβάς, δεόμενος αὐτοῦ μὲν καταφημίσασθαι τὸν θάνατον, τῶν δ’ ἄλλων φείδεσθαι. ἀμεθούτου δὲ τῆς τοῦ πλῆθους ὁμίη καὶ βίας οὕτης παραπομπὸ των τῶν φιλῶν συνηγορήσοντες τῷ Φωκίων, δὲν τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς τῶν λόγων ἦκουν, ὅποτε δὲ προβαίνωντες φανεροὶ καθίσταντο τὴν ἀπολογίαν διεξιότες, ἐξεβάλλοντο
toῖς θορύβοις καὶ ταῖς ἐναντιουμέναις κραυγαῖς.
political opponents of the prisoners demanded the death penalty. The whole basis for the accusation was that after the Lamian War these men had been responsible for the enslavement of the fatherland and the overthrow of the democratic constitution and laws. When opportunity was given the defendants for their defence, Phocion began to deliver a plea in his own behalf, but the mob by its tumult rejected his defence, so that the defendants were left in utter helplessness. When the tumult subsided, Phocion tried again to defend himself, but the crowd shouted him down and prevented the voice of the accused from being fully heard; for the many supporters of democracy, who had been expelled from their citizenship and then, beyond their hopes, had been restored, were bitter against those who had deprived Athens of its independence.

67. As Phocion attempted to overcome the opposition and fought for his life in desperate circumstances, those who were near heard the justice of his plea, but those who were at a greater distance heard nothing because of the great uproar caused by the rioters and only beheld his gestures, which because of his great danger were impassioned and varied. Finally, abandoning hope of safety, Phocion shouted in a loud voice, begging them to condemn him to death but to spare the others. As the fury and violence of the mob remained unalterable, certain of Phocion’s friends kept coming forward to add their pleas to his. The mob would listen to their opening words, but when, as they went on, they made it clear that they were speaking for the defence, they would be driven away by the tumult and by the jeers that

1 Cp. chap. 18.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

3 τὸ δ᾽ ἔσχατον πανδήμων φωνῆ αταξειρωτονηθέντες εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἤγοντο τήν ἐπὶ θανάτω. συν-
ηκολούθουν δὲ αὐτοῖς πολλοὶ τῶν σπουδαίων ἄν-
δρῶν, ὁδυρόμενοι καὶ συμπάσχοντες ἐπὶ τῶν μεγέθεις τῶν ἀτυχημάτων· τὸ γὰρ πρωτεύοντας ἄνδρας ταῖς δόξαις καὶ ταῖς εὐγενείαις, πολλὰ πεπραχότας ἐν τῷ ζῆν φιλάνθρωπα, μῆτε λόγον μῆτε κρίσεως δικαίας τυγχάνειν πολλοὺς ἤγεν εἰς ἐπίστασιν διανοιάς καὶ φόβον, ἀστάτον τε καὶ κοινῆς ἀπασί τῆς τύχης 5 οὐσώσις. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν καὶ πικρῶς διακεμένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλοιδόρουν τε ἀνγέλως καὶ πικρῶς ὄνειδιζον αὐτῷ τὰς συμφορὰς· τὸ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις σιωπώμενοι μύσος, ὅταν ἐκ μετα-
βολῆς ἐν ταῖς ἀτυχίαις ἐκραγῇ, ταῖς ὀργαῖς ἀπο-
6 θηριοῦται πρὸς τοὺς μισομένους. διὰ δὴ τῆς τοῦ κωνείου πόσεως κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος τὸν βίον καταλύσαντες ἐρρίφησαν ἀπαφοὶ πάντες ἐκ τῶν τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὀρων. ὅ μὲν οὖν Φωκίων καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ 68. Κάσσανδρος δὲ παρ᾽ Ἀντιγόνου λαβὼν ναῦς μακρὰς τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε, στρατιώτας δὲ τετρα-
κισχίλιους κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. προσδέχ-
θεις δ᾽ ὑπὸ Νικάνορος τοῦ φρουράρχου παρέλαβε 
τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὰ κλεῖδρα τοῦ λιμένος· τὴν δὲ 
Μονυχίαν αὐτὸς ὁ Νικάνωρ κατέκειν, ἔχων ἄδειος 
στρατιώτα ἰκανοὺς εἰς τὸ τηρεῖν τὸ φρούριον.
2 Πολυπέρχων δὲ μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἐτυχε μὲν 
διατρίβων περὶ τὴν Φωκίδα, πυθόμενος δὲ τὸν 70 εἰς Πειραιᾶ κατάπλων τοῦ Κασάνδρου παρήλθεν

1 te Capps : δὲ MSS., omitted by Dindorf and Fischer.
2 δὲ added by Dindorf.
3 δὴ Capps : δὲ.
BOOK XVIII. 67. 3—68. 2

greeted them. Finally by the universal voice of the people the accused were condemned and led off to the prison on the way to death. They were accompanied by many good men, mourning and sympathizing with them at their great misfortune. For that men who were second to none in reputation and birth and had done many acts of human kindness during life should obtain neither a chance to defend themselves nor a fair trial turned many to arresting thoughts and fear, Fortune being not only unstable but impartial to all alike. But many of the popular party, men who were bitter in their opposition to Phocion, kept reviling him mercilessly and cruelly charging him with their misfortunes. For when hatred, that in prosperity finds no utterance, after a change of Fortune breaks out in adversity, it loses all human semblance in its rage against its object. So when, by taking the draught of hemlock according to the ancient custom, these men had ended their lives, they were all thrown unburied beyond the boundaries of Attica. In this manner died Phocion and those who had been falsely accused with him.1

68. Cassander, after receiving from Antigonus thirty-five warships and four thousand soldiers, sailed into the Piraeus. Welcomed by Nicanor, the garrison commander, he took over the Piraeus and the harbour booms, while Munychia was retained by Nicanor himself, who had enough soldiers of his own to man the fortress. Polypерchon and the kings happened to be staying in Phocis, but when Polypерchon learned of Cassander’s arrival in the Piraeus,

1 Phocion was executed during the Attic month Munychion (April or May), 318 (Plutarch, Phocion, 37. 1).

4 μεν before εξων omitted by editors.
eis tēn 'Attikhēn kai plēsion tou Peiraiwos katē
3 estrapatopèdeusen. eìxe̱n de me̱th' euvatou stratwōtas
peξou[s mēn Makēdōnās diammurias, twōn de állon
suumáxhōn peri tetraκiouchiōn, ἕπτεὶς de χυλίους,
eλέφαντας de̱ eξήκοντα πέντε. ἐπεβάλετο mēn ou̱n
poliorkeiōn tōs peri tōn Kāsanndrou, spανιζων1
dē trophi̱s kai tēn poliorkian υπολαμβαναν ἔσεσθαι
poluχrōnon ἡγακάσθη méros tīs duvámewa̱s ἀπο-
λυπείν kαtα tēn 'Attikhēn tō duvámewo̱n ἔχει̱n tīn
tōs sītou χορηγίαν, ἡγουμένου tōu úne̱dó 'Alēx-
āndrou, autōs de tō plēsion tīs duvámewa̱s ἀνα-
labwv parēlθen eίs Pelopōnνηsou, sūnanaγκάνων
tōs Megalopolītas peiθarχe̱n tōs basilewson,
ai̱ étugxanōn mēn tō Kāsanndrou frosno̱ntes kai
diá tīs up̱ 'Antipātropou kathēstamēnēs oλiγarχias
dioukōmewνo̱n.

69. Tōu de̱ Polupērxontos peri tauta diatrī-
βontos ὁ Kāsanndros ἀναλαβwv tōn stōlon Aigii-
νήτas mēn proshgagētō, tōs de̱ Salamwνiou̱s
allōtria frosno̱ntas eίs poliorkian svnēklei̱se.
kaḻ ἡμέρan de̱ sunecheis poutoumewν prosvbolas kai
belw̱n kai stratwτwv eυpōrōn eίs tōs eσχάτων
2 kωνδύνων ἡγαγε tōs Salamwνionw. kωνδυνονοεσ̱
de̱ tīs pōleωs ἀλwvai kαtα krate̱s ὁ Polupērxωn
eξεπεμψε duwam-in aξiołogon peξi̱khν tē kaḻ
nau-ti̱khν tīn epithσomēnēn tōs poliorkokων. di̱στέρ
ὁ Kāsanndros kataπλαγεὶς kai lūsas tīn polior-
3 kīan ape̱πλευσεν eίς tōn Peiraiāt. Polupērxωn de̱
boulōmewν tē kαtα tīn Pelopōnνηsou dioikhσai
sυμφερόντωs parēlθε kai sυναγαγōn ek tōn
pōleωn svνēdρoυ̱s di̱elekθε peri tīs prōs autōn
suumachias. eξe̱peμψε de̱ kai prōs tās pōleων
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he moved into Attica and camped near the Piraeus. 318 B.C.
He had with him twenty thousand Macedonian
infantry and about four thousand of the other allies,
a thousand cavalry, and sixty-five elephants. It was
his intention to besiege Cassander; but since he was
short of supplies and supposed that the siege would
be long, he was forced to leave in Attica under the
command of his son Alexander the part of the army
that could be supplied with food, while he himself
with the larger part of the forces moved into the
Peloponnesus to enforce obedience to the kings upon
the people of Megalopolis, who were in sympathy
with Cassander and were governed by the oligarchy
that had been established by Antipater.

69. While Polyperchon was busy with these affairs,
Cassander with the fleet secured the allegiance of the
people of Aegina and closely invested the Salaminians,
who were hostile to him. Since he made continuous
onslaughts day after day and was well supplied with
both missiles and men, he reduced the Salaminians
to the most desperate straits. The city was already
in danger of being taken by storm when Polyperchon
sent a considerable force of infantry and ships to
attack the besiegers. At this Cassander was alarmed,
abandoned the siege, and sailed back to the Piraeus.
But Polyperchon, in his anxiety to settle affairs in the
Peloponnesus to his own advantage, went there and
discussed with delegates, whom he had gathered from
the cities, the question of their alliance with himself.
He also sent envoys to the cities, ordering that those

1 ὁπανίζων editors : ὁπανιζόντων.
πρεσβευτάς, προστάτων τοὺς μὲν δὴ Ἀντιπάτρου καθεσταμένους ἀρχοντας ἐπὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας θανατώσαι, τοῖς δὲ δήμοις ἀποδοῦναι τὴν αὐτονομίαν. 4 πολλῶν δ' ὑπακουοῦντων καὶ κατὰ τὰς πόλεις φόνων γινομένων καὶ τινῶν φυγαδευμένων οἱ μὲν Ἀντιπάτρου φίλοι διεθάρησαν, τὰ δὲ πολιτεύματα τὴν ἐκ τῆς αὐτονομίας παρρησίαν ἀπέλαβον καὶ συνεμάχου τοῖς περὶ τῶν Πολυπέρχοντα. μόνων δὲ τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν διατηροῦντων τὴν πρὸς Κάσανδρον φιλίαν ἔκρινε πολιορκηθῆσαι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν.

70. Οἱ δὲ Μεγαλοπολῖται γυνόντες τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τοῦ Πολυπέρχοντος ἐψηφίσαντο τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας κατάγειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν καὶ ἕνων καὶ δούλων ἀριθμὸν ποιησάμενοι μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους εὗρον τοὺς δυναμένους παρέχεσθαι τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας. εὐθὺς οὖν τοὺς μὲν εἰς τάξεις κατελόχιζον, οὓς δὲ πρὸς τὰς ὑπηρεσίας τοῖς ἔργοις καθίσταν, οὓς δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν 2 τειχῶν ἔταττον. ὑφ' ἔνα δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καυρόν οἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν πόλιν τάφρον ὠρυττον βαθεῖαν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας χάρακα παρεκόμιζον, τινὲς δὲ τὰ πεποιηκότα τῶν τειχῶν κατεσκεύαζον, ἄλλοι δὲ περὶ τὰς ὀπλοποιίας καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ὀξυβελῶν καταπελτῶν ἐγίνοντο, πᾶσα δ' ἡ πόλις ἐν ἔργοις καθεστηκεί διὰ τε τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ διὰ τοὺς προσδοκωμένους κυνήγους.

3 διεβεβόητο γὰρ τὸ τε μέγεθος τῆς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συνακολουθοῦντων ἐλεφάντων καὶ δοκοῦντων ἀνυπόστατον ἔχειν τὴν τε ἀλκήν καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὀρμήν.

4 Ταχὺ δὲ πάντων εὐτρεπῶν γενομένων ὃ μὲν 200
BOOK XVIII. 69. 3—70. 4

who through Antipater's influence had been made magistrates in the oligarchical governments should be put to death and that the people should be given back their autonomy. Many in fact obeyed him, there were massacres throughout the cities, and some were driven into exile; the friends of Antipater were destroyed, and the governments, recovering the freedom of action that came with autonomy, began to form alliances with Polyperechon. Since the Megalopolitans alone held to their friendship with Cassander, Polyperechon decided to attack their city.

70. When the Megalopolitans learned the intention of Polyperechon, they voted to bring all their property into the city from the country. On taking a census of citizens, foreigners, and slaves, they found that there were fifteen thousand men capable of performing military service. Some of these they at once attached to military formations, others they assigned to work gangs, and others they detailed to the care of the city wall. At one and the same time one group of men was digging a deep moat about the city, and another was bringing from the country timber for a palisade; some were repairing the weakened portions of the wall, while others were engaged in making weapons and in preparing engines for hurling bolts, and the whole city was deep in activity, owing both to the spirit of the population and to the danger that was foreseen. Indeed, word had spread abroad concerning the magnitude of the royal army and the multitude of the accompanying elephants, which were reputed to possess a fighting spirit and a momentum of body that were irresistible.

When all had been hastily made ready, Poly-
Πολυπέρχων ἦκε μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατοπέδευσε δύο θέμενος παρεμβολάς, τὴν μὲν τῶν Μακεδόνων, τὴν δὲ τῶν συμμάχων. κατασκευάσας δὲ πύργους ἐυλίνους ύψηλοτέρους τῶν τειχῶν προσήγη τῇ πόλει κατὰ τοὺς εὐθέτους τόπους καὶ βέλη παντοδαπὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους ἐπιστήσας ἀνέστηλε τοὺς ἐπὶ 5 τῶν ἔπαλξεων ἀντιτεταγμένους. ἀμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένους διὰ τῶν μεταλλευόντων ὑπορύξας τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς στήριγμασὶ ἐμπρήσας κατέβαλε τρεῖς πύργους τοὺς μεγίστους καὶ μεσοπύργια τὰ ἵσα. μεγάλου δὲ τοῦ πτώματος καὶ παραδόξου γενομένου τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀνεβόησεν, οἷ δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὴν δευτέρη τῆς πράξεως 6 κατεπλάγησαν. ἐνθα δὴ τῶν Μακεδόνων διὰ τοῦ πτώματος εἰςππυπτόντων εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἱ Μεγαλο- πολίται διείλον σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐν μέρει τοὺς πολεμίους ὑποστάντες καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ πτώματι δυσχωρίαν συνεργὸν ἔχοντες καρτερὰν μάχην συν- ἱσταντο, τῷ δ’ ἐτέρῳ χάρακι διελάμβανον τὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ πτώματος τόπον καὶ τείχος ἐτερον ἀντωρκο- δόμουν, συνεχὰς ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ μεθ’ Ἦμεραν καὶ 7 νύκτωρ. ταχὺ δὲ τῶν ἔργων συντελουμένων διὰ τε τήν πολυχειρίαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς εἰς ἀπαντὰ παρασκευῆς τὸ μὲν διὰ τοῦ πτώματος ἐλάττωμα συντόμως οἱ Μεγαλοπολίται διωρισθόσαντο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἔυλίνων πύργων ἀγωνιζομένους τοῖς τε ἐξυβελέσι καταπέλταις ἐχρώντο καὶ τοῖς σφεν- δονήταις καὶ τοξόταις πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων κατ- ετύρωσαν.

71. Πολλῶν δὲ πιπτόντων παρ’ ἀμφοτέρους καὶ καταπραγματιζομένων καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς περικατα- 202
perchon arrived with his entire army and took up his position near the city, building two camps, one for the Macedonians, the other for the allies. Having constructed wooden towers higher than the walls, he brought them up to the city in those places that were convenient for the purpose, supplied them with missiles of many kinds and men to hurl these, and drove back those who were arrayed against him on the battlements. Meantime his sappers drove mines under the wall and then, by burning the mine props, caused the ruin of three very large towers and as many intervening sections of the wall. At this great and unexpected collapse the crowd of Macedonians shouted with joy, but those in the city were stunned by the seriousness of the event. Immediately the Macedonians began to pour through the breach into the city, while the Megalopolitans divided themselves, some of them opposing the enemy and, aided by the difficulty of the passage through the breach, putting up a stout fight, the rest cutting off the area inside the breach with a palisade and throwing up a second wall, applying themselves day and night without intermission to the task. Since this work was soon finished owing to the multitude of workmen and the ample supply of all the needed material, the Megalopolitans quickly made good the loss they had suffered by the breaching of the wall. Moreover, against those of the enemy who were fighting from the wooden towers they used bolt-shooting catapults, slingers, and bowmen, and mortally wounded many.

71. When many were falling or being disabled on each side and night had closed in about them, Poly-

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1 στήριγμας Scaliger: στήριγμας F, τερημάς RX.
λαβοῦσις ὁ μὲν Πολυπέρχων ἀνακαλεσάμενος τῇ σάλπιγγι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπανήλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν 2 στρατοπεδεῖαν. τῇ δ’ ύστερα οὖν τὸν τοῦ πτώματος τόπον ἀνακαθάρας ἐποίησε βάσιμον τοῖς θηρίοις καὶ διενοεῖτο χρήσασθαι ταῖς τούτων βωμαῖς πρὸς τὴν ἄλώσιν τῆς πόλεως. οἷς δὲ Μεγαλοπολίται Δάμηδος ἠγομένου καὶ τούτου γεγονότος κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μετ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ περὶ τὰς φύσεις καὶ χρείας τῶν ἑλέφαντων ἐμπερίαν ἔχοντος οὐ μετρίως 3 προετέρησαν. οὗτος γάρ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπίνοιαν ἀντί- ταγμα τῇ τῶν θηρίων βία κατασκευάσας ἀχρήστους ἐποίησε τὰς τῶν σωμάτων βώμας. θύρας γὰρ μεγάλας πλείονας ἢλιοὺς δέξει καταπυκνώσας καὶ τούτας ἐν ὀρύγμασιν ταπευόντως καταστρώσας καὶ τὰς ἐξοχὰς τῶν κέντρων ἐπικρυφάμενος κατέλυσε διὰ τούτων διόδου εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ κατὰ μέτωπον μὲν οὐδένα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔστησεν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πλαγιῶν ἐταξίων πλῆθος ἀκοντιστῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ 4 τῶν καταπελτικῶν βελῶν. τοῦ δὲ Πολυπέρχοντος ἀνακαθαύροντος πάντα τὸν τόπον τοῦ πτώματος καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις ἀθροίς διὰ τούτου τῆς ἔφοδον ποιομένου παράδοξος ἐγένετο πράξεις περὶ τοῦς ἑλέφαντας. οὐδενὸς γάρ ἀπαντῶντος κατὰ στόμα τοῖς θηρίοις οἱ μὲν Ἰνδοὶ συνημάγκαζον εἰσπίπτειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ’ ἑλέφαντες τῇ βώμῃ προπίπ- τοντες ἐνέπιπτον εἰς τὰς κατακεκεντρωμένας θύρας. 5 τραυματιζόμενοι δὲ τοὺς πόδας ύπὸ τῶν ἦλων καὶ διὰ τὸ βάρος περιπερόμενοι τοῖς κέντροις οὕτε προϊέναι πορρῶτερον οὕτε ἀναστρέφειν διὰ τὴν δυσκινησίαν ἦδύνατο. ἀμα δὲ καὶ βελῶν παντο- δαπῶν ἐκ πλαγιῶν φερομένων οἱ μὲν ἀπέθησακον τῶν Ἰνδῶν, οἱ δὲ κατατραυματιζόμενοι τῆς ἐνδεχο- 204
perchon recalled his troops by a trumpet signal and returned to his own camp. On the next day he cleared the area of the breach, making it passable for the elephants, whose might he planned to use in capturing the city. The Megalopolitans, however, under the leadership of Damis, who had been in Asia with Alexander and knew by experience the nature and the use of these animals, got the better of him completely. Indeed, by pitting his native wit against the brute force of the elephants, Damis rendered their physical strength useless. He studded many great frames with sharp nails and buried them in shallow trenches, concealing the projecting points; over them he left a way into the city, placing none of the troops directly in the face of it, but posting on the flanks a great many javelin throwers, bowmen, and catapults. As Polyperchon was clearing the debris from the whole extent of the breach and making an attack through it with all the elephants in a body, a most unexpected thing befell them. There being no resistance in front, the Indian mahouts did their part in urging them to rush into the city all together; but the animals, as they charged violently, encountered the spike-studded frames. Wounded in their feet by the spikes, their own weight causing the points to penetrate, they could neither go forward any farther nor turn back because it hurt them to move. At the same time some of the mahouts were killed by the missiles of all kinds that poured upon them from the flanks, and others were disabled by wounds and so lost such use of the elephants as the situation per-

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1 ρέματα MSS., Fischer in corrigenda, ρήμα Reiske, Dindorf.

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6 μένης χρείας ύστεροῦντο. τὰ δὲ θηρία διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βελῶν καὶ τὴν ἱδιότητα τῆς τῶν ἥλιων πληγῆς περιούν ὑπομένει τὴν διὰ τῶν φίλων ἐπιστροφὴν ἐποιοῦντο καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν κατεπάτουν. τέλος δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀνδρεωτάτων αὐτῶν καὶ πλείστην ἔχουν κατάπληξιν ἔπεσε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τὰ μὲν ἀχρηστα παντελῶς ἔγενετο, τὰ δὲ πολλοῖς τῶν ἰδίων θάνατον ἐπήγεικεν.

72. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐημερίαν ταύτην οἱ μὲν Μεγαλοπολίται ταῖς ἴσχυσις ἐθάρρησαν, ὃ δὲ Πολυπέρχων μετανοηθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ πολυρκίᾳ καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπιμένειν οὐ δυνάμενος ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς πολυρκίας ἀπέλυσε μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐφ’ ἐτέρας ἀναγκαστέρας πράξεις ἐτρέπετο. καὶ Κλεῖτον μὲν τὸν ναύαρχον μετὰ τοῦ στόλου παντὸς ἐξεπεμψε, προστάξας ἐφεδρεύειν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἐλλησπόντου τόπους καὶ κωλύειν τὰς ἑκ τῆς Ἀσίας διαβιβάζομένας δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, προσλαβέσθαι δὲ καὶ Ἀρριδαίον τὸν συμπεφευγότα μὲν μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς τὴν τῶν Κιανῶν πόλιν, ἐχθρὸν δὲ ὁντα τοῖς περὶ Ἀντίγονον. τούτου δὲ πλεύσαντος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλησπόντου καὶ προσαγαγομένου τὰς ἐν τῇ Προποντίδι πόλεις, ἐτὶ δὲ προσδεξαμένου τὴν μετ’ Ἀρριδαίον δύναμιν κατέπλευσεν εἰς τοὺς τόπους ἐκεῖνοι Νικάνωρ ὁ τῆς Μυτιληνίας προύριος, ἐξαπεσταλμένος ὕπο Κασάνδρου μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στόλου προσελάβετο δὲ καὶ τὰς παρ’ Ἀντίγονον ναῦς, ὡστε τὰς πάσας ἔχειν πλεύσω τῶν ἑκατόν. γενομένης δὲ ναυμαχίας οὐ μακρὰν τῆς τῶν Βυζαντίων πόλεως ἐνίκα ὁ Κλεῖτος καὶ κατέδυσε μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων ναύς ἐπτακαίδεκα, εἴλε δὲ
mitted. The elephants, suffering great pain because of the cloud of missiles and the nature of the wounds caused by the spikes, wheeled about through their friends and trod down many of them. Finally the elephant that was the most valiant and formidable collapsed; of the rest, some became completely useless, and others brought death to many of their own side.

72. After this piece of good fortune the Megalopolitans were more confident, but Polyperchon repented of the siege; and as he himself could not wait there for a long time, he left a part of the army for the siege, while he himself went off about other more necessary business. He sent Cleitus the admiral out with the whole fleet, ordering him to lie in wait in the region of the Hellespont and block the forces that were being brought across from Asia into Europe. Cleitus was also to pick up Arrhidaeus, who had fled with his soldiers to the city of the Cianois since he was an enemy of Antigonus. After Cleitus had sailed to the Hellespont, had won the allegiance of the cities of the Propontis, and had received the army of Arrhidaeus, Nicanor, the commander of Munychia, reached that region, Cassander having sent him with his entire fleet. Nicanor had also taken over the ships of Antigonus so that he had in all more than a hundred. A naval battle took place not far from Byzantium in which Cleitus was victorious, sinking seventeen ships of the enemy and capturing not less

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1 Cius, in Bithynia on the Cianian Gulf, which is part of the Propontis. For Cleitus and Antigonus cp. chap. 52. 5-6.  
2 Polyaeus (4. 6. 8) says one hundred and thirty.
σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὐκ ἑλάττω τῶν τεσσαράκοντα. αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ κατέφυγον εἰς τὸν τῶν Χαλκηδονίων λιμένα.

5 Τοιαύτης δὴ εὐθυμερίας γενομένης τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κλείτον οὕτως μὲν ὑπέλαβε μηκέτι τολμήσειν τοὺς πολεμίους ναυμαχῆσεν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἤττης, ὃ δὲ Ἀντίγονος πυθόμενος τὰ περὶ τὸν στόλον ἑλαττώματα παραδόξως διὰ τῆς ἴδιας ἀγχυνοίας καὶ στρατηγίας ἀνεμαχέσατο τὸ γεγονὸς ἑλάττωμα.

6 παρὰ γὰρ Βυζαντίων μεταπεμφάμενος νυκτὸς ναῦς ὑπηρετικὰς ταύτας μὲν διεβίβαζεν εἰς τὸ πέραν τοξότας τε καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν τῶν ἡμικυκών ταγμάτων τοὺς ἱκανοὺς. οὕτω δὲ πρὸ ημέρας ἐπιθέμενοι τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων νεῶν ἀποβεβηκόσιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πεζῇ κατεστρατοπεδευόσι κατεπλήξαντο τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κλείτον. ταχὺ δὲ πάντων διὰ τὸν φόβον τεταραγμένων καὶ εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐμπηδώντων πολὺς ἐγένετο θάρυσος διὰ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν αἰχμαλώτων.

7 ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ Ἀντίγονος ἔξαρτύσας τὰς μακρὰς ναύς καὶ τῶν ἁλκυμωτάτων πεζῶν πολλοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἐπιστήσας ἀπέστειλε, παρακαλέσας τεθαρρυκότως ἐπιθέσατο τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὡς πάντως καὶ δὴ ἐαυτοῦ ἐσομένου τοῦ νικήματος. τοῦ δὲ Νικάνορος νυκτὸς ἀναχέντος καὶ διαφωσκούσης τῆς ἴμμερας οὕτως μὲν ἐπιπεσόντες ἄφνω τοὺς πολεμίους τεθορυβημένους εὐθὺς κατὰ τὸν πρῶτων ἐπίπλουν ἑτρέψαντο καὶ τὰς μὲν τοῖς ἐμβόλους τύπτοντες ἀνέρρηττον, ὥς δὲ τοὺς ταρσοὺς παρέσυρον, ὥς δὲ αὐτάνδρων παραδιδομένων ἀκινδύνως ἐκυρίευον τέλος δὲ πλὴν μᾶς τῆς ναυαρχίδος τῶν λοιπῶν πασῶν αὐτάνδρων ἐκυρίευσαν. δὲ δὲ Κλείτος φυ-
than forty together with their crews, but the rest escaped to the harbour of Chalcedon.\footnote{Cp. Marmor Parium for 317/16.}

After such a victory Cleitus believed that the enemy would no longer dare fight at sea owing to the severity of their defeat, but Antigonus, after learning of the losses that the fleet had suffered, unexpectedly made good by his own keen wit and generalship the setback that he had encountered. Gathering auxiliary vessels from Byzantium by night, he employed them in transporting bowmen, slingers, and a sufficient number of other light-armed troops to the other shore. Before dawn they fell upon those who had disembarked from the ships of the enemy and were encamped on the land, spreading panic in the forces of Cleitus. At once these were all thrown into a tumult of fear, and when they leaped into the ships, there was great confusion because of the baggage and the large number of prisoners. At this point Antigonus, who had made his warships ready and had placed in them as marines many of his bravest infantry, sent them into the fight, urging them to fall on the enemy with confidence, since the victory would depend entirely upon them. During the night Nicanor had put to sea, and as dawn appeared his men fell suddenly upon the confused enemy and immediately put them to flight at the first attack, destroying some of them by ramming them with the beaks, sweeping off the oars of others, and gaining possession of certain of them without danger when they surrendered with their crews. They finally captured all the ships together with their crews save for the one that carried the commander. Cleitus fled to
γών ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ καταλυτῶν τὴν ναὸν ἐπεβάλετο μὲν διὰ Μακεδονίας ἀνασώζεσθαι, περιπεσὼν δὲ στρατιώταις τις τοῦ Λυσιμάχου διεφθάρη.

73. Ἀντίγονος μὲν οὖν τηλικαύτη συμφορᾷ περιβαλὼν τοὺς πολεμίους μεγάλην ἐπὶ στρατηγία καὶ συνέσει δόξαν ἀπηνέγκατο. θαλασσοκρατήσαι δὲ ἔσπευδε καὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγεμονίαν ἀδήμητον περιποιήσασθαι. διόπερ εὗ ἀπάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιλέξας εὐξάμων πεζὸς μὲν δισμυρίους, ἵππεις δὲ τετρακισχίλιους προῆγεν ἐπὶ Κυλίκιας, σπεύδων τοὺς περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ κατακόπται πρὸ τοῦ δύναμιν 2 ἀδροτέραν ἀθροίσεων. Εὐμενῆς δὲ πυθόμενος τὴν ὁμήρη τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐπεβάλετο μὲν τὴν Φοινίκην ἀνακτᾶσθαι τοῖς βασιλεύσι, κατειλημμένην ἀδίκως ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου, κατασταχούμενος δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν καρών ἄνεξευζένεκεν εἰκῆς Φοινίκης καὶ διὰ τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας προῆγε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, σπεύδων τῶν ἄνω λεγομένων σατραπεῖών ἀφασθαί.

3 περὶ δὲ τῶν Τήγρων ποταμῶν ἐπιθεμένων αὐτῶ τῶν ἑγχωρίων νυκτὸς ἀπέβαλε τινας τῶν στρατιωτῶν. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἐπιθεμένου τοῦ Σελεύκου παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐκυνθίυγεσθαι μὲν ἀπασᾶν ἀποβαλεῖν τὴν δύναμιν, διώρυγος τινος ραγέσης καὶ τῆς στρατοπεδείας ὀλῆς συγκλυσθῆσαι, ὅμως δὲ διὰ τῆς ἓδης στρατηγίας ἐπὶ τὶ χῶμα καταφυγὼν καὶ τὴν διώρυγα πάλιν ἀποστρέψας, διέσωσεν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν 4 δύναμιν. παραδόξως δὲ τὰς τοῦ Σελεύκου χεῖρας διαφυγῶν διήμυσεν εἰς τὴν Περσίδα μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἔχων πεζοὺς μὲν μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχίλιους, ἵππεις δὲ τρισχίλιους καὶ τριακοσίους. ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκ τῆς κακοπαθίας 210
the shore and abandoned his ship, endeavouring to make his way through Macedonia to safety, but he fell into the hands of certain soldiers of Lysimachus and was put to death.¹

73. As for Antigonus, by inflicting so disastrous a blow upon the enemy, he gained a great reputation for military genius. He now set out to gain command of the sea and to place his control of Asia beyond dispute. For this end he selected from his entire army twenty thousand lightly equipped infantry and four thousand cavalry and set out for Cilicia, hoping to destroy Eumenes before the latter should gather stronger forces.² After Eumenes had news of Antigonus’ move, he thought to recover for the kings Phoenicia, which had been unjustly occupied by Ptolemy ³; but being forestalled by events, he moved from Phoenicia and marched with his army through Coelê Syria with the design of making contact with what are called the upper satrapies. Near the Tigris, however, the inhabitants fell on him by night, causing him the loss of some soldiers. Likewise in Babylonia when Seleucus attacked him near the Euphrates he was in danger of losing his whole army; for a canal was breached and his entire camp inundated, but by a piece of strategy of his own he escaped to a mound, diverted the canal to its old course, and saved himself and his army. Thus unexpectedly slipping through the hands of Seleucus, he won through into Persia with his army, which consisted of fifteen thousand infantry and thirty-three hundred cavalry. After letting the

¹ Both naval battles took place in the summer of 318.
² Cp. chap. 63. 6.
³ Cp. chap. 43.

¹ ἀθροίσεως RX, ἀθροίσα F, Fischer, ἀθροίζεων other editors.

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DIODORUS OF SICILY

diēpēmpeto prōs te toûs satrάpαs kai stratηγους

touς ēn taîs ānw satrapēiâs, metapeμpōmenos
stratιwâtâs te kai χρήmata.

Kai τâ méν kαtâ tîn 'Ασίân mékri touτou prô-

ēbâ kαtâ touτou tôn ēnianτôn.

74. Kαtâ dê tîn Eυρωπηn Polupérχoντοσ dîa

tîn ēlάttwôn tîs kαtâ touς Mεγαλοπολίταs po-

liôrikia̱s katafroνηθέντος aî pλeîstai tîn 'Ελλη-
nîdôn pólewôn afistâmêna tîn bâsilewôn prôs
Kâsândrôn âpéklinan. 'Αθηnâiôn dê μὴ dînâ-
mêwn aπoτρîmâsaði tîn frourâv mîtê dîa tou
Polupérχoνtous mîtê dî 'Olmûpiâdôs aπetôlmhêse

tîs tîn ēnianoumêwôn politwôn eîpêwn ēn ēkkhēsia.

2 diôstî sîmφêrêî prôs Kâsândrôn diâlîsósdhâi. tò
mêν oûn prōtôn ēgêneto thîrûbôs, tîn mêν ānti-

leγôntwôn, tîn dê sînγkαtαtîdēmêwôn tôîs lôgôw:
ôs dê ānēthêwrihê tî sîmφêrôn, êdoxe tôîs pāsî
prôsbeuws prôs Kâsândrôn kai tîdêsthâi tâ prôs
3 aûtôn wôs ân hî dînâtôn. gênoμêwôn dê pîleiôn
wêntôiâewôn sînγhêvento tîn ēfînîhê wîste tôûs 'Αθη-
nâiônês ēxeîn pôlîn te kai χ âr wân kai prôsôdouse kai
nâdâ kai tâllâ pânta fîlouûs ēntas kai sîmmâkhou
Kâsândrôû, tîn dê Mounvûchîân kâtâ tî pârôn
krateîn Kâsândrôû, êwes ân diapolemîhê prôs tûs
bâsileûs, kai tî polîtêwma dîoîkêsthâi âpô tîmî-
sewôn âhri mûwn dêkâ, katastîshâi ð' ēpimelhêhê

tîs pólews ēnα ândrà 'Αθηnâiôn dîn ân dôzê Kâs-
ândrôû kai hîrêthê Dêmûtrîos ô Fâlêpheûs. oûtôs

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army recover from its hardships, he sent word to the 318 B.C. sатraps and generals in the upper sатrapies, request- ing soldiers and money.

And the affairs of Asia progressed to such a point during this year.¹

74. In Europe,² as Polypechon had come to be regarded with contempt because of his failure at the siege of Megalopolis, most of the Greek cities deserted the kings and went over to Cassander. When the Athenians were unable to get rid of the garrison by the aid of either Polypechon or Olympias, one of those citizens who were accepted leaders risked the statement in the Assembly that it was for the advantage of the city to come to terms with Cassander. At first a clamour was raised, some opposing and some supporting his proposal, but when they had considered more carefully what was the expedient course, it was unanimously determined to send an embassy to Cassander and to arrange affairs with him as best they could. After several conferences peace was made on the following terms: the Athenians were to retain their city and territory, their revenues, their fleet, and everything else, and to be friends and allies of Cassander; Munychia was to remain temporarily under the control of Cassander until the war against the kings should be concluded; the government was to be in the hands of those possessing at least ten minae; and whatever single Athenian citizen Cassander should designate was to be overseer of the city. Demetrius of Phalerum was chosen,

¹ Continued and in part repeated in Book 19. 12.
² Continued from chap. 72. 1.

¹ κατά added by Kallenberg.
δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἑπιμέλειαν τῆς πόλεως ἤρχεν εἰρημικῶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας φιλανθρώπως.

75. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Νικάνορος καταπλεύσαντος εἰς τὸν Πειραιά κεκοσμημένω τῷ στόλῳ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς νόικης ἀκροστολίοις τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀποδοχῆς αὐτὸν ἥξισε μεγάλης ὁ Κάσανδρος διὰ τὰς εὐ-ημερίας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὅρῳν αὐτὸν ὄγκον πλήρη καὶ πεφρονηματισμένον, ἐτυ δὲ τὴν Μουνικὶαν διὰ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ στρατιωτῶν φρονοῦντα, κρίνας αὐτὸν ἀλλότρια φρονεῖν ἔδολοφόνησεν. ἐστράτευσε δὲ καὶ εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ πολλοὺς ἔσχε τῶν ἐγχωρίων 2 ἀφισταμένους πρὸς αὐτὸν. ὅμως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς Ἔλληνες πόλεις ἐνέπεσέν τις ὄρμῃ τῆς Κασάν- δρου1 συμμαχίας. ὥς μὲν γὰρ Πολυπέρχων ἄργῳς εὐδόκει καὶ ἀφρόνως προστατεῖν τῆς τε βασιλείας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος ἐπιεικῶς προσφερόμενος πᾶσι καὶ κατὰ τὰς πράξεις ἐνεργὸς ὑπὸ πολλοὺς εἶχεν αἱρετιστὰς τῆς αὐτοῦ δυναστείας.

3 Ἔπει δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἐπόμενον ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀγαθοκλῆς ἐγένετο τύραννος τῶν Συρακοσίων, ταῦτα μὲν τὴν βύσβουν αὐτοῦ περιγράφομεν κατὰ τὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρόθεσιν, τῆς δὲ ἑξομένης τῆς ἀρχής ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀγαθοκλῆους τυραννίδος ποιησάμενοι διέξιμον τὰς οἰκείας τῇ γραφῇ πράξεις.

1 Κασάνδρου Rhodoman, Dindorf: Ἀντιπάτρου MSS., Fischer.
who, when he became overseer, ruled the city peace-317 B.C. fully and with goodwill toward the citizens.¹

75. Afterwards Nicanor sailed into the Piraeus with his fleet ornamented with the beaks of the ships taken at his victory.² At first Cassander regarded him with great approval because of his success, but later, when he saw that he was filled with arrogance and puffed up, and that he was, moreover, garrisoning Munychia with his own men, he decided that he was planning treachery and had him assassinated. He also made a campaign into Macedonia,³ where he found many of the inhabitants coming over to him. The Greek cities, too, felt an impulse to join the alliance of Cassander⁴; for Polyperchon seemed to lack both energy and wisdom in representing the kings and his allies, but Cassander, who treated all fairly and was active in carrying out his affairs, was winning many supporters of his leadership.

Since Agathocles became tyrant of Syracuse in the following year, we shall bring this book to an end at this point as was proposed at the beginning.⁵ We shall begin the next Book with the tyranny of Agathocles and include in it the events that deserve commemoration in our account.

¹ The peace was made in the spring of 317. Cp. Strabo, 9. 1. 20 (398); Timaeus, FHG, 1. 228; Marmor Parium for 317/16.
² Cp. chap. 72.
⁴ But cp. the critical note.
⁵ Cp. chap. 1. 6.
Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ἐννεακαϊδεκάτῃ τῶν
Διοδώρου βυβλών

Περὶ τῶν ἀφορμῶν αἰσχροποιημένοι Ἀγαθοκλῆς τύραννος ἐγένετο τῶν Σιρακουσίων.

'Ως οἱ Κροτωνιατῶν φυγάδες ἐπιστρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα πάντες ἀνηρέθησαν.

'Ολυμπιάδος μετὰ τοὺς παιδῶς κάθοδος ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν.

Εὐρυδίκης καὶ Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀλώσεις καὶ θάνατος.

'Ως Ἐὐμενὴς ἔχων τοὺς ἀργυράσπιδας ἀνέβη μὲν εἰς τὰς ἀνω σατραπείας, συνήγαγε δὲ τοὺς τε σατράπας καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν Περσίδα.

'Ως Ἀτταλὸς καὶ Πολέμων μετὰ τῶν συνεπιθεμένων τῇ φυλακῇ ληφθέντες ἀνηρέθησαν.

'Ως Ἀντίγονος διώξας Ἐὐμενὴν περὶ τῶν Κοπράτης ποταμὸν ἰλαττώθη.

'Ως εἰς Μηδίαν ἀναζεύξας ἐν ταῖς παρόδοις πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλε τῶν στρατιωτῶν.

Παράταξες Ἀντιγόνου πρὸς Ἐὐμενὴν καὶ τοὺς σατράπας εἰς Παρατάκοις.¹

Ἀπογύρισες Ἀντιγόνου μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Μηδίαν πρὸς χειμασίαν.

Κασάνδρου στρατεία εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ πολιορκία Ὁλυμπιάδος ἐν Πύδη.

¹ Παρατάκοις Wesseling: Παρατάκοι.
CONTENTS OF THE NINETEENTH BOOK
OF DIODORUS

From what beginnings Agathocles rose in making himself tyrant of Syracuse (chaps. 1-9).

How the exiles from Croton took the field against their native city and were all slain (chap. 10).

The return of Olympias and her son to the kingdom (chap. 11).

The capture and death of Eurydicē and of King Philip (chap. 11).

How Eumenes went into the upper satrapies with the Silver Shields and collected the satraps and their armies in Persia (chaps. 12-15).

How Attalus and Polemon, together with those who took part with them in the attack on the guard, were taken and killed (chap. 16).

How Antigonus pursued Eumenes and was defeated at the Coprates River (chaps. 17-18).

How he set out into Media and lost many of his troops in the passes (chaps. 19-20).

Antigonus’ battle against Eumenes and the satraps in Paraetacene (chaps. 21-31).

The withdrawal of Antigonus and his army into Media for winter quarters (chaps. 32-34).

Cassander’s invasion of Macedonia and his siege of Olympias in Pydna (chaps. 35-36).
'Ως κατεστρατήγησεν Εὐμενής τοὺς περὶ 'Αντίγονον διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου πορευομένους.

'Αντιγόνου πορεία διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐπίθεσις τοὺς ἐν τῇ παραχεμασίᾳ θηρίως.  
'Ως παρατάξεως γενομένης 'Αντίγονος εκυρίευσε πάσης τῆς τῶν ἀντισταθητῶν δυνάμεως.

'Ως Εὐμενῆ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἠγερμόνων τοὺς ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς αὐτὸν διατεθέντας ἀνέίλεν.

'Ὁ γενόμενος ἐν Ὄλιῳ κατακλυσμὸς καὶ τὰ συμβάντα περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀτυχήματα.

Πείθονος ὑπ' 'Αντιγόνου θάνατος καὶ τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν ἀποστάντων εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν ἀναίρεσις.

Ολυμπιάδος ἀλλωσί ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου καὶ θάνατος.

'Ως Κάσανδρος Θεσσαλονίκην ἔγγεις τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ 'Ἀμόντου, ἐπόνυμον δὲ ἐαυτοῦ πόλιν ἐκτισεν ἐπὶ τῆς Πάλληνης.

'Ως Πολυπέρχων ἀπογνοῦς τὰ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλείς ἐφυγεν εἰς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν.

'Ως Κάσανδρος τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων πόλιν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου κατεσκαμμένην ἀποκατέστησε.

Περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαῖοις χρόνοις συμβάντων τῇ πόλει τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ ποιῶς ἀνάστατος ἐγένετο.

Περὶ τῶν πραξάθεντων Κασάνδρῳ κατὰ Πελοπόννησον.

'Αντιγόνου μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως κατάβασις ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ φυγή Σελεύκου πρὸς Πτολεμαίον εἰς Αἴγυπτον.

Σύνθεσις Πτολεμαίου καὶ Σελεύκου καὶ Κασάνδρου, πρὸς δὲ τούτους καὶ Λυσιμάχου πρὸς τὸν κατ' 'Αντιγόνου πόλεμον.

1 In the MSS. the order of this and the preceding item is reversed. Transposed by Dindorf.

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CONTENTS OF THE NINETEENTH BOOK

How Eumenes outgeneralled Antigonus when the latter was going through the desert (chaps. 37-38).

The march of Antigonus through the desert against the enemy and his attack on their elephants in the winter quarters (chap. 39).

How after a pitched battle Antigonus gained control of all the forces of his opponents (chaps. 40-43).

How he killed Eumenes and such other generals as had been his enemies (chap. 44).

The flood at Rhodes and the disasters that befell that city (chap. 45).

The death of Pithon at the hands of Antigonus and the destruction of those who had been instigated by him to revolt in Media (chaps. 46-48).

The capture of Olympias by Cassander, and her death (chaps. 49-51).

How Cassander married Thessalonice, the daughter of Philip son of Amyntas; and how he founded a city named for himself on Pallene (chap. 52).

How Polyperchon, giving up the cause of the kings as hopeless, fled to Aetolia (chap. 52).

How Cassander restored the city of Thebes, which had been razed by Alexander (chap. 53).

About the misfortunes that had befallen Thebes in former times, and how often the city had been destroyed (chap. 53).

On the operations of Cassander in the Peloponneseus (chap. 54).

The march of Antigonus and his army to the sea, and the flight of Seleucus into Egypt to Ptolemy (chap. 55).

The alliance of Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Cassander, and Lysimachus also, for the war against Antigonus (chaps. 56-57).
DIODORUS OF SICILY

"Ως Αντίγονος ναῦς τε πολλὰς ἑναυτηρήσατο καὶ στρατηγοῦς ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τῇ τῆν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὸν Πόντον.

"Ως πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πολυπέρχοντος φιλίαν συνέθετο καὶ Τύρον ἐξεπολιώρκησε καὶ ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος μετέθετο πρὸς Κάσανδρον.

"Ως Πολύκλειτος ὁ Πτολεμαίου ναύαρχος ἐνίκησε Αντίγονον στρατηγοῦς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλαταν.

Περὶ τῆς Αγαθοκλέους στρατείας ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίων καὶ τῆς μεσιτευθείσης εἰρήνης ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων.

Νουκερίας ἀπόστασις ἀπὸ τῶν Ρωμαίων.
CONTENTS OF THE NINETEENTH BOOK

How Antigonus built many ships and sent generals to Greece and to Pontus (chaps. 58-60).
How he established friendship with Alexander, the son of Polyperchon, and took Tyre by siege; and how Alexander shifted his allegiance to Cassander (chaps. 61-64).
How Polycleitus, the admiral of Ptolemy, defeated the generals of Antigonus both on land and on sea (chap. 64).
About the campaign of Agathocles against the Messenians, and the peace in which the Carthaginians were the mediators (chap. 65).
The revolt of Nuceria from the Romans (chap. 65).\footnote{The rest of the Table of Contents of the Nineteenth Book will be found at the beginning of Volume X.}
ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΕΝΝΕΑΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΗ

1. Παλαιός τις παραδέδοται λόγος ὅτι τὰς δημοκρατίας οὐχ οἱ τυχόντες τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ οἱ ταῖς ὑπεροχαῖς προέχοντες καταλύουσι. διὸ καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἔνια τοὺς ἵσχύοντας μάλιστα τῶν πολιτευκομένων ὑποπτεύουσαι καθαρούσιν αὐτῶν τὰς ἐπιφανείας. σύνεγγυς γὰρ ἡ μετάβασις εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῖς ἐν ἔξοψίᾳ μένουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς πατρίδος καταδούλωσιν καὶ δυσχερὰς ἀποσχέσθαι μοναρχίας τοῖς δὲ ὑπεροχὴν τὰς τοῦ κρατήσεων ἐλπίδας περὶ πεποιημένοις. ἐμφυτὸν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν τοῖς μειζόνων ὀρεγομένοις καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἔχειν ἀτερματίστους. τοιγαροῦν Ἀθηναίοι μὲν διὰ τὰς τὰς αὐτίας τοὺς πρωτεύοντας τῶν πολιτῶν ἐφυγάδευσαν, τῶν λεγόμενον παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐξοστρακισμὸν νομοθετήσαντες. καὶ τοῦτ’ ἔπραττον οὐχ ἵνα τῶν προγεγενημένων ἄδικημάτων λάβωσιν τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως τοῖς δυναμένοις παρανομοῖς ἔξουσία μὴ γένηται κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξαμαρτεῖσιν.

4 τῆς γὰρ Σόλωνος φωνῆς ὥσπερ χρησμοῦ τινος ἐμνημόνευον, ἐν οἷς ἐπὶ τῆς Πεισιστράτου τυραννίδος προλέγων ἐδήκε τὸδε τὸ ἑλεγεῖον

BOOK XIX

1. An old saying has been handed down that it is 317 B.C. not men of average ability but those of outstanding superiority who destroy democracies. For this reason some cities, suspecting those of their public men who are the strongest, take away from them their outward show of power. It seems that the step to the enslavement of the fatherland is a short one for men who continue in positions of power, and that it is difficult for those to abstain from monarchy who through eminence have acquired hopes of ruling; for it is natural that men who thirst for greatness should seek their own aggrandizement and cherish desires that know no bounds. The Athenians, for example, exiled the foremost of their citizens for this reason, having established by law what was known among them as ostracism 1; and this they did, not to inflict punishment for any injustice previously committed, but in order that those citizens who were strong enough to disregard the laws might not get an opportunity to do wrong at the expense of their fatherland. Indeed, they used to recite as an oracle that saying of Solon in which, while foretelling the tyranny of Peisistratus, he inserts this couplet:

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ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΟΦΕ ΣΙΚΙΛΙΑ

ἀνδρῶν ἐκ μεγάλων πόλεις ὀλλυταί, εἰς δὲ τυράννον

δήμος ἀδρίη δουλοσώνη ἔπεσεν.

5 Μάλιστα δὲ πάντων ἐπετόλασεν ἡ πρὸς τὰς μοναρχίας ὀρμή περὶ Σικελίαν πρὸ τοῦ Ἐρωμάιοις κυριεύσαι ταύτης τῆς νήσου ἀεὶ γὰρ πόλεις ταῖς δημαγωγίαις ἐξαπατώμεναι μέχρι τούτου τῶν ἀσθενείς ἱσχυρῶς κατεσκεύαζον, ἐωσ δεσπότα

6 γένονται τῶν ἐξαπατηθέντων. Ἰδιότατα δὲ πάντων Ἑλληνικῆς ἐτυράννησε τῶν Συρακοσίων, ἀφορμαῖς μὲν ἐλαχίσταις χρησάμενος, ἀνυχήματι δὲ μεγίστοις περιβαλῶν οὐ τὰς Συρακούσισσας μόνον,

7 ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν Σικελίαν τε καὶ Λιβύην. δεὶ ἀποριάν γὰρ βίου καὶ πραγμάτων ἀσθένειαν τὴν κεραμευτικὴν τέχνην μεταχειρισάμενος εἰς τοῦτο προῆλθε δυνάμεως ἀμα καὶ μιαφονίας ὥστε καταδουλώσασθαι μὲν τὴν μεγίστην καὶ καλλιστὴν τῶν πασῶν νῆσων, κατακτήσασθαι δὲ χρόνων τινὰ τῆς τε Λιβύης τὴν πλείστην καὶ μέρη τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὑβρεως δὲ καὶ σφαγῆς ἐμπλήσαι τὰς κατὰ Σικελίαν

8 πόλεις. οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ τούτου τυράννων ἐπετελέσατό τι τοιούτον οὐδὲ τοιαύτην ὑμότητα κατὰ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἔσχε. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἰδιωτὰς ἐκόλαξε πᾶσαν τὴν συγγένειαν ἀποσφάτων, παρὰ δὲ τῶν πόλεων τὰς εὐθύνας ἐλάμβανεν ἠβητὸν μιαφονίων καὶ δὲ ὀλίγους τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ μηδὲ ὁτιοῦ ἀδικήσαντας

1 τυράννον MSS. and editors, μονάρχου Book 9. 20. 2, Diog. Laert. 1. 50.

2 γένονται MSS., Fischer, γένουτο Dindorf.

3 οὐδὲ Dindorf: οὔτε.
BOOK XIX. 1. 4-8

Destruction cometh upon a city from its great men; and through ignorance the people fall into slavery to a tyrant.\(^1\)

More than anywhere else this tendency toward the rule of one man prevailed in Sicily before the Romans became rulers of that island; for the cities, deceived by demagogic wiles, went so far in making the weak strong that these became despots over those whom they had deceived. The most extraordinary instance of all is that of Agathocles who became tyrant of the Syracusans, a man who had the lowest beginnings, but who plunged not only Syracuse but also the whole of Sicily and Libya into the gravest misfortunes. Although, compelled by lack of means and slender fortune, he turned his hand to the potter’s trade, he rose to such a peak of power and cruelty that he enslaved the greatest and fairest of all islands, for a time possessed the larger part of Libya\(^2\) and parts of Italy, and filled the cities of Sicily with outrage and slaughter. No one of the tyrants before him brought any such achievements to completion nor yet displayed such cruelty toward those who had become his subjects. For example, he used to punish a private individual by slaughtering all his kindred, and to exact reckoning from cities by murdering the people from youth up; and on account of a few who were charged with a crime, he would compel the many,

\(^1\) Cp. Book 9. 21. 2; Diogenes Laertius, 1. 50; Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus* (*L.C.L.*), 123; and Linforth, *Solon the Athenian* (Univ. of Cal. Pr., 1919), 144.

\(^2\) Libya is here a rather indefinite term applied to the region of Africa between Cyrenê and the possessions of Carthage. To say that Agathocles possessed the larger part even of this is an exaggeration.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

ἀναγκάζων τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναδέχεσθαι συμφορὰν παν-
δημεί τῶν πόλεων θάνατον κατεγίνωσκεν.

9 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῆς βύβλου ταύτης σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις
περιεχούσης καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα τὴν Ἀγαθοκλέους
ἀφίεμενοι τὸ περὶ αὐτῆς προλέγειν τὰ συνεχῆ τοῖς
προειρημένοις προσθήσομεν, παραθέντες πρότερον

tοὺς οἴκειος τῆς γραφῆς χρόνους. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς
προειρημέναις ὀκτωκαΐδεκα βύβλοι ἀνεγράφαμεν
τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων πράξεις τὰς
γεγενημένας ἐν τοῖς γνωριζομένοις μέρεσι τῆς
οἰκουμένης, ἐφ’ ὅσον ἦμιν δύναμις, ἀρχὴ πρὸς τὸν
ἐναυτὸν τὸν πρὸ τῆς Ἀγαθοκλέους τυραννίδος, εἷς
ἀπὸ Τροίας ἀλώσεως ἔτη συνάγεται ὀκτακόσια
ἐξήκοντα ἐξ· ἐν δὲ ταύτη τῆς ἀρχῆν ἀπὸ τῆς δυ-


9. Ἐπὶ ἀρχαιότης γὰρ Ἀθήνης Δημογένους Ῥω-
μαίοι μὲν κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Δεύκων Πλώτιον
καὶ Μάνιον Φούλβιον, Ἀγαθοκλῆς δ’ ὁ Συρακούσιος
tύραννος ἐγένετο τῆς πόλεως. ἔνεκα δὲ τοῦ σαφε-


2. Καρκίνος ὁ Ρηγύνος φυγὼς γενόμενος ἐκ τῆς


1 Demogenes was archon in 317/16. Livy (9. 20. 1) gives
as consuls for 318 M. Folius Flaccina and L. Plautius Venox.
Plotius is the plebeian form of Plautius.
who had done no evil at all, to suffer the same fate, 317 B.C. condemning to death the entire population of cities.

But since this Book embraces all other events as well as the tyranny of Agathocles, we shall forgo preliminary statements about it and set forth the events that follow those already related, stating first the time covered by the account. In the preceding eighteen Books we have described to the best of our ability the events that have occurred in the known parts of the inhabited world from the earliest times down to the year before the tyranny of Agathocles, up to which time the years from the destruction of Troy are eight hundred and sixty-six; in this Book, beginning with that dynasty, we shall include events up to the battle at Himera between Agathocles and the Carthaginians, embracing a period of seven years.

2. When Demogenes was archon in Athens, the Romans elected to the consulship Lucius Plotius and Manius Fulvius,¹ and Agathocles of Syracuse became tyrant of his city. In order to make clearer the series of events, we shall briefly take up the life of that dynast at an earlier point.

Carcinus of Rhegium, an exile from his native city, settled in Therma in Sicily, a city that had been brought under the rule of the Carthaginians.² Having formed a union with a native woman and made her pregnant, he was constantly troubled in his sleep.

² Therma (called Thermae in Book 23. 9. 4, 20; both names seem to have been in use), the modern Termini, was founded as a Carthaginian colony in 407 (Book 15. 79. 8), but many of its settlers were Greeks from the near-by city of Himera, which had been razed two years before (Cicero, Against Verres, 2. 2. 35. 86). By 397 it was free from Carthage (Book 14. 47. 6). How it again fell into Carthaginian control is not known.
3 ἐταράττετο. διόσπερ ἄγωνων ὑπὲρ τῆς παιδοποιίας ἔδωκεν ἅπτολᾶς Καρχηδονίους τις θεωροὶ ἀναγομένοις εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπερωτήσαν τὸν θεόν περὶ τοῦ γεννηθησομένου βρέφους. ὥν ἐπιμελῶς τὸ παρακληθὲν πραξάντων ἐξέπεσε χρησμὸς ὅτι μεγάλων ἀτυχημάτων ὁ γεννηθεὶς αἰτίος ἦστα τι Καρχηδονίους
4 καὶ πάσῃ Σικελίᾳ. ἀ δὴ πυθόμενος καὶ φοβηθεὶς ἐξέδρακε τὸ παιδίον δημοσίᾳ καὶ τοὺς τηρήσαντας ἦνα τελευτήσῃ παρακατέστησαν. διελθονυσών δὲ τίνων ἥμερῶν τὸ μὲν όυκ ἀπέθνησκεν, οἱ τεταγμένοι
5 δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς ὁλιγώρουν. καθ’ δὲν δὴ χρόνον ἡ μήτηρ νυκτὸς παρελθοῦσα λάθρα τὸ παιδίον ἀνείλετο καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν μὲν όυκ ἀπήνεγκε, φοβοῦμένη τὸν ἄδρα, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἄδελφον Ὅρακλείδην καταθεμένη προσηγόρευσεν Ἀγαθοκλέα, τὴν ὀμωθνυμίαν εἰς τὸν ἐαυτὴς ἀνενέγκασα πατέρα. παρ’
6 ὅ τρεφόμενος ὁ παῖς ἐξέβη τὴν τε ὁμιν εὕπρεπῆς καὶ τὸ σῶμα εὐρωστός πολὺ μᾶλλον ἦ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν. ἐπτακτοὺς δὲ ὅποτε αὐτοῦ παρακληθεῖς ὁ Καρκίνος ὑφ’ Ὅρακλείδου πρὸς των θυσίαν καὶ θεασάμενος τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα παίζοντα μετὰ τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐθαύμαζε τὸ τε κάλλος καὶ τὴν ἰώμην, τῆς τε γυναικὸς εἰπούσης ὅτι τηλικοῦτος ἄν ἦν ὁ ἑκτεθεῖς, εἰπερ ἐτράφη, μεταμελεσθαί τε ἔφη τοῖς
7 πραξθεῖσι καὶ συνεχῶς ἐδάκρυεν. εἰθ’ ἡ μὲν γνώσα τὴν ὁμιλή τάνδρος συμφωνοῦσαν τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐξέδρακε πάσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. δὲ δ’ ἀσμένως προσδεξάμενος τόσον λόγου τὸν μὲν ύιὸν ἀπέλαβε, τοὺς δὲ Καρχηδονίους φοβοῦμενος μετ-
Being thus made anxious about the begetting of the 317 B.C. child, he instructed certain Carthaginian envoys who were setting out for Delphi to ask the god about his expected son. They duly carried out their commission, and an oracle was given forth that the child whom he had begotten would be the cause of great misfortunes to the Carthaginians and to all Sicily. Learning this and being frightened, Carcinus exposed the infant in a public place and set men to watch him that he might die.\(^1\) After some days had passed the child had not died, and those who had been set to watch him began to be negligent. At this time, then, the mother came secretly by night and took the child; and, although, fearing her husband, she did not bring him to her own home, she left him with her brother Heraclides and called him Agathocles, the name of her own father. The boy was brought up in the home of Heraclides and became much fairer in face and stronger in body than was to be expected at his age. When the child was seven years old,\(^2\) Carcinus was invited by Heraclides to some festival and, seeing Agathocles playing with some children of his own age, wondered at his beauty and strength. On the woman’s remarking that the child who had been exposed would have been of the same age if he had been brought up, he said that he regretted what he had done and began to weep incessantly. Then she, seeing that the desire of the man was in harmony with her own past act, disclosed the entire truth. Gladly hearing her words, he accepted his son, but in fear of the Carthaginians removed to Syracuse with

\(^1\) Agathocles was born about 361 (cp. Book 21. 16. 5).

\(^2\) But according to Polybius (12. 15. 6), Agathocles was eighteen when he went to Syracuse, an event placed by Diodorus immediately after the recognition.
διδάξει ἔνας Συρακούσας πανοίκιος τένης δ᾽ ὁ ἀκαθόριστος τῆς κεραιμευτικῆς τέχνης ἐτοι παῖδα τῆς ἡλικίαν ὄντα.

8 Ἐν δὲ χρόνον Τιμολέων μὲν ὁ Κορίνθιος νικήσας τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Κρησσόῳ μάχῃ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους μετέδιωκε τῆς ἐν Συρακούσαις πολιτείαις πᾶσι τοῖς βουλομένοις. Ὁ δὲ Καρκίνος μετ᾽ Ἀγαθοκλέεως πολιογραφήσεις καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὀλίγον βιῶσας χρόνον ἐτελεύτησεν. Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ἀνεδήκειν λιθίνην εἰκόνα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐν τοῖς τεμένει, πρὸς ἅν μελισσῶν ἕσμος προσκαθόσας ἐκηρυπλάστησεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱσχύων. τοῦ δὲ σημείου προσενεχέντος τοὺς περὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἀσχολουμένους ἀπεφήναντο πάντες κατὰ τῆν ἀκμὴν ἥξειν αὐτὸν εἰς μεγάλην ἐπιφάνειαν ὁπερ καὶ συνετελέσθη.

3. Δάμας γάρ τις τῶν ἐνδόξων ἀριθμοῦμενος ἐν Συρακούσαις ἔρωτικῶς διετῆθη πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον δαμιλάτης ἀπαντὰς χορηγῶν αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο σύμμετρον αὐτὸν οὐσίαν συλλέξασθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αἴρεθεις ἔπει Άκράγαντα στρατηγός, ἐπειδὴ τῶν χιλιάρχων τις ἀπέθανεν, τούτου 2 εἰς τῶν ἐκείνου τόπον κατέστησεν. Ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς στρατείας μὲν ἦν πολυσθεσμὸς διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐπετήδευσε γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐξοπλισίαις φορεῖν πανοπλίαν τηλικαύτην τὸ μέγεθος ὥστε μηδένα τῶν ἄλλων δύνασθαι βασίλειας χρῆσθαι τῷ βα-

1 μετάκισεν Wesseling: μετάκισεν.
2 Κρησσός RX, Κρησσός F (Κρήσσος Plutarch, Tima-leon, 25).
3 ἐξοπλισίαις F: ἐξοπλισίαις RX, Fischer.

1 This battle on the Crimissus (or Crimisus) River in western Sicily was fought in 341. The general grant of citizenship is placed after the battle by Diodorus (here and in 232
his whole household. Since he was poor he taught Agathocles the trade of pottery while he was still a boy.

At this time Timoleon the Corinthian, after having defeated the Carthagians in the battle at the Crimissus River, conferred Syracusan citizenship on all who wished. Carcinus was enrolled as a citizen together with Agathocles, and died after living only a short time longer. The mother dedicated a stone image of her son in a certain precinct, and a swarm of bees settled upon it and built their honeycomb about its hips. When this prodigy was reported to those who devoted themselves to such matters, all of them declared that at the prime of his life the boy would attain great fame; and this prophecy was fulfilled.

3. A certain Damas, who was counted among the notable men of Syracuse, fell in love with Agathocles and since in the beginning he supplied him lavishly with everything, was the cause of his accumulating a suitable property; and thereafter, when Damas had been elected general against Acragas and one of his chiliarchs died, he appointed Agathocles in his place. Even before his military service Agathocles had been much respected on account of the great size of his armour, for in military reviews he was in the habit of wearing equipment so heavy that no one of the others was able to use it handily because of the

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2 Cp. Polybius, 12. 15. 2. In Justin (22. 1. 12) the name of Agathocles' benefactor is given as Damascon.

3 Here a "chiliarch" is a commander of a thousand, but cp. Book 16. 39. 7 and note. For the early military career of Agathocles cp. Justin, 22. 1. 7-16.
Diodorus of Sicily

rei τῶν ὅπλων' πολὺ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον γενόμενος χιλιάρχος περιεποιήσατο δόξαν, φιλοκινδύνοις μὲν ὃν καὶ παράβολος ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ἵταμος δὲ καὶ πρόχειρος ἐν ταῖς δημηγορίαις. τοῦ δὲ Δάμαντος νόσῳ τελευτήσαντο καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν καταλυσόντος τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτην ἔγημε καὶ τῶν πλουσιωτάτων ἐις ἠριθμεῖτο.

3 Ἔτσι δὲ ταῦτα Κροτώνιάτας πολιορκουμένους ὑπὸ Βρεττίων οἱ Συρακοσίαι δύναμιν ἀδραίων ἔπεμψαν, ἣς ἐστρατήγηει μὲν μεθ’ ἑτέρων "Ἀντανδρος ὁ Ἀγαθοκλέως ἀδελφός, τῶν δ’ ὅλων εἶχε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Σώστρατος, ἀνδρεῖς ἐν ἐπιβουλαῖς καὶ φόνοις καὶ μεγάλοις ἀσεβήμασι γεγονότες τὸν πλείω τοῦ βίου περὶ ὅν τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἣν πρὸ ταύτης περιέχει βύβλος. συνεστρατεύετο δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀγαθοκλῆς, ἐγνωσμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου καὶ τεταγμένοι ἐπὶ χιλιαρχικῆς ἡγεμονίας, δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους μάχαις γενόμενος κράτιστος ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Σώστρατον ἀφφερέθη τὴν τῶν ἀριστείων τιμῆν διὰ τὸν φθόνον. ἐὰν οὖς περιλαγῆς γενόμενος αὐτοὺς διεγνωκότας ἐπιθέσθαι τυραννίδες κατηγορήσειν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, οὐ προσεχόντων δὲ τῶν Συρακοσίων ταῖς διαβολαῖς οἱ μὲν περὶ Σώστρατον ἐδυνάστευσαν τῆς πατρίδος μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Κρότωνος ἐπάνοδον.

4. Ὁ δὲ Ἀγαθοκλῆς ἀλλοτρίως ἐχὼν τὰ πρὸς

1 Σώστρατος RX, Σωσίστρατος F (and so usually where the name is found).
2 Kallenberg, followed by Fischer, adds ὡς before διεγνωκότας.

1 About 325.
2 It is disputed whether this Heracleides is the uncle of 234
weight of the armour. When he became a chiliarch, 317 B.C. he gained even more fame since he was venturesome and daring in battle and bold and ready in haranguing the people. When Damas died of illness and left his property to his wife, Agathocles married her and was counted among the richest men.

Thereafter when the people of Croton were being besieged by the Bruttii, the Syracusans sent a strong force to their aid. Antandrus, the brother of Agathocles, was one of the generals of this army, but the commanders of the whole were Heracleides and Sostratus, men who had spent the greater part of their lives in plots, murders, and great impictics; their careers in detail are contained in the Book before this one. Agathocles also took part in that campaign with them, having been recognized for his ability by the people and assigned to the rank of chiliarch. Although he had distinguished himself at first in the battles with the barbarians, he was deprived of the award for his deeds of valour by Sostratus and his friends because of jealousy. Agathocles was deeply offended at them and denounced before the people their resolve to establish an autocratic government. As the people of Syracuse paid no attention to the charges, the cabal of Sostratus did gain control of their native city after the return from Croton.

4. Since Agathocles was hostile to them, he re-

Agathocles mentioned above (chap. 2. 5). The identity is maintained by Lenschau (P.-W., Realencyclopädie, 8. 462, s.v. "Heracleides"), but tacitly denied by Niese (ibid. 1. 749, s.v. "Agathocles") and by Cary (Cambridge Ancient History, 7. 618-619). The manuscripts of Diodorus support the spelling Sostratus for his colleague's name; but many modern authors call him Sosistratus.

3 Book 18 in its present condition contains nothing at all about either Sicily or Italy (cp. chap. 10. 3).
Diodorus of Sicily

αὐτοὺς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατέμενεν ἐν Ἡταλίᾳ μετὰ τῶν κοινοπραγοῦντων καὶ καταλαμβάνεσθαι τὴν τῶν Κροτωνιατῶν πόλιν ἔπιχειρήσας ἐξέπεσε καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγων εἰς Τάραντα διεσώθη. ταχείς δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ταραντῖνοι ἐν τῇ τῶν μυσθοφόρων τάξει καὶ πολλαῖς καὶ παραβόλοις ἐγχειρῶν πράξεσιν εἰς 2 ὑπομίνα ἤλθε κανονικῶς. διόπερ ἀπολυθηκεὶς καὶ ταῦτα τῆς στρατείας συνήθροισε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἡταλίαν φυγάδας καὶ Ἡρακλείδη καὶ Σωστρατον ἐβοή-3 θησεν. ἔπειτα τῆς ἐν Συρακούσαις δυναστείας καταλυθεῖσας καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σωστρατον ψυγήνων κατῆθεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. συνεκπεσόντων δὲ τοῖς δυνάσταις πολλῶν ἐνδόξων ἄνδρῶν, ὡς ἂν τῆς ὀλυγαρχίας κεκοιμηκότων τῆς τῶν ἐξακοσίων τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων, ἐνέστη πόλεμος τοῖς φυγάσι πρὸς τοὺς ἀντεχομένους τῆς δημοκρατίας. συμ-μαχοῦντων δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων τοὺς περὶ τὸν Σωστρατον ψυγάς ἔγινοντο κύδνυαι συνεχεῖς καὶ παρατάξεως ἄδρων δυνάμεως,1 ἐν αἷς Ἁγαθοκλῆς, ποτὲ μὲν ἰδιώτης ὄν, ποτὲ δὲ ἐφ’ ἱγεμόνιας τεταγ-μένος, ἐπελήφθη δραστικός εἶναι καὶ φιλότεχνος ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς ἑκαστὸν τῶν καρπῶν ἐπινοεῖσθαι τι τῶν χρησίμων ὃν ἐν ἔπραξε καὶ μάλα μνήμης ἄξιον. 4 στρατοπεδευόντων γὰρ ποτὲ τῶν Συρακοσίων πλή-σιόν τῆς Γέλας αὐτὸς μὲν νυκτὸς παρεισέπεσεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ χιλίων στρατιωτῶν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Σωστρατον ἐπιφανέντες μετὰ μεγάλης καὶ

1 ἄδρων δυνάμεως Dindorf: ἄνδρων καὶ δυνάμεων.

1 At this time Croton was controlled by an oligarchic in sympathy with the Six Hundred at Syracuse. In spite of
mained at first in Italy with those who made common cause with him. Undertaking to establish himself in Croton, he was driven out and with a few others escaped to Tarentum. While among the Tarentines he was enrolled in the ranks of the mercenaries, and because he took part in many hazardous actions he was suspected of revolutionary designs. When he for this reason was released from this army also, he gathered together the exiles from all parts of Italy and went to the aid of Rhegium, which was then being attacked by Heracleides and Sostratus. Then when the cabal in Syracuse was brought to an end and the party of Sostratus was expelled, Agathocles returned to his own city. Many citizens of repute had been exiled along with the cabal on the ground that they had been members of the oligarchy of the Six Hundred Noblest, and now war arose between these exiles and those who were supporting the democracy. As the Carthaginians became allies of the exiles with Sostratus, there were constant engagements and pitched battles between strong forces, in which Agathocles, sometimes as a private soldier, sometimes appointed to a command, was credited with being energetic and ingenious, for in each emergency he contrived some helpful device. One instance of the kind is well worth mentioning. Once when the Syracusans were in camp near Gela, he stole into the city at night with a thousand men, but Sostratus with a large force in battle array appeared the failure related in the text, the democracy soon established itself, and in 317-316 repulsed and then destroyed the forces of the oligarchy (cp. chaps 3. 3 and 10. 3-4).

2 This seems to have been a political coterie rather than a regular governing body (Cary, Cambridge Ancient History, 7. 618).
Diodorus of Sicily

5. Κατέγινης δυνάμεως ἐτρέφοντο τοὺς παρεισπενδούτας καὶ κατέβαλον εἰς τριακοσίους. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐπιβαλομένων μὲν φεύγειν διὰ τῶν στενοῦ τόπου καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπεγνωκότων παραδόξως αὐτοὺς Ἀγαθοκλῆς ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ἔρριπτο. ὃς ἀυτὸς μὲν γὰρ λαμπρότατα πάντων ἀγωνισάμενος ἐπτά τραύμασι περιέπεσε καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ῥυόντος αἵματος τὸ σῶμα παρελυτοῦ ὑπὸ τοὺς πολεμικοὺς ἐπικεφαλήνων παράγγειλε τοὺς σαλπιγκταῖς ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα τὰ μέρη τοῦ τείχους παρελθόντας σημαίνει νέῳ τῷ πολεμικῷ. ἐν ταχέως τὸ ῥήθην παραξύνουσα ὁι προσβοηθήσαντες ἐκ τῆς Γέλας τὸ μὲν ἄλλης διὰ τὸ σκότος οὐκ ἔδυναντο συνιδεῖν, ὕπολαβόντες δὲ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν τῶν Συρακοσίων κατ’ ἀμφότερα τὰ μέρη παρεισπεπτωκέναι τοῖς μὲν ἠτὶ διακείμενοι ἀπέστησαν, διελόμενοι δὲ τὰς τάξεις διδὴ ταχέως ἐβοήθουν, συντρέχοντες πρὸς τὸν ἴχνον τῶν σαλπιγκτῶν. ἐν τοσούτω δὲ τυχόντες ἀνοχῆς οἱ περὶ τοῦ Ἀγαθοκλέα μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας διεσώθησαν εἰς τὸν χάρακα. ἦνταῦθα μὲν οὖν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καταστρατηγήσας τοὺς πολεμιῶν οὐ μόνον τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ παραδόξως ἔσωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπικακοσίους ἄνδρας.

6. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις ἀνέρθησαν Ἀκεστορίδου τοῦ Κορινθίου στρατηγοῦ δόξας ἑπιθέτα τυραννίδι διὰ τὴν σύνεσιν ἐξέφυγε τὸν κίνδυνον. ὃ μὲν γὰρ Ἀκεστορίδης εὐλαβηθεὶς τὴν στάσιν καὶ διὰ τούτο οὐ βουλόμενος αὐτὸν φανερὸς ἀνελεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως μεταστηθεῖν καὶ τοὺς νυκτὸς κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν ἄποκτενοντας

1 After the death of Timoleon and in his honour the Syra-
suddenly, routed those who had made their way in, and struck down about three hundred of them. When the remainder tried to escape through a certain narrow passage and had abandoned hope of safety, Agathocles unexpectedly saved them from the danger. Fighting most brilliantly of all, he had received seven wounds, and because of the quantity of blood he had lost, he was weak in body; but when the enemy were upon them, he ordered the trumpeters to go out to the walls on each side and sound the signal for battle. When they quickly carried out the order, those who had sallied out from Gela to give aid were not able to learn the truth because of the darkness, but supposing that the remaining force of the Syracusans had broken in on both sides, they abandoned further pursuit, divided their forces into two parts, and went quickly to meet the danger, running toward the sound made by the trumpeters. In this situation Agathocles and his men gained a respite from fighting and came safe to their fortified camp in complete security. Thus on this occasion, by outwitting the enemy in this way, he not only saved his own companions by a miracle but also seven hundred of the allies.

5. Thereafter, at the time when Acestorides the Corinthian had been elected general in Syracuse, Agathocles was reputed to have made an attempt at tyranny, but he escaped from this danger by his own shrewdness. For Acestorides, who was wary of factional strife and therefore was not willing to destroy him openly, ordered him to leave the city and sent out men to kill him on the road during the night.

crusans passed a law that henceforth they would always elect a Corinthian to lead them in foreign wars (Plutarch, Timoleon, 38. 2).
2 ἐξαπέστειλεν. Ἄγαθοκλῆς δὲ καταστοχασάμενος πιθανῶς τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν παίδων ἐξελέξατο τὸν έαυτῷ μάλιστα ἔοικότα καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σώματος καὶ κατὰ τὴν όψιν τούτω δὲ δοὺς τὴν έαυτοῦ πανοπλίαν καὶ τὸν ἰππὸν, ἐτὶ δὲ τὴν ἕσθητα παρεκρούσατο τούς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνάρεσιν.
3 ἀποσταλέντας. αὐτὸς δὲ ράκη περιβαλόμενος ἀνοδίᾳ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἐπονήσατο. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁπλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συστήμων ὑπολαβόντες εἶναι τὸν Ἄγαθοκλέα καὶ τάκρισις διὰ τὸ σκότος οὐ συνιδόντες τῶν μὲν φῶνον ἐπετελέσαν, τῆς δὲ προκεχειρισμένης πράξεως διήμαρτον.
4 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Συρακοσίων καταδεξιμένων τους μετὰ Σωστράτου φυγάδας καὶ πρὸς Καρχηδονίους εἰρήνην συνθεμένων Ἅγαθοκλῆς φυγᾶς ὧν ἴδιαν δύναμιν ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ συνεστήσατο. γενόμενος δὲ φοβερὸς οὐ μόνον τοῖς πολίταις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπείσθη κατελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ παραχθεῖς εἰς τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ὠμοσε μηδὲν ἑναντιωθήσεσθαι τῇ 5 δημοκρατίᾳ. προσπονθῆκε δὲ τῆς δημοκρατίας προστασίαν καὶ δημαγωγήσεις ποικίλως τὰ πλήθη στρατηγοῦ κατεστάθη καὶ φύλαξ τῆς εἰρήνης, μέχρι ἄν γνησίως ὀμονοήσωσιν οἱ συνεκληρυθῶσι εἰς τὴν 6 πόλιν. εἰς πολλὰ γὰρ μέρη συνέβαινε διαμείβαται τὰς ἐταίριας τῶν συνόντων καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκάστους εἶναι μεγάλας διαφοράς, μέγιστον δὲ ἣν ἀντίταγμα τοῖς περὶ τῶν Ἀγαθοκλέα τὸ τῶν ἕξακοσίων συνεδρίου, κατὰ 2 τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ύφηγημένον.

1 ἑναντιωθήσεσθαι MSS., Fischer, ἑναντιώσεσθαι Dindorf.
2 κατὰ Wesseling: μετὰ.
3 ύφηγημένον MSS., Fischer, ἀρχηγημένον Wurm, Dindorf.

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But Agathocles, who had shrewdly guessed the intention of the general, selected from his slaves the one who was most like himself in stature and face, and by equipping him with his own armour, horse, and even his own clothing, he deceived those who had been dispatched to kill him. As for himself, he put on rags and by avoiding the roads completed the journey. They, supposing from the armour and the other indications that it was Agathocles and not observing more closely because of the darkness, accomplished a murder indeed, but failed to carry out the task that had been assigned to them.

Afterwards the Syracusans received back those who had been expelled with Sastratus and made peace with the Carthaginians; but Agathocles as an exile gathered together an army of his own in the interior. After he had become an object of dread not only to his own fellow citizens but also to the Carthaginians, he was persuaded to return to his own city; and at the shrine of Demeter, to which he was taken by the citizens, he swore that he would undertake nothing against the democracy. And it was by pretending to be a supporter of democracy and by winning the favour of the people in artful ways that he secured his own election as general and protector of the peace until such time as real harmony might be established among the exiles who had returned to the city. For it happened that the political clubs of those who were holding meetings were divided into many factions and that important differences of opinion existed among them; but the chief group opposed to Agathocles was the society of the Six Hundred, which had directed the city in

2 Cp. note on chap. 4. 3.
τῆς πόλεως· οἱ προέχοντες γὰρ τῶν Συρακοσίων ταῖς δόξασι καὶ ταῖς συνώσιας ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχον καταλεγέμενοι.

6. Ὅ δὲ οὖν Ἀγαθοκλῆς ἐπιθυμητής ὑπὸ δυναστείας πολλὰς ἀφορμὰς ἔσχεν εἰς τὸ συντελέσαι τὸ βουλευθὲν. οὐ μόνον γὰρ στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ κύριος τῆς δυνάμεως ἤν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαγγελθέντος ὅτι τῶν ἀποστατῶν ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ πρὸς Ἑρβίτην· συνάγουσι δύναμιν, εξουσίαν ἔλαβεν ἀνυπότπως· ἡ καταγράφεων οὖς προαιροῦτο στρατιώτας. διὸ καὶ προσποιθεὶς στρατεύων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑρβίταν κατέλεξεν εἰς τάξεις τοὺς τ' ἐκ Μοργαντίνης καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ πόλεως τοὺς αὐτῶν· ἡ πρότερον συμπορευθέντας πρὸς Καρχηδονίους. οὖτοι γὰρ πάντες πρὸς Ἀγαθοκλέα μὲν εὐνοοῦστα διέκειντο, πολλὰ προευγυγημένου καὶ τὰς στρατεύσεις, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐν Συρακοσίαις ἀλυγαρχίας κεκοιμητήκοτας ἐξακοσίους ἀεὶ πολεμικῶς ἔχον καὶ καθὸλου τῶν δήμων ἐμίσουν, ἀναγκαζόμενοι ποιεῖν τὸ προστατόμενον. τούτων δὲ ὄντων μὲν τῶν ἀριθμῶν εἰς τρισχλίους, ταῖς δὲ ὀρμαῖς καὶ ταῖς προορέσεωι εὐθετωτάτων πρὸς τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς δημοκρατίας, προσεπελέξατο καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς διὰ πενίαν καὶ φθόνον ἐναντιομένους ταῖς τῶν ἑσσυχόντων ἐπιφανείαις. ὡς δὲ αὐτῶ πάντ' ἦν αὐτρῆρῃ, τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας παρῆγγελεν ἀπαντάν ἀς ἤμερα εἰς τὸ Τιμολέων, αὐτὸς δὲ μεταπεμπόμενος τοὺς περὶ Πείσαρχον καὶ Διοκλέα, τοὺς δοκοῦντας προσετᾶν τῆς τῶν ἐξακοσίων ἕταιρίας, ὡς περὶ τῶν κοινῆς συμφερόντων δια-

1 Ἑρβίτη MSS., Fischer, Ἑρβίτη Dindorf.
2 Διοκλέα Wesseling: Δεκλέα.
the time of the oligarchy; for the Syracusans who 317 B.C. were first in reputation and in property had been enrolled in this society.

6. Agathocles, who was greedy for power, had many advantages for the accomplishment of his design. Not only as general was he in command of the army, but moreover, when news came that some rebels were assembling an army in the interior near Erbita, without rousing suspicion he obtained authority to enrol as soldiers what men he chose. Thus by feigning a campaign against Erbita he enrolled in the army the men of Morgantina and the other cities of the interior who had previously served with him against the Carthaginians. All these were very firmly attached to Agathocles, having received many benefits from him during the campaigns, but they were unceasingly hostile to the Six Hundred who had been members of the oligarchy in Syracuse, and hated the populace in general because they were forced to carry out its orders. These soldiers numbered about three thousand, being both by inclination and by deliberate choice most suitable tools for the overthrow of the democracy. To them he added those of the citizens who because of poverty and envy were hostile to the pretensions of the powerful. As soon as he had everything ready, he ordered the soldiers to report at daybreak at the Timoleontium; and he himself summoned Peisarchus and Diocles, who were regarded as the leaders of the society of the Six Hundred, as if he wished to consult them on some matter

1 A gymnasion built about the tomb of Timoleon (Plutarch, Timoleon, 39. 4).
λεξόμενος, ἐπειδὴ παρεγένοντο παραλαβόντες τῶν φίλων εἰς τεσσαράκοντα, προσποιήθεις ἐαυτὸν ἐπι-
βουλεύεσθαι συνελάμβανεν ἀπαντας καὶ κατηγόρησε
μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις, φήσας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξακοσίων ἀρπάζεσθαι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν δήμον ἐνυναι, καὶ κατωδύρετο τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν τύχην.

5 παροξυσμένου δὲ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ βοῶντος μηκέτι μέλλειν, ἀλλ' ἐκ χειρὸς ἐπιδείκνυτο τοὺς ἄδικοςας τὴν δίκην, τοῖς μὲν σαλπυγκταῖς παρῆγγειλε σημαῖνειν τὸ πολέμικον, τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις ἀναμείνειν τοὺς αἰτίους καὶ διαρύσεις τὰς κτήσεις τῶν ἐξακοσίων

καὶ τῶν τούτων κοινοπραγούντων. ὁρμησάντων
dὲ πάντων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρπαγήν ἡ πόλις ἐπιλήφθη τα-
ραχῆς καὶ μεγάλων ἀτυχημάτων οἱ μὲν γὰρ χαρι-
έστατοι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀγνοοῦντες τὸν καθ' αὐτῶν
κεκυρωμένον ὀλεθρον, ἐξεπτήδων ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν
εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς, μαθεῖν σπέυδοντες τὸν ὅροβον, οἱ
dὲ στρατιώται τὰ μὲν διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν, τὰ δὲ
dιὰ τὸν θυμὸν ἡγοιμόνιου τὰς γυναῖκας ἀνήμων τοὺς
dιὰ τὴν ἀγνοιαν γυμνὰ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀμύνου-
μένων1 ὀπλῶν παρεχόμενοι.

7. Διαληθέστων δὲ τῶν στενοπῶν κατὰ2 μέρος
ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιώτων οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς, οἱ δ'
ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐφονεύοντο. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν μηδ'
ὄτιον διαβεβλημένων ἄνηροῦτο, δεόμενοι μαθεῖν
tὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀπωλείας. καθωπλυσμένον γὰρ
πλήθος ἐξευσίαν προσλαβόν ὡς διέκρινε φίλον ἡ
πολέμιον, ἀλλὰ παρ' ὁ πλεῖον ἡφειληθήσεσθαι

2 διευλήφει, τούτων ἐγχρόν ἢγείτο. διὸ καὶ παρὴ
ὁρᾶν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν πεπληρωμένην ὑβρεῖς καὶ

1 ἀμύνουμένων Capps: ἀμυνομένων.
2 Hertlein adds τῶν before κατὰ.
of common interest. When they had come bringing 317 B.C. with them some forty of their friends, Agathocles, pretending that he himself was being plotted against, arrested all of them, accused them before the soldiers, saying that he was being seized by the Six Hundred because of his sympathy for the common people, and bewailed his fate. When, however, the mob was aroused and with a shout urged him not to delay but to inflict the just penalty on the wrongdoers out of hand, he gave orders to the trumpeters to give the signal for battle and to the soldiers to kill the guilty persons and to plunder the property of the Six Hundred and their supporters. All rushed out to take part in the plunder, and the city was filled with confusion and great calamity; for the members of the aristocratic class, not knowing the destruction that had been ordained for them, were dashing out of their homes into the streets in their eagerness to learn the cause of the tumult, and the soldiers, made savage both by greed and by anger, kept killing these men who, in their ignorance of the situation, were presenting their bodies bare of any arms that would protect them.

7. The narrow passages were severally occupied by soldiers, and the victims were murdered, some in the streets, some in their houses. Many, too, against whom there had been no charge whatever, were slain when they sought to learn the cause of the massacre. For the armed mob having seized power did not distinguish between friend and foe, but the man from whom it had concluded most profit was to be gained, him it regarded as an enemy. Therefore one could see the whole city filled with outrage, slaughter, and

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3 ὠφεληθήσεται M.S.S., Fischer, ὠφελήσεται Dindorf.
φόνων καὶ παντοῖων ἀνομημάτων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὰς προὕπαρχούσας ἔχθρας οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπηρείας ἀπείχοντο κατὰ τῶν μισομένων, ἔχοντες έξουσίαν διαιτιδέναι πάν τὸ κεχαρισμένον τῷ θυμῷ· οἱ δὲ ταῖς τῶν εὐπόρων αφαγάς οἱ λομένοι τὰς ἱδίας ἀπορίας ἐπανορθώσασθαι πᾶν ἐμπεσάντων πρὸς τὸν κατ’ αὐτῶν ὀλέθρον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰς αὐλείους θύρας ἐξέκοπτον, οἱ δὲ διὰ κλημάκων ἐπὶ τὰς ὀροφὰς προσανέβαινον, ἅλλοι δὲ δυνανύζοντο πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν στεγῶν ἁμυνόμενους. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοὺς εἰς τὰ τεμένη καταφυγοῦσιν ἢ τῶν θεῶν ἱκετεία παρεῖχετο τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἀλλ’ ἡ πρὸς θεοὺς εὐσέβεια ἐνικάτο πρὸς ἀνθρώποις. καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐτόλμων ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ πατρίδι παρανομεῖν “Ἐλληνες καθ’ Ἐλλήνων, οἵκειοι κατὰ συγγενῶν, οὐ φύσιν, οὐ στοιχήσαι, οὐ θεοὺς ἐντρεπόμενοι, ἐφ’ οἷς οὐχ ὁτι φίλοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ἔχθρος, μέτριος γε τὴν ψυχήν, οὐκ ἔστων ὀστίς οὐκ ἄν τὴν τῶν πασχόντων τύχην ἑλεύσειν.

8. Πάσαι μὲν γὰρ αἱ πύλαι τῆς πόλεως ἐκλείσθησαν, πλείουσι δὲ τῶν τετρακισχιλίων ἀνηρέθησαν αὐθημερόν, τούτο μόνον ἐγκληθέντες ὅτι χαριστέοι τῶν ἄλλων ἔσον. τῶν δὲ φιγόντων οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ὄρμησαντες συνελήφθησαν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τῶν τεχῶν δύσποτες αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰς ἀστυγείτονας πόλεις διεσώθησαν, τινὲς δὲ διὰ τοῦ φόβου 2 ἀπρονοθέτως ἀλλόμενοι κατεκρημνιόθησαν. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἦν τῶν ἐκπεσόντων ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπὲρ τούς ἐξαισχυλούς, ὅν οἱ πλείοι κατέφυγαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀκραγαντίνους κακεὶ τῆς καθηκούσης ἐπι- 

1 ἀπορίας Stephanus: ἐπιοπλας (but second hand of R gives ἀποριας). 

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all manner of lawlessness. For some men because of long-existing hatred abstained from no form of insult against the objects of their enmity now that they had the opportunity to accomplish whatever seemed to gratify their rage; others, thinking by the slaughter of the wealthy to redress their own poverty, left no means untried for their destruction. Some broke down the doors of houses, others mounted to the housetops on ladders, still others struggled against men who were defending themselves from the roofs; not even to those who fled into the temples did their prayers to the gods bring safety, but reverence due the gods was overthrown by men. In time of peace and in their own city Greeks dared commit these crimes against Greeks, relatives against kinsfolk, respecting neither common humanity nor solemn compacts nor gods, crimes such that there is no one—I do not say no friend but not even any deadly enemy if he but have a spark of compassion in his soul—who would not pity the fate of the victims.

8. All the gates of the city were closed, and more than four thousand persons were slain on that day whose only crime was to be of gentler birth than the others. Of those who fled, some who rushed for the gates were arrested, while others who cast themselves from the walls escaped to the neighbouring cities; some, however, who in panic cast themselves down before they looked, crashed headlong to their doom. The number of those who were driven from their native city was more than six thousand, most of whom fled to the people of AcragAs where they were

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2 ἐπανορθώσασθαι MSS., Fischer, ἐπανορθώσεσθαι Dindorf.
3 αὐλίους Dindorf: αὐλίους MSS., Fischer.
DIODORUS OF SYCILY

3 μελείας ἠξιώθησαν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα
dιημερεύσαντες εὖ τοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν φόνοις οὐδὲν
tῆς εἰς γυναῖκας ὑβρεῖς καὶ παρανομίας ἀπέσχοντο,
ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν ἐκπεφευγότων τὸν θάνατον ἵκανήν
ὑπελάμβανον λήψεσθαι τιμωρίαν τὴν εἰς τοὺς συν-
γενεῖς ἐπήρειαν. δεινότερα γὰρ θανάτου τοὺς μὲν
ἄνδρας καὶ πατέρας εἰκὸς ἦν πείσεσθαι γυναικῶν
ὑβρεῖς καὶ παρθένων αἰσχύνας ἀναλογιζομένους.

4 ἂν ὡς ἦμεν περιαρετέον ἐστὶ τὴν ἐπίθετον καὶ
συνήθη τοῖς συγγραφεύσῃ τραγῳδίαι, μᾶλιστα μὲν
dιὰ τὸν τῶν παθόντων ἔλεον, ἔπειτα καὶ διὰ τὸ
μηθένα τῶν ἀναγνωσκόντων ἐπίζητεῖν ἀκούσαι τὰ

5 κατὰ μέρος, ἐν ἑτοίμῳ τῆς γνώσεως ὀνόμα. οἱ γὰρ
μεθ’ ἠμέραν εἰς ταῖς οἴκοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν
σφάττων τολμῶντες τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας οὐ
προσδέονται τοῦ δηλόσσοντος τὶ νῦκτωρ ἔπραττον
καθ’ αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ πώς προσεφέροντο
παρθένων ὀρφανῶς καὶ γυναιξίν ἐρήμως μὲν ὀνόμα
τῶν βοηθησόντων, πεπτωκυίᾳ δὲ ὑπ’ ἐξουσίαν

6 αὐτοκράτορα τῶν ἑχθῶν. οἱ δὲ Ἀγαθοκλῆς διεῖν
ήμερῶν διελθούσων ἐπειδὴ ποτ’ ἐπληρώθη τοῦ
κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν φόνου, τοὺς ἑγερόθεντας
ἀθροίσας Δενοκράτην μὲν ἀφῆκε διὰ τὴν προ-
γεγενημένην φιλίαν, τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀλλο-
τριώτατα διακειμένους ἀνείλε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς
ἐφυγάδευεν.

9. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναγαγὼν ἐκκλησίαν κατ-
ηγόρησε μὲν τῶν ἐξακοσίων καὶ τῆς ύπ’ αὐτῶν
προγεγενημένης ὀλυγραχίας, καθαρὰν δὲ φήσας τὴν
πόλιν πεπονηκέναι τῶν δυναστεύειν ἐπιχειρούντων
ἀπεφαίνετο τῷ δήμῳ τὴν αὐτονομίαν εἰλικρινῇ

1 οὐδὲ Dindorf: οὔτε.
accorded proper care. The party of Agathocles 317 B.C. spent the day in the murder of their fellow citizens, nor did they abstain from outrage and crime against women, but they thought that those who had escaped death would be sufficiently punished by the violation of their kindred. For it was reasonable to suppose that the husbands and fathers would suffer something worse than death when they thought of the violence done their wives and the shame inflicted upon their unmarried daughters. We must keep our account of these events free from the artificially tragic tone that is habitual with historians, chiefly because of our pity for the victims, but also because no one of our readers has a desire to hear all the details when his own understanding can readily supply them. For men who by day in the streets and throughout the marketplace were bold to butcher those who had done no harm need no writer to set forth what they did at night when by themselves in the homes, and how they conducted themselves toward orphaned maidens and toward women who were bereft of any to defend them and had fallen into the absolute power of their direst enemies. As for Agathocles, when two days had passed, since he was now sated with the slaughter of his fellow citizens, after gathering together the prisoners, he let Deinocrates go because of their former friendship, but of the others he killed those who were most bitterly hostile and exiled the rest.

9. Next he called together the Assembly and accused the Six Hundred and the oligarchy that they had brought into existence, saying that he had cleansed the state of those men who were trying to become her masters; and he proclaimed that he was restoring liberty undefiled to the people, and that he
Diodorus of Sicily

παραδιδόναι καὶ βουλεύονται ποτε τῶν πόνων ἀπο-

2 λυθεὶς ἱδιωτεῦει ἰδοὺ αὐτὸν παῖσι. καὶ ταῦτα λέγων

τὸ μὲν χλαμυδίου αὐτοῦ περισσασε, τὸ δ’ ἵματιον

μεταλαβὼν ἀπῆε, τῶν πολλῶν ἐαυτοῦ ἀποδέξας

ἐνα. ταῦτα δ’ ἔσχοπτα τὸν δημοτικὸν ὕποκρόμο-

μενος καὶ σαφῶς εἰδὼς τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἐκκλη-

σιαζόντων μετασχηκότας τῶν ἀσεβήματών καὶ διὰ

τούτου μηδέποτε ἄλλως τὴν στρατη-

3 γίναι ἐγχειρίσαι. εὐθὺ γὰρ οἱ διαπεφορμηκότες τα

τῶν ἠτυχηκότων ἐβόων μὴ καταλυπεῖν εαυτούς,

ἄλλα προσδέξασθι τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐπιμελείαν. ὥ

δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἰσχύειν εἴχεν, εἰτα τὸ πλῆθος

βιαστέρον ἐγκεκείμενον προσδέχεσθαι μὲν ἐφησε τὴν

4 στρατηγίαν, μὴ μέντοι γε μετ’ ἄλλων ἀρξεῖν. οὔ

γὰρ ὑπομενεῖ, ὅτι ἂν ἐτεροὶ παρανυμῆσοι, τοῦ-

τῶν αὐτοῦ συνάρχοντα λόγων ἀποδιδόναι κατὰ τοὺς

νόμους. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ πλῆθους μοναρχεῖν

οὕτως μὲν ἐχειροτονήθη στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ

τὸ λοιπὸν φανερῶς ἐδυνάστευε καὶ τῆς πόλεως

5 ἐπιμελείαν ἐποιεῖτο, τῶν δ’ ἀκεραιῶν Συρακοσίων

οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸν φοβοῦ ἡναγκάζοντο καρτερεῖν, οἱ δ’

ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους κατασχυόμενοι τὴν ἐχθραν εἰς

κενὸν ὅπικ ἐτολμῶν ἐνδείκτησαν. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ

τῶν ἀπόρων καὶ κατάχρεων ἄσμενοι τὴν μετα-

βολὴν προσδέξαντο· ἐπηγγέλλετο γὰρ Ἀγαθοκλῆς

κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπᾶς ποιήσε-

6 σθαι καὶ τοὺς πένθους χώραν διωρίσεσθαι. ἀπὸ δὲ

τούτων γενόμενος τοῦ μὲν ἐτε κοινόεων ἡ κολάζειν

τινὰς ἀπέστη, μεταβαλόμενος δ’ εἰς τοὺς παρατηρούν

1 προσδέχεσθαι Capps, προσδέχεσθαι Dindorf: προσδέξασθαι MSS., Fischer.

2 ὑπομενεῖν Dindorf: ὑπομένειν.

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BOOK XIX. 9. 1-6

wished to be relieved at last of his burdens and be-

come a private citizen on terms of equality with all. As he said this, he tore off his military cloak and, assuming civil garb, set out to leave, showing that he himself was one of the many. But in doing this he was merely playing the part of a democrat with full knowledge that the majority of the members of the Assembly had had a share in his unholy acts and for this reason would not be willing to vote the generalship to anyone else. At any rate, those who had plundered the property of the victims instantly cried out, begging him not to leave them but to accept the general administration of the state. At first he maintained silence; then, as the mob pressed more insistently upon him, he said that he accepted the generalship, but that he would not rule jointly with others, for he would not consent as one member of a board to be held legally accountable for acts illegally committed by the others. Since the majority agreed that he should rule alone, he was elected general with absolute power,¹ and thereafter he openly exercised authority and governed the city. Of the Syracusans who were uncorrupted, some were forced to endure in patience because of their fears, and others, outmatched by the mob, did not venture to make an unavailing display of their hostility. On the other hand, many of those who were poor and involved in debt welcomed the revolution, for Agathocles promised in the Assembly both to abolish debts and to distribute land to the poor. When he had finished with these matters, he made an end of further slaughter and punishment. With a complete change of humour he showed himself affable to the common

¹ In 317.
Diodorus of Sicily

Ευγνωμόνως τοὺς πλήθεις προσεφέρετο καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν εὐεργετῶν, οὐκ ολίγους δὲ ἐπαγγελίως μετεωρίζων, πάντας δὲ λόγους φιλανθρώπως δημι-7 αγωγῶν οὐ μετρίας ἀποδοχῆς ἐτύγχανεν. ἔχων δὲ τηλικαύτην δυναστείαν οὕτω διάδημα ἀνέλαβεν οὕτω δορυφόροις εἶχεν οὕτω δυσενετεύξειν εξῆλθοσεν, ἀπερ εἰλθασι ποιεῖν σχεδὸν ἁπαντες οἱ τύραννοι. ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ τῶν προσόδων καὶ τῆς τῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ βελῶν παρασκευῆς, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις μακράις ναυσίν ἔτέρας ἐναυπηγήσατο. προσελάβετο δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ χωρίων καὶ πόλεων τὰς πλεῖστας.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Σικελίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

10. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἡταλίαν Ἑραμαῖοι μὲν ἐννατον ἑτὸς ἡδη διεπολέμουν πρὸς Σαυνίτας καὶ κατὰ μὲν τους ἐμπροσθεν χρόνους μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἦσαν δυναμικομένους, τότε δὲ εἰς τὴν πολέμιαν εἰσβολάς ποιούμενοι μέγα μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ μνήμης ἄξιον διεπράζαντο, διετέλουν δὲ τοὺς τε φρουρίους προσβολὰς ποιοῦμενοι καὶ τὴν χώραν λεηλατούντες.

2 ἐπόρθησαν δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀπολλίας τὴν Δαυνίαν πάσαν καὶ προσαγαγόμενοι Κανούσιος ὁμήρους παρ’ αὐτῶν ἔλαβον. προσεθήκαν δὲ καὶ δύο φυλὰς ταῖς προὑπαρχούσαις, τὴν τε Φαλέρναν καὶ τὴν Ὡφειν-3 τίναν. ἄμα δὲ τούτως πραττομένους Κροτωνιάται πρὸς μὲν Βρεττίους διελύσαντο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐκπεπτωκότας τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς δημοκρατίας διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀρακλείδην καὶ Σωστρατίου κοινωνίαν, περὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ προτέρα βίβλω τὰ κατὰ μέρος διήλ-

1 Here all MSS. read Σωστρατίου; cp. critical note on chap. 3. 3.

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people and won no slight popularity by aiding many, 317 B.C. by encouraging no small number with promises, and by currying favour from all by philanthropic words. Although he possessed such power, he neither assumed a diadem, nor employed a bodyguard, nor affected a haughty demeanour, as is the custom of almost all tyrants. He kept a careful watch over the public revenues and over the preparation of armour and weapons, and he had warships constructed in addition to those already at hand. He also gained control of most of the regions and cities of the interior.

This, then, was the situation in Sicily. 1

10. In Italy 2 the Romans were now in the ninth year of their war with the Samnites. Although in the previous period they had fought with large forces, at this time they accomplished nothing great or worthy of mention by the incursions that they were making upon the hostile territory; yet they did not cease attacking the strongholds and plundering the country. In Apulia also they plundered all Daunia and won back the Canusians, from whom they took hostages. They added two new tribes to those already existing: Falerna and Oufentina. While this was going on, the people of Croton made peace with the Bruttii, but they were still waging war against those of their own citizens who had been exiled by the democracy because of their alliance with Heralcleides and Sostratus, about which we have told in detail in the preceding Book. 3 This war was now in

1 Continued in chap. 65. Sicilian affairs are not mentioned in the account of the year 316/15 (chaps. 17-54).
2 Cp. Livy, 9. 20 for the events of this year.
3 Cp. chaps. 3, 3 and 4. 1. There is no mention of this in Book 18.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

θομεν, δεύτερον ἐτος ἦδη πολεμοῦντες Πάρωνα καὶ Μενέδημουν, ἀνδρας ἐπιφανεῖς, στρατηγοὺς ἐχειρο- 
τόνησαν. οἱ δὲ φυγάδες ἔκ Θουρίων ὀρμήσαντες καὶ προσλαβόντες μισθοφόρους τριακοσίους ἐπεχεί 
ρησαν μὲν νυκτὸς παρευπόπτευν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, ἀποκρουσάντες δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Κροτωνιατῶν κατ-
εστρατοπέδευσαν ἐπὶ τῶν μεθορίων τῆς Βρεττίων
χώρας, μετ’ ὀλίγον δὲ τῆς πολιτικῆς δυνάμεως ἐπελθούσης πολλαπλασιών πάντες μαχόμενοι κατ-
εσθάγγαισαν.

'Ἡμεῖς δ’ ἔπει τὰ περὶ Σικελίων καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν
διεληλύθαμεν, διαβιβάσαμεν τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ
μέρη τῆς Εὐρώπης.

11. Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Μακεδονίαν Εὐρυδίκη, τῆς βα-
σιλείας προεστηκία καὶ πυνθανομένη τὴν Ὀλυμ-
πιάδα παρασκευάζουσα πρὸς τὴν κάθοδον, πρὸς
μὲν Κάσανδρον εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀπέστειλε βιβ-
λιαρόφορον, ἀξιότατον βοηθεῖν τὴν ταξίστην, τῶν δὲ
Μακεδόνων τοὺς πρακτικωτάτους ἀνακαλομένη
δωρεαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ἐπαγγελίαις ἱδίους ταῖς εὐ-
2 νολαίς κατεσκεύαζε. Πολυπέρχων δὲ δύναμιν
ηθροε τροσσον προσλαβόμενος Λακιδῆς τὸν Ἡπειρῶτην
καὶ κατήγαγεν Ὀλυμπιάδα μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου
παιδὸς ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν. ἀκούσων οὐν Εὐρυδίκην
ἐν Ἕλληνι τῆς Μακεδονίας οὗσαν μετὰ τῆς δυνά-
μεως ὠρμήσεν ἐπὶ αὐτὴν, σπεύδων μιᾶν μαχῆς κρίναι
τὰ πράγματα. ἀντιταχθέντων δὲ ἀλλήλοις τῶν
στρατοπεδῶν οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐντρισάντες τὸ τῆς

1 Menedemus later became tyrant of Croton (Book 21.
frag. 4 Dindorf).

2 Diodorus returns to the affairs of Sicily and Italy in
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its second year, Paron and Menedemus, both outstanding men, having been elected generals. The exiles, setting out from Thurii and taking with them three hundred mercenaries, tried to enter their native city by night, were driven off by the people of Croton, and encamped on the boundaries of the land of the Bruttii. Soon afterwards, however, they were attacked by the army of citizens, which far outnumbered them, and all were slaughtered in the fight.

Now that we have finished the affairs of Sicily and Italy, we turn to the remaining parts of Europe.

11. In Macedonia, when Eurydice, who had assumed the administration of the regency, heard that Olympias was making preparations for a return, she sent a courier into the Peloponnesus to Cassander, begging him to come to her aid as soon as possible; and, by plying the most active of the Macedonians with gifts and great promises, she was trying to make them personally loyal to herself. But Polyperchon, with Acacides of Epirus as his ally, collected an army and restored Olympias and the son of Alexander to the throne. So, as soon as he heard that Eurydice was at Euia in Macedonia with her army, he hastened against her with the intention of deciding the campaign in a single battle. When, however, the armies were drawn up facing each other, the Macedonians, chap. 65. They are not mentioned in the account of the year 316/15 (chaps. 17-54).

3 She had probably returned to Macedonia with the kings (Book 18. 39. 7). After Antipater's death she sided with Cassander, and acting in the name of Philip she removed Polyperchon from the guardianship (Justin, 14. 5. 1-4). For her struggle with Olympias cp. Justin, 14. 5. 8-10.

4 This town, whose exact location is unknown, is called by Ptolemy (3. 13. 32) a town of the Dassaretae, an Illyrian tribe living just beyond the Macedonian frontier.
'Ολυμπιάδος ἄξιωμα καὶ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἀναμένει τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου μετεβάλλοντο. Φίλιππος μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐθὺς ἦλθε μετὰ τῆς θεραπείας, ἡ δ' Ἐυρυδίκη μετὰ Πολυκλέους, ἐνὸς τῶν συμβούλων, εἰς Ἀμφίπολιν ἀποχωροῦσα συνε-4 ἐλήφθη. τούτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον Ὁλυμπίαδι τῶν βασιλικῶν σωμάτων κυριεύσασα καὶ χωρὶς κωδε-νων τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβοῦσα τὴν εὐτυχίαν οὐκ ἦνεγκεν ἀνθρωπίνως, ἀλλὰ τὴν τ' Ἐυρυδίκην καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα Φίλιππον τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς φυλακὴν καταβεβελέη κακούχειν ἐπεχείρησε· περιοικοδομη-σάσα γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐν βραχεί τόπῳ τὰ σώματα διὰ 5 μιᾶς στενῆς ὑπόδοχης ἔχοργει τὰ ἀναγκαῖα· ἔτι πολλὰς δ' ἡμέρας παρανομήσασα τοὺς ἑτυχηκότας, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἔδοξεν διὰ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς πάσχοντας ἔλεους, τὸν μὲν Φίλιππον προσέταξε Θραξί τιοις ἐκκεντήσαι, βασιλεὰ γεγενημένον ἐξ ἐτη καὶ μήνας τέσσαρας, τὴν δ' Ἐυρυδίκην παρ-ρησιαζομένην καὶ βοῶσαν αὐτῇ μᾶλλον προσήκειν ἢπερ Ὁλυμπιάδι τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκρινε μείζονος 6 ἄξιωμα τιμωρίας. εἰσέπεμψεν οὖν αὐτῇ ἥφες καὶ βρόχον καὶ κόνειον καὶ συνέταξε τούτων ὃ βοῦ-λοιτο καταχρῆσαι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον, οὕτε τὸ προγεγενημένον ἄξιωμα τῆς παρανομουμένης ἐν-τραπείσα τὸ παράπαν οὕτε τῆς κοινῆς τύχης εἰς 7 ὁλκτὸν ἑλθοῦσα. τογγαροῦν τῆς ὕμοιος μεταβολῆς τυχοῦσα τῆς ὑμότητος ἄξιαν ἔσχε τὴν τού βίου καταστροφῆν. Ἐυρυδίκη μὲν γὰρ κατευφυνείν-ν παρεντὸς τοῦ κομίσαστος τῶν ὑμοίων δωρεῶν Ὁλυμπιάδα τυχεῖν τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα περιεστείλεν, ἐπιμεληθείσα τῶν τραυμάτων ἦς ποθ' ὁ καῖρος

1 αὐτῇ Dindorf: αὐτῇ.
out of respect for the position of Olympias and remembering the benefits that they had received from Alexander, changed their allegiance. King Philip with his court was captured at once, while Eurydice was taken as she was making her way to Amphipolis with Polycles, one of her counsellors. But after Olympias had thus captured the royal persons and had seized the kingdom without a fight, she did not carry her good fortune as a human being should, but first she placed Eurydice and her husband Philip under guard and began to maltreat them. Indeed she walled them up in a small space and supplied them with what was necessary through a single narrow opening. But after she had for many days unlawfully treated the unfortunate captives, since she was thereby losing favour with the Macedonians because of their pity for the sufferers, she ordered certain Thracians to stab Philip to death, who had been king for six years and four months; but she judged that Eurydice, who was expressing herself without restraint and declaring that the kingdom belonged to herself rather than to Olympias, was worthy of greater punishment. She therefore sent to her a sword, a noose, and some hemlock, and ordered her to employ whichever of these she pleased as a means of death, neither displaying any respect whatever for the former dignity of the victim whom she was unlawfully treating, nor moved to pity for the fate that is common to all. Accordingly, when she herself met with a similar reversal, she experienced a death that was worthy of her cruelty. Eurydice, indeed, in the presence of the attendant prayed that like gifts might fall to the lot of Olympias. She next laid out the body of her husband, cleansing its wounds
Diodorus of Sicily

συνεχώρει, έαυτήν δ’ ἀνακρεμάσασα τῇ ζωῆς κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον, οὕτε διακρύσασα τὴν αὐτῆς τύχην οὕτε τῷ μεγέθει τῶν συμπτωμάτων ταπεινώθεισα. Ἡ Ὀλυμπίας δὲ τούτων διαφθαρέντων ἀνείλε μὲν τὸν Νικάνορα τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κασάνδρου, κατέστρεψε δὲ τὸν Ἰόλλου τάφον, μετερχομένη, καθάπερ ἔφησε, τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατον, ἐπέλεξε δὲ καὶ τῶν Κασάνδρου φίλων τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἑκατὸν Μακεδόνας, οὕς ἀπαντᾷ ἁπ-9 ἐσφαξεν. ἐν τοιούτως δὲ παρανομήμασι πληροῦσα τὸν ἐαυτῆς θυμὸν ταχὺ πολλοὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐποίησε μισῆσαι τὴν ἀμύωτητα πάντες γὰρ ἀνεμωνήσκοντο τῶν Ἀντιπάτρου λόγων, διὸ καθάπερ χρησμωδῶν ἐπὶ τῆς τελευτῆς παρεκτενεύσατο μηδὲν ποτε συγχωρήσαι γυναικὶ τῆς βασιλείας προστατήσαι.

Τά μὲν οὖν κατὰ Μακεδονίαν τούτων τὸν τρόπον διοικηθέντα πρόδηλον εἰχε τὴν ἐσομένην μεταβολήν.

12. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν Εὐμενῆς μὲν ἔχων τοὺς ἀργυράσπιδας Μακεδόνας καὶ τὸν ἀφηγούμενον αὐτῶν Ἀρταγάναν παρεκτενισάμενον μὲν τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐν ταῖς ὀνομαζομέναις Καρῶν κώμαις, πρὸς δὲ Σέλευκον καὶ Πίθωνα πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλεν, ἀξιῶν βοηθεῖν τοῖς βασιλεύσι καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ συναγωνίσα-2 σθαί πρὸς Ἀντίγονον. τούτων δ’ ὡς μὲν Πίθων τῆς

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1 Eurydice died during the summer or fall of 317. She was later given royal burial at Aegae by Cassander (chap. 52. 5). For her death cp. Aelian, Varia Historia, 13. 36.

2 For the reports that Alexander was poisoned by order of
as well as circumstances permitted, then ended her 317 B.C. life by hanging herself with her girdle, neither weeping for her own fate nor humbled by the weight of her misfortunes. After these two had been made away with, Olympias killed Nicanor, Cassander’s brother, and overturned the tomb of Iollas, avenging, as she said, the death of Alexander. She also selected the hundred most prominent Macedonians from among the friends of Cassander and slaughtered them all. But by glutting her rage with such atrocities, she soon caused many of the Macedonians to hate her ruthlessness; for all of them remembered the words of Antipater, who, as if uttering a prophecy on his deathbed, advised them never to permit a woman to hold first place in the kingdom.

This situation, then, in the internal affairs of Macedonia gave clear indication of the impending revolution.

12. In Asia Eumenes with the Macedonian Silver Shields and their commander Antigenes wintered in the villages of Babylonia known as the villages of the Carians. He sent embassies to Seleucus and Pithon asking them to aid the kings and to join him in the struggle against Antigonus. Of these men, Pithon

Antipater cp. Book 17. 118. 1-2 ; Plutarch, Alexander, 77. 1 ; Curtius, 10. 10. 14-19 ; Arrian, Anabasis, 7. 27. Iollas was another brother of Cassander.


4 Continued in chap. 35.

5 Continued and in part repeated from Book 18. 73. 4.

6 The winter of 318/17. The villages of the Carians (or of the Carae) are probably the same as the villages “called the Carae” which Alexander passed through (Book 17. 110. 3) and are not to be identified with the Carae of chap. 91. 1, which is the well-known city of Carrhae in Mesopotamia (Weissbach in P.-W., Realeencyclopädie, 10. 1925, s.v. “Κάρας”)

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Μηδίας, ὁ δὲ ἔτερος τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σατράπης ἀπεδέχετο, καθ’ ὅν καὶ ἄλλο ἀνεὑρετης ἐγενήθη τῶν σατραπεῖων ἐν Τριπαράδεισῳ. οἱ δὲ περὶ Σελευκον τοῖς µὲν βασιλεύσων ἐφασάν βούλευσαν παρέχεσθαι χρῄσις, Ἐυμενεῖ µέντοι γε µηδέποτε ὑπομενεῖν ποιοῦνται τὸ προστατόµενον, οὐ Μακεδόνες συνελθόντες κατέγνωσαν θάνατον. πολλα δὲ πρὸς ταύτην τὴν προαιρέσεως διαλεγόμενες συνεξέπεμβαν παρ’ αὐτῶν πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς Ἀντιγένην καὶ τοὺς ἀργυράσπιδας, ἀξιοῦντες αὑριστάναι τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ἐυμενῆς. τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων οὐ προσεχόντων τοῖς λόγοις Ἐυμενῆς ἐπαινέσασα αὐτῶν τὴν προβιβάλ μὲν ἁνέθεεσε µετὰ τῆς δυνάµεως καὶ παραγεννηθείς ἐπὶ τὸν Τήγρην ποταµῶν κατεστρατοπέδευσε, τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ἀπέχων σταδίους τριακοσίων. καὶ πρόθεσαν µὲν εἰχὲν εἰς Σοῦσα ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν, διανοούµενος τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀνώ σατραπείων δυνάµεις µεταπέµπεσθαι καὶ τοῖς βασιλείσις θησαυροῖς χρῆσάσθαι πρὸς τὰς κατεπείγουσας χρῄσεις. ἦναγκάζετο δὲ τὸν ποταµὸν διαβαίνειν διὰ τὸ τὴν µὲν κατόπιν χώραν προνοµεύεθαι τὴν δὲ πέραν ἀκέραιον εἶναι καὶ δαβίδεις δύνασθαι παρέχειν σιλαφᾶς τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. συναγαγόντος οὖν αὐτοῦ πλοία πανταχόθεν πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν οἱ περὶ Σελευκον καὶ Πίθωνα κατέπλευσαν δυὸ µὲν τρίγρεσι, κοντατοῖς δὲ πλείστως ἔτη γὰρ τὰ σκάφη ταύτα περίην ἐκ τῶν ὑπ’ Ἀλέξανδρου ναυπηγηθέντων περὶ Βαβυλῶνα.

1 περίην Stephanus: περὶ γῆν ἦν.


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had been appointed satrap of Media and the other 317 B.C. had been named satrap of Babylonia at the time when the second distribution of satrapies was made at Triparadeisus. Scleucus said that he was willing to be of service to the kings, but that nevertheless he would never consent to carrying out the orders of Eumenes, whom the Macedonians in assembly had condemned to death. After much discussion in respect to this policy, they sent an ambassador from themselves to Antigones and the Silver Shields, asking them to remove Eumenes from his command. Since the Macedonians paid no heed to this message, Eumenes, after praising their loyalty, set out with the army and pitched camp on reaching the Tigris River at a distance of three hundred stades from Babylon. It was his purpose to direct his course to Susa, where he intended to summon the armies from the upper satrapies and to make use of the royal treasure for his urgent needs. He was forced, however, to cross the river because the country behind him had been plundered, whereas that on the other side was untouched and able to furnish abundant food for his army. When he, accordingly, had gathered boats from all sides for the crossing, Scleucus and Pithon sailed down with two triremes and a good many punts, for these craft still survived from those that had been built by Alexander near Babylon.

4 Alexander had forded the Tigris, but only with great difficulty and at a point much higher up the stream (Book 17. 55. 3-6).

5 Arrian (Anabasis, 7. 19. 4) speaks of the construction of triremes and other large boats at Babylon after Alexander’s return to that city just before his death, but no punts are mentioned.
13. Ταύτα δὲ προσαγαγόντες πρὸς τὴν ἐκβασιν πάλιν ἐπεχείρουν τοὺς Μακεδόνας πείθειν ἀποστῆσαι τὸν Εὐμενῆ τῆς στρατηγίας καὶ μὴ προάγειν καθ' αὐτῶν ἄνδρα ἑξένοι καὶ πλείστους Μακεδόνας 2 ἀνηρρηκότα. οὔδενὶ δὲ τρόπῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντιγένη πειθομένων οἱ περὶ Σέλευκον προσπλεύσαντες πρὸς τινὰ διώρυγα πολαμιάν ἀνέρρηξαν τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς, ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου συγκεκρωμένην. περικλυσθείσης δὲ τῆς τῶν Μακεδόνων στρατοπεδίας καὶ πάντη τοῦ συνεχοῦς τόπου λυμνάσαντος ἐκνίθυνεν ἄπαν ἀπολέσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπὸ τῆς 3 πλήμης. ἔκεινην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν ἔμειναν ἐφ' ἑσυχίας, ἀποροούμενοι πῶς χρηστέων τοῖς πράγμασι 4 τῇ δ' υστεραλια παραστησάμενοι τὰ κοντάτα πλοῖα, περὶ τρικόσια τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὅντα, διεβίβασιν τὸ κράτιστον τῆς δυνάμεως οὗτεν παρενοχλοῦντος κατὰ τὴν ἐκβασιν οἴ γὰρ περὶ Σέλευκον ἦπερ ὁμόνοι ἐξόν καὶ τούτους πολὺ τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς λειπο- 5 μένους τῶν ἐναντίων. νυκτὸς δὲ ἦδη καταλαμβανούσας Εὐμενῆς μὲν ἄγωνιῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀποσκευής παλιν εἰς τοῦτον διεβίβασε τοὺς Μακεδόνας, εἰςτηγησάμενον δὲ τινός τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἐπεβάλετο τινα τόπον ἀνακαθαίρειν, δ' οὖ ρύθμον ἡν ἀπο- στρέψαι τὴν διώρυγα καὶ βάσιμον κατασκευάσαι 6 τὴν πλησίον χώραν. ἀ δὴ συνιδόντες οἱ περὶ Σέλευκον καὶ βουλόμενοι τὴν ταχιστὴν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἴδιας σατραπείας ἀπαλλάξαι πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν ὑπὲρ ἄνοχῶν, συγκροτήσαντες τὴν διάβασιν. εὖθυ δὲ καὶ βυβλιαφόρους ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον εἰς Μεσοποταμίαν, ἄξιοντες ἢκεῖν τὴν τα- χιστὴν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, πρὶν ἡ καταβῆναι

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13. Directing these craft to the landing place, 317 B.C. Seleucus and Pithon again tried to persuade the Macedonians to remove Eumenes from his command and to cease preferring against their own interests a man who was a foreigner and who had killed very many Macedonians. But when Antigenes and his men were in no way persuaded, Seleucus sailed off to a certain ancient canal and cleared its intake, which had been filled up in the course of time. Since the Macedonian camp was surrounded by water and the neighbouring land on all sides was now inundated, there was danger that the entire encamped army would be destroyed by the flood. On that day the Macedonians remained inactive, not knowing how to deal with the situation; but on the next they brought up the punts, about three hundred in number, and carried the best part of the army across, no one hindering them at the landing; for Seleucus had cavalry only and that too far inferior in number to its opponents. But when night was overtaking them, Eumenes, since he was anxious about the baggage, got the Macedonians back across the river; and under the guidance of one of the inhabitants of the region he began to excavate a certain place through which it was easy to turn the canal and make the neighbouring land passable. Seleucus saw this, and since he wished to get them out of his satrapy as soon as possible, he sent envoys to propose a truce, conceding to Eumenes his passage across the river.\(^1\) But at the same time he also sent dispatch carriers into Mesopotamia to Antigonus, asking him to come with his army as soon as possible before the satraps should

\(^1\) Eumenes was holding the citadel of Babylon, which he had captured in October, 318 (Turn in C.A.H. 6. 477).
6 τοὺς σατράπας μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων. Ἐνυμενής δὲ διαβάς τὸν Τίγριν καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Σουσιανὴν εἰς τρία μέρη διείλε τὴν δύναμιν διὰ τὴν τοῦ σιτού σπάνιν. ἐπιπορευόμενος δὲ τὴν χώραν κατὰ μέρος σιτοῦ μὲν παντὲλῶς ἐσπάνιζεν, ὅρυζαν δὲ καὶ σήσαμον καὶ φοίνικα διέδωκε τοῖς στρατιώταις, δαμιλῶς ἔχοισθη τῆς χώρας τοὺς τοιούτους καρπούς. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἄνω σατραπείαις ἴγεμόνας ἤν μὲν καὶ πρῶτερον ἀπεσταλκὼς τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἑπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς ἦν γεγραμμένον πάντα πεθαρχεῖν Ἐνυμενεῖ, καὶ τότε δὲ βυβλιοφόρους ἀπέστειλεν, ἀξιῶν ἀπαντῶν εἰς τὴν Σουσιανὴν ἀπαντας μετὰ τῶν ἱδίων δυνάμεων, καθι ὅτι χρόνον συνεβή κάκεινος ηὔροικεν τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ συνδεδραμηκέναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους δι’ ἑτέρας αἰτίας, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀναγκαῖον προειπέν. 14. Πίθων σατράπης μὲν ἀπεδέδεικτο Μηδίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ τῶν ἄνω σατραπείων ἀπασών γενόμενος Φιλώταν μὲν τὸν προὐπάρχοντα Παρθυναίας στρατηγὸν ἀπέκτεινε, τὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὸν Ἐυδαμον ἀντὶ τοῦτοι κατέστησεν. 2 οὐ γενομένου συνεδραμοῦν οἱ λοιποὶ σατράπαι πάντες, φοβηθέντες μὴ τὸ παραπλήσιον πάθωσιν, ὧντος τοῦ Πίθωνος κυνηγικοῦ καὶ μεγάλα ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς περιβαλομένου. περιγενόμενοι δ’ αὐτοῦ μάχῃ καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν συναγωνισμένων ἀνελόντες ἐξῆλθαν ἐκ τῆς 3 Παρθυναίας. κάκεινος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Μηδίαν, μετ’ ὄλγον δ’ εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα παρα-

1 γενόμενος Φιλώταν . . . κατέστησεν Fischer, γενόμενος Φιλιπποῦ . . . κατέστησεν Wesseling: γενόμενος Παρθυναίος ὁς Φιλώταν μὲν τὸν προὐπάρχοντα στρατηγὸν ἀπέκτεινεν, τὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ (αὐτοῦ δὲ τῶν Χ) ἀδελφὸν Ἐδαμον ἀντὶ τοῦτοι κατέστησεν RVX, γενόμενος Παρθυναίας Φιλώταν μὲν τὸν προὐπάρχοντα 264
arrive with their forces. Eumenes, however, after 317 B.C. crossing the Tigris and arriving in Susianē, divided his army into three parts because of the dearth of food. Marching through the country in separate columns, he was completely without grain, but he distributed to his soldiers rice, sesame, and dates, since the land produced such fruits as these in plenty. He had already sent to the commanders of the upper satrapies the letter from the kings in which it was written that they should obey Eumenes in every way; and at this time he again sent couriers bidding the satraps all to assemble in Susianē each with his own army. But it happened that at this very time they had themselves mobilized their forces and had assembled for other reasons, with which it is necessary to deal first.

14. Pithon had been appointed satrap of Media, but when he became general of all the upper satrapies, he put to death Philotas, the former general of Parthia, and set up his own brother Eudamus in his place. At this all the other satraps joined forces, fearing that they might suffer a similar fate since Pithon was seditious and had included great undertakings in his plans. But they got the better of him in a battle, killed many of his supporters, and drove him out of Parthia. At first he withdrew to Media, but after a little he went on to Babylon, where he invited

1 Pithon received Media in the distribution at Tripara-deisus, but the satrap of Parthia is there called Philip (Book 18. 39. 6). As Diodorus’ words suggest, Pithon’s “generalship” of the upper satrapies was by usurpation. For earlier projects of Pithon cp. Book 18. 7.

στρατηγὸν ἀπέκτεινε, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δ’ ἀδελφὸν Εὐδαμον ἀντὶ τοῦτου κατέστησεν Φ.

2 μεγάλα ταῖς Reiske; μεγάλασ.
γενόμενος παρεκάλει τον Σέλευκον βοηθείν αὐτῷ καὶ κοινωνεῖ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδων. διὰ δὴ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας τῶν ἄνω σατραπῶν συνηθροικότων εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τὰ στρατόπεδα παρῆσαν οἱ παρ’ Ἑὔμενον βυβλιαφόροι πρὸς ἐτοίμας τὰς δυνάμεις. ἦν δὲ τῶν ἥγεμονων ἐπιφανεστάτος μὲν καὶ κοινῷ δόγματι πάντων τὴν στρατηγιῶν παραλαβὼν Πειραιάς, γεγενημένος Ἀλεξάνδρου συμματοφύλαξ καὶ πραγματεύσεως τοῦ βασίλεως δι’ ἀνδρείας. σατραπεῖαν δ” εἶχεν ἐν τῷ πλεύσαν τῆς Περσίδος καὶ μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἐπάνω παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχώριοις. δ” ὡς αἰτίας φασὶ καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτῷ μόνῳ Μακεδόνων συνυγχωρήσαι Περσικήν φορεῖν στολήν, διαφθορήσεις βουλόμενον τοῖς Πέρσαις καὶ διὰ τούτου νομίζοντα κατὰ πάνθες ἔχειν τὸ ἐθνὸς ὑπῆκοον. εἶχε δὲ τὸν Πέρσας τοξότας μὲν καὶ σφενδονής τοὺς μυρίους, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίκην τάξεων καθοπλισμένους παντοδαποὺς τρισχλίους, ἵππεσις δ” Ἐλληνας μὲν καὶ Ὀρᾶκας ἐξακοσίους, Πέρσας δὲ πλεύσων τῶν τετρακοσίων. Τληπόλεμος ὡς Μακεδών, Καρμανίας σατράπης ἀποδεδειγμένος, εἶχε πεζοὺς μὲν χιλιόνες πεντακοσίους, ἵππεσις δ” ἐπτακοσίους. καὶ Σιβύρτιος μὲν τῆς Ἀραχωσίας ἡγούμενος παρείχετο πεζοὺς μὲν χιλιόνες, ἵππεσις δὲ δέκα πρὸς τοὺς ἐξακοσίους, ἷ� ’Ανδρόβαξος δ” ἐκ Παροπανασάδων, τοῦ Ὀξυάρτου κυριεύοντος τῆς σατραπείας, ἀπέσταλτο μετὰ πεζῶν μὲν χιλιόνες καὶ

2 ἐξακοσίοις Reuss: ἐκατὸν ἡ.

1 He was originally appointed to this satrapy by Alexander.
Seleucus to aid him and to share in his expectations. 317 B.C. So, since the upper satraps had for this reason concentrated their armies in a single place, the couriers from Eumenes found the forces ready. The most eminent of the commanders and the one who by common consent had assumed command of all the forces was Peucestes, who had been a Bodyguard of Alexander and had been promoted by the king because of his courage. He had held the satrapy of Persia for many years and had gained great favour with the inhabitants.\(^1\) They say that for this reason Alexander permitted him alone of the Macedonians to wear the Persian raiment, wishing to please the Persians and believing that through Peucestes he could keep the nation in all respects obedient. At this time Peucestes had ten thousand Persian archers and slingers,\(^2\) three thousand men of every origin equipped for service in the Macedonian array, six hundred Greek and Thracian cavalry, and more than four hundred Persian horsemen. Tlepolemus\(^3\) the Macedonian, who had been appointed satrap of Carmania, had one thousand five hundred foot soldiers and seven hundred mounted men. Sibyrtius, the commander of Arabiosia,\(^4\) brought a thousand foot and six hundred and ten horse. Androbaudus had been dispatched from Paropamisadae, of which satrapy Oxyartes was governor, with twelve hundred infantry and four hundred

\(^{1}\) Arrian, *Anabasis*, 6. 30. 2-3 and was continued in office by Perdiccas and by Antipater (Book 18. 3. 3, 39. 6).

\(^{2}\) Cp. Book 17. 110. 2.

\(^{3}\) Cp. the critical note.

\(^{4}\) He had originally been appointed by Alexander (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 6. 27. 1) and confirmed by Perdiccas (Book 18. 3. 3) and by Antipater (Arrian, *Hermii*, 156. 9. 36 ; but his name is omitted in Book 18. 39. 6).
Diodorus of Sicily

7 diakosíon, ἵππεων δὲ τετρακοσίων. Στάσανδρος
8 ὁ τῆς Ἀρίας καὶ Δραγγυνῆς σατράπης, προσ-
ζέων καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Βακτριανῆς, εἴχε πεζοὺς
8 μὲν χιλίους πεντακοσίους, ἵππεις δὲ χιλίους. ἐκ δὲ
tῆς Ἰνδικῆς Εὐδαμος παρεγένετο μεθ’ ἵππεων μὲν
πεντακοσίων, πεζῶν δὲ τριακοσίων, ἐλεφάντων δὲ
ἐκατὸν εἶκοσὶ. τὰ δὲ θηρία ταῦτα παρέλαβε μετὰ
tῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήν δολοφονήσας Πῶρον
τὸν βασιλέα. οἱ δὲ πάντες μετὰ τῶν σατραπῶν
ηθροίσθησαν πεζοὶ μὲν πλείους τῶν μυρίων ὀκτα-
κισχιλίων ἐπτακοσίων, ἵππεις δὲ τετρακισχίλιοι
ἐξακόσιοι.

15. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεγένθησαν εἰς τὴν Σουσιανὴν
πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ, συνήγαγον ἐκκλησίαν
κοινὴν, ἐν ἥ πολλὴν συνέβη γενέσθαι φιλοτιμίαν
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἤγεμονίας. Πευκέστης μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὸ
πλῆθος τῶν συναγωγικόμενων καὶ τὴν παρ’ Ἀλεξ-
άνδρον προαγωγὴν ἐαυτὸν ὑμέτερο τείν ἐξεῖν τὴν τῶν
2 πάντων ἤγεμονίαν, Ἀντιγένης δὲ τῶν ἀργυρασπί-
δων Μακεδόνων στρατηγῶν ἔφη δὲ εἰς δοθήναι τὴν
ἐξουσίαν τῆς αἰρέσεως τοῖς δὲ αὐτοῦ Μακεδόνων,
συγκαταπεπολεμήκασιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν Ἀσίαν
3 καὶ γεγονόσι διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἀνικήτους. Εὐ-
μενῆς δὲ φοβοῦμενος μὴ διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλους
στάσιν εὐχείρωτοι κατασταθῶσιν Ἀντιγόνω, συν-
εβούλευεν ἕνα μὲν μὴ καθιστῶν ἤγεμόνα, πάντας δὲ
τοὺς προκεκριμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους σατράπας
καὶ στρατηγοὺς εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν αὐλὴν συνιόντας

1 Eudamus had been left by Alexander as a Macedonian
“resident” with Taxiles (Arrian, Anabasis, 6. 27. 2). We
know nothing further of the attack on Porus. This Eudamus
is not the brother of Pithon mentioned at the beginning of
this chapter.

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cavalry. Stasander, the satrap of Aria and Dranginê, who brought also the troops from Bactrianê, had fifteen hundred infantry and a thousand horse. From India came Eudamus with five hundred horsemen, three hundred footmen, and one hundred and twenty elephants. These beasts he had secured after the death of Alexander by treacherously slaying King Porus. In all there were assembled with the satraps more than eighteen thousand seven hundred infantry and four thousand six hundred cavalry.

15. When the satraps had come into Susianê and had joined Eumenes, they called together a general assembly in which there was found to be a good deal of rivalry for the chief command. Peneestes thought that because of the number of soldiers who followed him on the campaign and because of his high rank under Alexander he ought to have the supreme command; but Antigones, who was general of the Silver Shields, said that the right to make the selection ought to be granted to his Macedonians, since they had conquered Asia with Alexander and had been unconquered because of their valour. Eumenes, however, fearing that through their rivalry with each other they would become an easy prey for Antigonus, advised that they should not set up a single commander, but that all the satraps and generals who had been selected by the mass of the army should gather in the royal tent each day and take counsel.

2 The sums of the figures given are 18,500 foot and 4910 horse, but we must add also the forces brought by Amphi-machus of Mesopotamia (600 horse and probably some infantry although none is mentioned) who is present at the battle of Gabienê (chap. 27. 4).

3 Cp. Plutarch, Eumenes, 13. 4.
καθ’ ἡμέραν βουλεύεσθαι κοινῇ περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων, τῶν ἐστατοῖ γὰρ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τετελευτηκότι σκηνῇ καὶ κατὰ ταύτῃ θρόνος, πρὸς ὦ θύοντες εἰώθειεςαν συνεδρεύειν περὶ τῶν κατεπείγοντων. πάντων δὲ διασημωμένων τὸ ῥηθὲν ὡς συμφερόντων εἰρημένον συνήγε καθ’ ἡμέραν συνέδριον οἷον τὸν

5 δημοκρατουμένης πόλεως. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα παρελθόντων αὐτῶν εἰς Σούσσα παρὰ τῶν ὁθαυροφυλακούντων Εὐμενῆς ἐλαβὲ χρημάτων πλῆθος ὡσον ἤν ἰκανόν εἰς τὰς χρείας· μόνῳ γὰρ τούτῳ διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν οἱ βασιλεῖς συνετελέσκειαν διδόναι καθ’ ὁ τι ἂν αὐτὸς προαιρῆται. μυσθοδιτήσας δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνας εἰς ἐξ μῆνας Εὐδάμῳ τῷ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καταγαγόντι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ίνδικῆς ἔδωκε διακόσια τάλαντα, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ πρὸς τὰς τῶν θηρίων δαπάνας, τῷ δ’ ἐργῷ διὰ τῆς δωρεᾶς ταύτῃς θεραπεύων τὸν ἄνδρα· ὥσ γὰρ ἂν τῶν στασιαζόντων οὐτός προσθότο, μεγίστην ἐποιεῖτο ῥοπῆν, καταπληκτικὴς οὕτως τῆς τῶν θηρίων χρείας. τῶν δ’ ἀλλών σατραπῶν ἐκαστὸς ἐτρεφε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς υφ’ ἐαυτὸν χώρας συνηκολουθηκότας.

6 Εὐμενῆς μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ Σουσσανῇ διατρίβων ἀνελάμβανε τὴν δύναμιν, Ἀντίγονος δὲ παραχειμάσας ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμία τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διενόθη τοὺς περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ διώκειν ἐκ ποδὸς πρὸς αὐξηθῆναι, ὡς δ’ ἦκουσε τοὺς σατράπας καὶ τὰς μετ’ αὐτῶν δυνάμεις συνεδρήσεις τοῖς Μακεδόσιν, ἐπέσχε τὴν σπουδὴν καὶ τὴν τε δύναμιν ἀνελάμβανε καὶ προσκατέγραφε στρατιωτάς· ἐώρα γὰρ τὸν

1 ἔστατο Dindorf: ἔστατο MSS., Fischer.
BOOK XIX. 15. 3-6

together about what was to the common advantage. 317 B.C.
For a tent had been set up for Alexander although he
was dead, and in the tent a throne, before which they
were accustomed to make offerings and then to sit as
a council in regard to matters that demanded atten-
tion.¹ Since all approved his proposal as made in the
general interest, he called a council each day like
that of some city ruling itself on democratic principles.
Later, when they arrived at Susa, Eumenes received
from those in charge of the treasury a sum of money
sufficient for his needs; for it was to him alone that
the kings in their letter had ordered the treasurers
to give whatever sum he should ask.² After paying
the Macedonians for six months, he gave two hundred
talents to Rudamus, who had brought down the ele-
phants from India, saying that this was for the cost of
maintaining the animals, but really trying to win the
favour of the man by this gift; for he would tip the
scales decisively in favour of any one of the rivals to
whom he might attach himself, since the employ-
ment of the beasts strikes terror. Each of the other
satraps provided for the support of the troops who
had followed him from the territory under his
command.

While Eumenes remained in Susianē refreshing his
forces, Antigonus, who had wintered in Mesopotamia,³
at first had planned to follow Eumenes close on his
heels before his strength should be increased; but on
hearing that the satraps and their armies had joined
the Macedonians, he checked his speed and began
to refresh his forces and to enrol additional soldiers,

¹ Cp. Book 18. 60. 5-61. 3.
³ This is the winter of 318/17, i.e. the same as that men-
tioned in chap. 12. 1.
πόλεμον μεγάλων στρατοπέδων καὶ παρασκευῆς οὐ
τῆς τυχοῦσης προσδεόμενον.

16. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις "Ατταλος καὶ
Πολέμων καὶ Δόκιμος, ἐτὶ δὲ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ
Φιλώτας, οἱ μετὰ τῆς Ἀλκέτου δυνάμεως ἄλοιπες
ηγεμόνες, ἐφυλάττοντο μὲν ἐν τινὶ φρουρίῳ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὕμφαρη, ἀκούσαντες δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν
Ἀντίγονον εἰς τὰς ἀνω σατραπείας ποιεῖσθαι τὴν
πορείαν, νομίζοντες εὐθεῖαν ἔχειν καὶρόν, ἐπειδὴ
τινὰς τῶν τηροῦντων αὐτοὺς λύσαι, κυριεύσαντες
dὲ ὁπλῶν ἐπέθεντο τῇ φυλακῇ περὶ μέσας νύκτας,
ἀυτοὶ μὲν οὖν ὁκτὼ τῶν ἄριθμῶν ὄντες, τηροῦμενοι
dὲ ὑπὸ στρατωτῶν τετρακοσίων, διαφέροντες δὲ
tὰς τόλμας καὶ τὰς εὐχερίας διὰ τὴν μετ'
Ἀλέξάνδρου στρατείαν, Σενοπείθη μὲν τὸν φρούρ-
αρχὸν συναρπάσαντες ὑπὲρ τὸ πεῖχος ἔρρημαν,
σταδιαῖον ἔχοντας τῆς πέτρας ὤψις, τῶν δ' ἄλλων
tοὺς μὲν κατασφάξαντες, τοὺς δὲ ἐκβαλόντες ἐν-
2 ἐπὶρρασαν τὰς οἰκίας. τῶν δ' ἔξωθεν καραδοκούντων
προσελάβοντο τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰς πεντήκοντα. τοὺ δὲ
φρουρίον σίτου τε πλῆθος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτη-
δείων ἔχοντο ἐβουλεύοντο πότερον χρή μένειν καὶ
χρῆσαι τῇ τῶν τόπων ὀχυρότητι καραδοκούντας
τὴν παρ'. Εὐμενοὺς βοήθειαν ἡ φυγόντας τὴν ταχι-
στήν ἀλάσθαι κατὰ τὴν χώραν καιροτηροῦντας τὰς
3 μεταβολάς. γιγνομένης δὲ πλείονος ἀντιλογίας
Δόκιμος μὲν ἐκχυρεῖν συνεβούλευεν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν
"Ατταλον οὐκ ἐφασαν δυνησθεῖαι κακοπαθεῖν διὰ
tὴν ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς γενομένην κακουχίαν. τούτων
dὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διεσταμένων ἐφθασαν ἐκ τῶν

1 Cp. Book 18. 45. 3-4.
for he perceived that the war called for large armies 317 B.C. and for no ordinary preparation.

16. While these things were happening, Attalus, Polemon, and Docimus, together with Antipater and Philotas, the commanders who had been captured along with the army of Alcetas, were being kept under guard in a certain exceedingly strong fortress 1; but when they heard that Antigonus was leading his expedition into the upper satrapies, believing that they had a favourable opportunity, they persuaded certain of their custodians to release them, and then, gaining possession of arms, they set upon the guard at about midnight. They themselves numbered only eight and were guarded by four hundred soldiers, but they excelled in daring and dexterity, thanks to their service with Alexander. They laid violent hands upon Xenopoethes, the captain of the garrison, and threw him from the wall at a point where the cliff was six hundred feet high; and then, after slaughtering some of the remaining guards and casting the others down, they set fire to the buildings. From those who had been standing aside to observe the outcome they increased their number to fifty. Since the stronghold held a large amount of grain and other provisions, they took counsel together whether they ought to remain and take advantage of the strength of the position, awaiting the aid to be expected from Eumenes, or should flee as quickly as possible and move about the country while waiting for a change in the situation. There was a considerable argument, for Docimus advised flight while Attalus declared that he would not be able to endure hardship because of the bad physical condition that had been caused by his imprisonment. But while they were disputing
σύνεγγυς φρονών ςυνδραμόντες στρατιώται πεζοί μὲν πλείους τῶν πεντακοσίων, ἵππεῖς δὲ τετρακόσιοι, χωρίς δὲ τούτων ἐκ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἄλλοι παντοδαποὶ πλείους τῶν τρισκιλίων, οἱ στρατηγῶν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν καταστήσαντες περιεστρατοπέδευσαν τὸ χωρίον. παραδόξως δὲ πάλιν αὐτῶν κατακλεισθέντων Δόκιμος μὲν κατάβασιν τινα κατανοήσας ἀφύλακτον διεπρεβεβέσατο πρὸς τὴν Ἀντιγόνου γυναῖκα Στρατονίκην, οὔτως πλησίως τῶν τῶν φώτων, καὶ δεύτερος διὰ ταύτης ἐκκηδήσας αὐτὸς μὲν ἱστε ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ εἰς φυλακὴν παρεδόθη, ο ὁ δὲ συγκαταβὰς αὐτῷ καθηγησάμενος τοὺς πολέμιους ἀνήγαγεν εἰς τὸ χωρίον ὡς ἀλλήλους καὶ κατελάβετο τὴν ὅρθιον πετρῶν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀτταλοῦν πολὺ λειταμένου τοὺς πλήθεις διὰ τὸς ἀρετᾶς ἀντιεἰχόντο καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀγωνιζόμενοι διεκαρτέρουν πολιορκηθέντες δὲ ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας ἠλωσαν κατὰ κράτος.

17. Ἔπεις ἀρχοντος δ' Ἀθηνίου Δημοκλείδου Ῥωμαίοι μὲν ὑπάτους κατέστησαν Γαίου Ἰούνιου καὶ Κόντον Αἱμίλιον, Ὀλυμπίας δὲ ὑπήρχεν ἐκτῇ πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν καὶ δέκα, καθ' ἡν ἐνικὰ στάδιον 2 Δεινομένης Λάκων. περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς καρόωσι Ἀντίγονος μὲν ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἀναζεύξας ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν καὶ συνέβητο κοινοπραγιάν Σελεύκου καὶ Πίθωνι προσλαβόμενος δὲ καὶ παρὰ τούτων στρατιώτας ἐξεύξε πλοίως τοὺς Τίγριν ποταμὸν καὶ περαιώσας τὰς δυνάμεις ὠρμήσεν ἐπὶ

1 Democleides was archon in 316/15. According to the traditional chronology, C. Junius Bubuleus and Q. Aemilius Barbula were consuls in 317 (Livy, 9. 20. 7; Fasti Capito-
with each other, troops had already assembled from 317 B.C. the adjacent fortresses, more than five hundred foot soldiers and four hundred horsemen; and in addition, others had come from the native peoples, men of every kind to a number exceeding three thousand, who had selected a commander from their own ranks and encamped about the stronghold. When they had unexpectedly been shut in again, Docimus, who had learned that a certain way of descent was unguarded, sent an ambassador to Antigonus' wife Stratonicē, who was in the neighbourhood. When he and one companion escaped by arrangement with her, he was accorded no confidence but was handed over to a guard; and the man who had gone out with him became a guide for the enemy, conducted a considerable number of them into the stronghold, and occupied one of the peaks. Although the followers of Attalus were far outnumbered, their courage enabled them to hold their ground, and keeping up the fight day after day they resisted stubbornly; only after they had been besieged for a year and four months were they taken by assault.

17. When Democleides was archon at Athens, the Romans elected Gaius Junius and Quintus Aemilius consuls.¹ This was the one hundred and sixteenth celebration of the Olympic Games, at which Deinomenes the Laconian won the footrace. At this time Antigonus set out from Mesopotamia and came into Babylonia, where he made an agreement for common action with Seleucus and Pithon.² He received soldiers from them also, made a pontoon bridge over the Tigris River, took his army across, and set out

¹ lini for 317). Chapters 17-38 continue to relate events of 317 B.C.
² Cp. chaps. 12. 5, 13. 3.
3 τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ ουδὲμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα Ξενοφίλω μὲν τῷ τὴν ἐν Σοῦσσοις ἀκραν φυλάττοντι ἐκέλευσαν μῆτε τῶν χρημάτων Ἀντιγόνω θεὰν τι μὴν εἰς λόγους ἐρχεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀναλαβόντες ὄρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρινον ποταμόν, ἀπέχοντα Σοῦσσον ὄδυν ἡμέρας, ἡ γὰ τῆς ὀρεινῆς εἴχεται τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτο-νόμων κατεχομένης, οὔς Θυξίους προσαγορεύονσιν, πλάτος μὲν κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους τριῶν σταδίων, ἐστὶ δὲ ὅτε καὶ τεσσάρων, βάθος δὲ κατὰ μέσον τὸ ἔδαφος πρὸς τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἑλεφάντων, καὶ φερό-μενοι μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἐπὶ σταδίους ἐπτάκο-σίους εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἕξερευνεται διάλασσαν, ἔχει δὲ καὶ θαλάσσων ἱχθῶν πολὺν καὶ θηρία τῶν πελαγίων, ἃ φαίνεται μάλιστα περὶ κυνὸς ἀνατολάς. 4 τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν προβαλόμενοι καὶ πάσαν τὴν παραποταμίαν ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ἔως τῆς θαλάσσης φυλακαί διαλαβόντες ἀνέμενον τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδου. προσδεομένης δὲ τῆς φυλακῆς διὰ τὸ μῆκος στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων οἵ περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ καὶ Ἀντιγόνη ἔξισαν τὸν Πεικέστην ἐκ τῆς 5 Περσίδος μεταπέμψασθαι τοξότας μυρίους. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐ προσείχεν αὐτοῖς, μεμψιμουρω ἐπὶ τῷ μῆτε τετευχέναι τῆς στρατηγίας, ὦστερον δὲ δοὺς αὐτῶν λόγου συνεχώρησεν ὅτι κρατήσαντος Ἀντιγόνου συμβηκήσεται καὶ τὴν στραπεῖαιν αὐτῶν ἀποβαλέων καὶ περὶ τοῦ σώματος κυνωνεῦσαι.

1 εἴχεται Post, εἴρεθαι Fischer, εἴχεται Hertlein: εἴχει RX, εἴχει F.
2 μὲν after πολλοὺς deleted by editors.

1 Apparently an error for the Pasitigris (ep. chap. 21. 2; 276
against the enemy. When Eumenes learned what had taken place, he ordered Xenophilus, who was guarding the citadel of Susa, not to give any of the money to Antigonus nor to have any conference with him. Eumenes himself with his forces set out for the Tigris River, which is a day's march from Susa at the place where it flows out of the mountainous country that is occupied by the unconquered tribesmen called the Uxii. Its width in many places is three stades, and in some places even four; and in the middle of the stream the depth is about the height of an elephant. After flowing along for some seven hundred stades from the mountains, it empties into the Red Sea, and it contains abundant salt-water fishes as well as sharks, which appear just about the time of the rising of the Dog Star. Keeping this river in front of them as a protection and holding the bank from its source to the sea with pickets, they awaited the onset of the enemy. Since this guard because of its length required no small number of soldiers, Eumenes and Antigonus requested Peucestes to summon ten thousand bowmen from Persia. At first he paid no heed to them, since he still bore a grudge for not having received the generalship; but later, reasoning with himself, he admitted that should Antigonus be victorious the result would be that he himself would lose his satrapy and also be in danger

Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 14. 2; Strabo, 15. 3. 6) as also in chap. 18. 4, and in Book 17. 67. 1-2, where, however, the distance to Susa is correctly given as four days' march (Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, 2. 1. 266, note 1).

1 About 1800 and 2400 feet respectively.
2 About eighty miles.
3 *i.e.* the Persian Gulf. The river now empties into the Shatt-al-Arab.
4 In the latter part of June.
Diodorus of Sicily

6 ἀγωνιῶν οὖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς στρατηγίας μᾶλλον τεύχεσθαι νομίζων ὡς πλείστους ἔχων στρατιώτας προσήγαγεν, καθάπερ ἥξιον, τοξότας μυρίους. ἀπέχοντες δὲ ἕνιοι τῶν Περσῶν ὥδεν ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα τὸ παραγγελθὲν αὐθημερῶν ἥκουν διὰ τὸ φιλοτεχνηθὲν περὶ τῶν φυλακῶν. ὅπερ οὖ καλῶς ἥκει παραδραμεῖν. τῆς γὰρ Περσίδος οὐσίας αὐλώνοειδοῦς καὶ σκοπᾶς ἑχούσης υψηλὰς καὶ πυκνὰς ἐπὶ τούτων ἐφευστήκεισαν οἱ μέγιστοι φθεγγόμενοι τῶν ἐγχορίων. διηρημένων γὰρ τῶν τόπων ἐκς φωνῆς ἀκοήν1 οἱ παραλαμβάνοντες τὸ παρυγγέλθὲν ὁμοίως ἑτέρους παρεδίδοσαν, εἰτ' ἐκείνοι πάλιν ἄλλοι, ἕως ἐς τὸ τέρμα τῆς σατραπείας τὸ δοθὲν παραδοθή.

18. Τῶν δὲ περὶ τῶν Εὐμενῆ καὶ Πενκέστην ταῦτα διουκόπτων Ἀντίγονος, ἐπειδὴ προάγων μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἦκεν εἰς Ὀώμα τὸ βασίλειον, Σέλευκον μὲν ἀπέδειξε τῆς χώρας σατράπην καὶ δοὺς αὐτῷ στρατιώτας προσέταξε πολιορκεῖν τὴν ἀκραν ἀπειθοῦντος2 Ξενοφίλου τοῦ θησαυροφύλακος, αὐτὸς δὲ3 μετὰ τῆς στρατιάς ἀνέξεσθην ἐπὶ τούς πολεμίους, οὕτως τῆς ὅδου καυματώδους καὶ παντελῶς ἐπικυνδύνου ξενικάς δυνάμεις διελθεῖν. διὸ καὶ τὰς πορείας ἡμαγκάζοντο νυκτὸς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ στρατοπεδεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν ποταμῶν πρὸν ἦλιων 2 ἀνατέλλειν. οὐ μὴν ἐδυσημῇ γε κατὰ πάντα ἀβικτοσ γενέσθαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν κακῶν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἑνδεχομένως ἀπαντὰ πράξας συχνοὺς ἀπ—

1 eis φωνῆς ἀκοὴν Reiske : eis ἀκοῆς φωνῆν.
2 δὲ after ἀπειθοῦντος deleted by Reiske.
3 δὲ added by Reiske.

1 Wesseling cites from Cleomedes (2, p. 169) the use by
of his life. In his anxiety, therefore, about himself, and thinking also that he would be more likely to gain the command if he had as many soldiers as possible, he brought up ten thousand bowmen as they requested. Although some of the Persians were distant a thirty days' journey, they all received the order on that very day, thanks to the skilful arrangement of the posts of the guard, a matter that it is not well to pass over in silence. Persia is cut by many narrow valleys and has many lookout posts that are high and close together, on which those of the inhabitants who had the loudest voices had been stationed. Since these posts were separated from each other by the distance at which a man's voice can be heard, those who received the order passed it on in the same way to the next, and then these in turn to others until the message had been delivered at the border of the satrapy.\footnote{1}

18. While Eumenes and Peucetes were engaged in these matters, Antigonus advanced with his army and came to Susa, the capital. He appointed Seleucus satrap of that country, gave him troops, and ordered him to lay siege to the citadel, since the treasurer, Xenophilus, refused to accept his orders.\footnote{2} He himself with his army broke camp and set out against the enemy although the road was very hot and very dangerous for a foreign army to traverse. For this reason they were forced to march at night and make camp near the river before sunrise. Nevertheless, he was not able to escape altogether untouched by the hardships characteristic of the country; although he did everything in his power, he lost a large number Xerxes of a similar means by which a message was sent from Athens to Susa in two days and nights. Another system is described in chap. 57. 5.
έβαλε τῶν στρατιωτῶν διὰ τὴν ύπερβολὴν τοῦ καύματος, ἄτε καὶ τῆς ὄρας οὕσης περὶ κυνὸς ἀνα-3 τολάς. ἐπει δὲ παρεγενήθη πρὸς τὸν Κοπράτην ποταμὸν, τὰ πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν παρεσκευάζετο. οὕτος δὲ ἐκ των ὀρεινῆς ρέων ἐξεπιπτεν εἰς τὸν Πασιτήριον, διὰ ἀπείχε τῆς Εὐμενοῦς στρατοπεδείας στάδιον ὄγδοικοντα καὶ τὸ μὲν πλάτος ἐίχεν ὡς ὁν̄ τεσσάρων πλέθρων, ὄντος δὲ ὡς ἐν τῇ καταφορᾷ 4 προσεδεῖτο πλοίων ἡ ζεύγιματος. καταλαβὼν δ' ὁλίγα πλοία κατωτά διεβίβασεν ἐν τούτοις τυνάς τῶν πεζῶν, προστάξας τὰφρον ὄρυττεν καὶ χάρακα βαλομένους ὑποδέχεσθαι τὴν λοιπὴν δύναμιν. Εὐ-μενῆς δὲ πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν κατασκόπων τῆς ἐπιβολής τῶν πολεμίων, διαβὰς τὸ ζεύγιμα τοῦ Τύγριδος μετὰ στρατιωτῶν μὲν πεζῶν τετρακυκ- χιλίων ἐπεέων δὲ χιλίων τριακοσίων, κατέλαβε διαβεβηκότας τῶν Ἀντιγόνου πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν τριχιλίων, ἐπείδ' δὲ τετρακυκσίους καὶ τῶν εἰσβότων σποράδην διαβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὰς πρωτομᾶς 5 οὐκ ἐλάττους ἐξακισχιλίων. ἄφην δὲ προσπεσῶν τεθροβημένοις τοὺς μὲν ἀλλοὺς εὐθὺς ἐτρέματο, τῶν δὲ Μακεδώνας τοὺς ὑποστάντας τῇ βίᾳ καὶ τῷ πλήθει κατασχύσας φυγεῖν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν πάντας 6 κατηγάκασε. πάντων δὲ ὁρμησάντων ἐπὶ τὰ πλοία, ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐπιβάντων κατεποντίσθη, τῶν δὲ διανήχεσθαι τολμησάντων οἱ πλείστοι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ρεύματος παρενεχθέντες 7 διεφθάρσαν, ὄλγοι δὲ διεσώθησαν. οἱ δὲ ἀπειροὶ τοῦ κολυμβᾶν ὄντες τὴν αἱχμαλωσίαν τῆς ἐν τῷ

1 In the latter part of June. The battle on the Coprates River, accordingly, is to be placed in July, 317.
of men because of the extreme heat, for it was in fact the season when the Dog Star rises. When he reached the Coprates River, he began to make preparations for crossing. This river, running from a certain mountainous region, enters the Pasitigris, which was at a distance of about eighty stades from Eumenes' camp. It is about four plethra in width, but since it is swift in current, it required boats or a bridge. Seizing a few punts, he sent some of the infantry across in them, ordering them to dig a moat and build a palisade in front of it, and to receive the rest of the army. But as soon as Eumenes heard from scouts of the enemy's move, he crossed the pontoon bridge over the Tigris with four thousand foot soldiers and thirteen hundred horsemen and surprised the soldiers of Antigonus who had crossed—more than three thousand foot soldiers, four hundred cavalry, and not less than six thousand of those soldiers who were in the habit of crossing in scattered groups in search of forage. Falling suddenly upon them while they were in disorder, Eumenes routed the rest of them at once, and those of the Macedonians who resisted he overcame by his onset and by weight of numbers and compelled them all to flee to the river. They all rushed to the boats, but these were submerged by the great number of the men who embarked, and most of those who ventured to swim were carried away by the current and drowned, only a few getting safely over. Those who did not know how to swim, preferring captivity to

2 A little more than nine miles.
3 About 400 feet.
4 i.e. the Pasitigris. Plutarch (Eumenes, 14. 2) seems to place the following battle on the Pasitigris rather than on the Coprates.
Diodorus of Sicily

ποταμῶν τελευτής προκρίματες ἠλώσαν, εἰς τετρα-
κισχιλίους ὄντες. Ἀντίγονος δὲ θεωρῶν τοσοῦτο
πλῆθος ἀπολλύμενον βοηθῆσαι μὲν οὐκ ἦσχυε
διὰ τὴν τῶν πλοίων σπάνιν.

19. Ἀδύνατον δὲ εἶναι νομίζων τὴν διάβασιν ἀνέξενθεν ἐπὶ πόλεως Βαδάκης, ἢ κεῖται παρὰ τὸν
Εὐλακτον ποταμόν. οὐσὶς δὲ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἐμ-
πόρου διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν καυμάτων διεφθάρη τε
πολλὰ σώματα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰς ἅπιμίαν
2 ἐνέπεσεν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα ἐν τῇ προερημένῃ πόλει
μείνας ἡμέρας τινὰς καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκ τῆς
κακοπαθείας ἀναλαβὼν ἐκρινε συμφέρειν ἀναξιο-
γνών εἰς Ἐκβάτανα τῆς Μηδίκης κάκειθεν ὅρμω-
μενος κατακτάσθαι τὰς ἄνω σατραπείας. οὐσὶν
δὲ ὅδων δύο τῶν φεροσῶν εἰς Μηδίαν ἐκατέρα
προσῆν τι δυσχερές· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ Κόλωνος ὑπ-
ήρχε καλὴ καὶ βασιλική, καυματώδης δὲ καὶ μακρά,
παρεκτείνουσα σχεδὸν ἐφ' ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα,
ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν Κοσσαίων ἐθνῶν χαλεπὴ μὲν καὶ
στενὴ καὶ παράκριμης καὶ διὰ πολεμίας, ἔτι
δὲ τῶν ἀναγκαίων σπανίζουσα, σύντομος δὲ καὶ
3 κατεψυγμένη. οὐ ράδιον δὲ ἔστι ταύτην παρελθεῖν
στρατόπεδον ἄνευ τοῦ πείσα τοὺς τὴν ὀρεινὴν οἰ-
κοῦντας βαρβάρους· αὐτόνομα γὰρ ὄντες ἐκ παλαι-
ῶν χρόνων κατοικοῦσαν ἐν σπηλαίοις, προσφέρονται
δὲ βαλάνους καὶ μύκητας, ἔτι δὲ τεταρχευμένα

1 The location of Badacô is not known. The Eulaeus
River cannot be recognized to-day with certainty because
of the great changes in the river system of lower Mesopotamia.
It lay between the Tigris, with which it was connected by a
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BOOK XIX. 18. 7—19. 3

death in the river, were taken prisoners to the 317 B.C. number of four thousand. Antigonus, although he saw that great number being destroyed, could not go to their aid on account of his lack of boats.

19. Believing that the crossing was impossible, Antigonus set out toward the city of Badacê, which is situated on the bank of the Eulacus River. Since the march was scorching hot because of the intensity of the sun’s rays, many soldiers perished, and the army became discouraged. Nevertheless, after staying in the above mentioned city for a few days and letting the army recover from its sufferings, he decided that the best course was to march to Ecbatana in Media and with that as a base to gain control of the upper satrapies. There were two roads leading into Media, each having a disadvantage: the road leading to Colon was a good royal highway, but it was hot and long, extending for almost forty days’ march; while the other, which passed through the Cossaean tribes, was difficult and narrow, skirting precipices and passing through enemy territory, and moreover lacking in supplies, but it was short and cool. It is not easy for an army to follow this route without having gained the consent of the tribesmen who inhabited the mountain ranges. These men, who have been independent from ancient times, live in caves, eating acorns and mushrooms, and also the smoked flesh of canal, and the Pasitigris, ran near Susa, and emptied into the Persian Gulf (Arrian, Anabasis, 7. 7. 1-2).

Colon, probably identical with Celon (Book 17. 110. 4), must be the chief city of Callonitis (Polybius, 5. 54. 7) or Chalonitis (Strabo, 16. 1. 1), called Kallonê by Kiepert on his map of the Persian Empire. In taking this route from Badacê to Ecbatana the army would march up the Tigris valley for some 250 miles before reaching the road from Babylon to Media and entering the mountains.
κρέα τῶν ἀγρίων ζῴων. τούτους Ἀντίγονος πεί-
σαμεν ἢ δωροδοκεῖν ἄγεννες ἦγειτο τηλικαύτης
αὐτῶν δυνάμεως συνακολοουθοῦσας, προχειρισά-
μενος δὲ τῶν πελταστῶν τούς ἐπισημοτάτους
καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς σφενδονῆτας καὶ τοὺς
ἀλλούς ψιλοὺς εἰς δύο μέρη διελόμενοι τοὺς μὲν
Νεάρχῳ παρέδωκε, προστάξας προαγόν καὶ τὰ
στενὰ καὶ τὰς δυσχωρίας προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι,
tοὺς δὲ ἄλλους παρ’ ὅλην τὴν ὁδὸν τάξις αὐτῶς
μὲν μετὰ τῆς φαλαγγος προῆγεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς οὐρα-
γίας ἔταξε Πίθωνα. οἱ μὲν οὖν μετὰ Νεάρχου προ-
apostatλέντες ὅλγας μὲν σκοπᾶς προκατελάβοντο,
tῶν δὲ πολλῶν καὶ μιάλατα ἀναγκαῖων τόπων
ὑστερήσαντες συνχοῦσι ἀπέβαλον καὶ μόλις διεξ-
βεβέεσαν ἐπικεκυμένων τῶν βαρβάρων. οἱ δὲ περὶ
tῶν Ἀντίγονον ἐπειδὴ ποθ’ ἦκον ἐπὶ τὰς δυσχω-
ρίας, ἀβοθήτους κυδῶνοι περιέπιπτον. οἱ γὰρ ἐγ-
χώριοι τῶν τόπων ἐμπείροι καθεστώτες καὶ τοὺς
κρημνοὺς προκατεληφότες ἐπεκύλιον τοῖς ὁδοι-
ποροῦσι πέτρας συνεχεῖς καὶ μεγάλας· ἀμα δὲ καὶ
τοῖς τόξοις πυκνοῖς χρώμενοι κατετίρωσκον τοὺς
μῆτε ἀμύνασαν μῆτ’ ἐκκλίναι τὰ βέλη δυναμένους
7 διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν τῶν τόπων. κρημνώδους δ’
οὐσίς καὶ δυσβάτου τῆς ὁδοῦ συνέβανε τοὺς τε
ἐλέφαντας καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς, ἐτὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς
βαρέσων ὅπλως κυδυνεύειν ἀμα καὶ πονεῖν ἄνυμα-
8 τούτας ἐαυτοῖς βοηθῆσαι. εἰς τοιαύτην δ’ ἀμη-
χανίαν συγκλεισθεὶς Ἀντίγονος μετεμέλετο μὲν ἐπὶ
tῷ μῆ πεισθῆναι τοῖς περὶ Πίθωνα, συμβουλεύουσι
χρημάτων πρίασθαι τὴν πάροδον· οὐ μὴν ἄλλα
πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόν καὶ τοῖς ὀλοις κυδυνεύοσας

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BOOK XIX. 19. 3–8

wild beasts. Since Antigonus regarded it as beneath 317 B.C.
his dignity to use persuasion on these people or to
make them presents when he had so great an army
following him, he selected the finest of the peltasts
and divided the bowmen, the slingers, and the other
light-armed troops into two bodies, one of which he
gave to Nearchus, ordering him to go on ahead and
occupy in advance the places that were narrow and
difficult. After arranging the other group along the
entire line of march, he himself advanced with the
phalanx, putting Pithon in command of the rear
guard. Now Nearchus' detachment going on ahead
occupied a few of the lookouts; but since they were
too late in the case of most of them and those the
most important, they lost many men and barely
made their way through with the barbarians pressing
hard upon them. As for the troops led by Antigonus,
whenever they came to these difficult passes, they
fell into dangers in which no aid could reach them.
For the natives, who were familiar with the region
and had occupied the heights in advance, kept rolling
great rocks in quick succession upon the marching
troops; and at the same time, sending arrows thick
and fast, they wounded men who were able neither
to turn aside the missiles nor to avoid them because
of the difficulties of the terrain. Since the road was
precipitous and nearly impassable, the elephants, the
cavalry, and even the heavy armed soldiers found
themselves forced at the same time to face death
and to toil hard, without being able to help them-
selves. Caught in such toils, Antigonus regretted
that he had not heeded Pithon when he advised him
to purchase the right of passage with money; never-
theless, after losing many men and endangering the

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diεσώθη μόνις ἐνναταῖος εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην τῆς Μηδίας.

20. Τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον διὰ τὴν συνέχειαν τῶν κακῶν καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς κακοπαθίας ἐν αὐτίας εἰχε τὸν Ἀντίγονον, ὡστε φωνᾶς προέσθαι δυσχερεὶς· ἐν ἡμέραις γὰρ τεσσαράκοντα τρισὶ μεγάλοις ἀτυχήμασι περιεπεπτάκεισαν. οὐ μὴν άλλα φιλανθρώπως ὀμιλήσας τοῖς στρατιώταις ὁ Ἀντίγονος καὶ κατασκευασάμενος διαμελῆ χυρήγιαν πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀνέλαβε τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ 2 τῆς κακοπαθίας. Πάθουν δ᾿ ἐξαπέστειλε κελεύσας περιελθεῖν πάσαν τὴν Μηδίαν καὶ συνάγειν ὅσι πλείστους ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πολεμιστὰς ἵππους, ἐπὶ δὲ 3 ὑποξυνίων πλῆθος. τῆς δὲ χώρας ταῦτης ἀεὶ τετραπόδων γεμοῦσης ῥαδίως τὸ παραγγελθέν συντελέσας ο Πίθον ἤκεν ἄγων ἱππεῖς μὲν δισδίλους, ἱπποὺς δὲ σὺν ταῖς κατασκευαῖς πλείον χιλίων, τῶν δ᾿ ὑποξυνίων τοσοῦτον ἄρμημον ὡστε δύσασθι καθολιστὶ πάν τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ προσέτη τά- 4 λαντα πεντακόσια τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων. ο δ᾿ Ἀντίγονος τοὺς μὲν ἱππεῖς εἰς τάξεις κατέστησε, τοὺς δ᾿ ἱπποὺς τοὺς ἀπολωλεκόσι διαδόσει καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑποξυνίων διαχαρισάμενος ἀνεκτή- σατο τὴν παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εὐνοιαν. 

21. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἐυμενῆ σατράπας καὶ στρα- τηγοῦ πυθόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν τῇ Μηδίᾳ στρατοπεδεύειν, διέστησαν πρὸς ἄλλης. Ἐυ- μενῆς μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἀντιγένης ὁ τῶν ἀργυραπτίδων ἤγομενος καὶ πάντες οἱ τὴν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνά- βασιν πεποιημένοι πάλιν ἤοντο δεῖν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καταβαίνειν, οἱ δ᾿ ἐκ τῶν ἄνω σατραπεῖων κατα-

1 καὶ added by Dindorf.
entire undertaking, he came with difficulty on the 317 B.C.
ninth day safe into the settled part of Media.

20. The soldiers of Antigonus, however, because of
the continuous misfortunes and their own extreme
misery, became so critical of him that they let fall
hostile remarks; for in forty days they had met with
three great disasters. Nevertheless, by mingling
with the soldiers on friendly terms and by making
ready an abundant supply of all provisions, he re-
stored the army from its miserable state. He sent
Pithon out, ordering him to go through all Media and
gather as many horsemen and war horses as he could,
and also a quantity of baggage animals. As that
land always abounds in four-footed beasts, Pithon
readily accomplished his mission and returned bring-
ing two thousand horsemen, more than a thousand
horses with their trappings, a sufficient number of
beasts of burden to equip the entire army, and in
addition to this, five hundred talents of the royal
treasure. Antigonus organized the horsemen in
troops, and by giving horses to men who had lost
their own and by distributing most of the pack
animals as presents, he regained the goodwill of the
soldiers.

21. When the satraps and generals with Eumenes
learned that the enemy was encamped in Media, they
disagreed among themselves; for Eumenes, Anti-
genies, who commanded the Silver Shields, and all
those who had made the march up from the sea,
believed that they should go back to the coast; but
those who had come down from the satrapies, anxious

² καθόπληζεν MSS., Fischer (doubtfully), καθίππιζεν Reiske,
καταπλουτίζειν or καταπλουτήσαι Madvig.
Diodorus of Sicily

βεβηκότες ἀγωνίαντες ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱδίων ἔφασαν δεῖν
2 ἀντέχεσθαι τῶν ἄνω τόπων, οὐξομένης δὲ τῆς
dιαφορᾶς Εὐμενής ὅρῶν ὅτι διαφεβέοντο τοῦ
στρατοπέδου κατ᾽ ἱδίαν ἐκάτερον τῶν μερῶν οὐκ
ἀξιόμαχον ἔστι, συνεχάρησε τοῖς καταβεβηκόσι
σατράπαις. ἀναζευζαντες οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πασιτήριους
προῆγον τῆς Περσίδος εἰς Περσέπολιν τὸ βασίλειον,
οὕτως τῆς ὀδοπορίας ἥμερῶν εἶκοσι καὶ τεσσάρων,
ὅτε ἦν ἡ πρῶτη μὲν ἔως τῆς καλομενής Κλίμακος
κοίλης, καυματώδης δὲ καὶ σπανίζουσα τῶν ἐπι-
tηδεῖων, ἡ λοιπὴ δὲ μετέωρος καὶ τῶν ἱερὰ πιν-
tελῶς ὑγιενὸν ἔχουσα καὶ πλήρης τῶν ἐπετείων
3 καρπῶν αὐλῶνας τε γὰρ εἴχε πυκνοὺς καὶ συκίων
cαὶ παραδείσαυν φυτεῖας πουκίλας, ἔτι δὲ παντο-
dαπῶν δένδρων φυσικὰς συναγκίας καὶ ἰόσεις
διάτων, ὡστε τοὺς ὀδοποροῦντας μετὰ πολλῆς
tέρφεως ἐνδιατρίβειν τόποις ἴδιοστοι πρὸς ἀνά-
παυσιν. ἦν δὲ καὶ λείας παντοδαπῆς πλῆθος, ἡν
μεταπεμπόμενος Πευκέστης παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων
διεδίδου δαμιλῆ τοῖς στρατιωταῖς, ἐκκαλούμενος
αὐτῶν τὴν ἑυοίαι. κατοικοθείς δὲ ταύτην τὴν
χώραν τῶν Περσῶν οἱ μαχιμάτατοι, πάντες ὄντες
tοξόται καὶ σφενδονηταί, πολυανθρωπία τε πολὺ
dιαφέρειν συμβαίνει τὴν χώραν ταύτην τῶν ἄλλων
σατραπεσίν.

22. Ὡς δὲ ποθ' ἦκον εἰς Περσέπολιν τὸ βασί-
λειον, Πευκέστης μὲν, ὅπ περ τῇ τῆς χώρας
πραγματηγός, θυσίαν ἐπέτελεσε μεγαλοπρεπὴ τοῖς
θεοῖς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Φιλίππῳ, μεταπεμπό-
μενος δὲ εἰς ὅλης σχεδὸν τῆς Περσίδος ἑρείων καὶ
tῶν ἄλλων τῶν εἰς εὐωχίαν καὶ πανήγυριν χρη-

1 ἰόσεις Rhodoman: φύσεις.
about their own private affairs, asserted that it was 317 B.C. essential to maintain control of the upper country. As the disagreement became more violent, Eumenes, seeing that if the army should be divided neither part would be capable of fighting by itself, deferred to the wishes of the satraps who had come from the interior. Leaving the Pasisgris, accordingly, they proceeded to Persepolis, the capital of Persia, a march of twenty-four days. The first part of the road as far as the so-called Ladder was through an enclosed valley, torrid and lacking in provisions, but the rest was over high land, blessed with a very healthful climate and full of the fruits appropriate to the season. For there were glens heavily overgrown and shady, cultivated trees of various kinds in parks, also natural converging glades full of trees of every sort and streams of water, so that travellers lingered with delight in places pleasantly inviting repose. Also there was an abundance of cattle of every kind, which Peucetides gathered together from the inhabitants and distributed without stint to the soldiers, seeking their goodwill. But those who inhabited this country were the most warlike of the Persians, every man being a bowman and a slinger, and in density of population, too, this country far surpassed the other satrapies.

22. When they had arrived in Persepolis, the capital, Peucetides, who was general of this land, performed a magnificent sacrifice to the gods and to Alexander and Philip; and, after gathering from almost the whole of Persia a multitude of sacrificial animals and of whatever else was needed for festivities and religious gatherings, he gave a feast to the

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2 σατράπης καὶ added before στρατηγὸς by early editors, removed by Fischer.
2 σίμων πλήθος εἰστίασε τὴν δύναμιν. ἐπλήρωσε δὲ τῆς τῶν πανηγυριζόντων παρουσίας κύκλους τέσσαρας ἐντὸς ἀλλήλων ὄντας καὶ περιεχομένους υφ᾽ ἑνὸς τοῦ μεγίστου· εἶναι δὲ συνεβαίνε τοῦ μὲν ἐκτὸς τῆς περίμετρον δέκα σταδίων, ἦν ἀνεπλήρουν ὦ ὁ τε μισθοφόροι καὶ συμμάχων τὸ πλήθος, τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου σταδίων ὅκτω, καθ᾽ ὃν ὑπῆρχον ὦ τὸ ἀργυράσπιδες Μακεδόνες καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων ὦ τις Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατεύσαντες, τοῦ δ᾽ ἐξῆς τῆς μὲν περιφέρειαν σταδίων τεσσάρων, τὸν δὲ τόπον ἀναπληροῦσαν κατακεκιμένων τῶν ἐπὶ τετερών ἡγεμόνων καὶ τῶν ἐξω τάξεως φίλων καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων· τοῦ δ᾽ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, ὄντως δυνώ σταδίων, διεισδύουσαν τὰς κλησίας ὦ τα στρατηγοι καὶ ὧ τας ἱππαρχίας ἔχοντες, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν ἡ μάλιστα τιμώμενοι. ἔν μέσῳ δὲ τούτων ὑπῆρχον βωμὸν θεῶν καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Φιλίππου. καὶ τὰς μὲν κλησίας συνεβαίνειν ἐκ φυλλάδος κατεσκευάζον, κεκαλυμμένας αὐλαίας καὶ παντοδαποῖς περιστρώμασι, χορηγοῦσας τῆς Περσίδος δαμιλή πάντα τὰ πρὸς τριφῆν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν, διεστηκέναι ὦ δε τοὺς κύκλους ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὡστε μηδὲν μὲν παρενυκλείσθαι τοὺς ἐστιμώμενοις, πλη- σίον δ᾽ εἶναι πάσας τὰς παρασκευὰς.

23. Πάντων δὲ κατὰ τρόπον ὑπηρετουμένων ἐπισημαίνοντο τὸ πλήθος τῆς τοῦ Πεινέστου προ- θυμίαν καὶ φανέρος ὡς ἐπιδεδωκώς πολὺ πρὸς εὐ- νοιαν. ἄ δὴ θεωρῶν Εὐμενῆς καὶ συλλογιζόμενος τὸν Πεινέστην πολιτεύεσθαι πρὸς τὸ πλήθος τῆς στρατηγίας ὁρεγόμενον, ἐπιλάσατο ψευδεῖς ἐπι- στολάς, διὰ δὲ τούτων τού στρατιώτας εὐθαρ-

1 παρουσίας Post: θυσίας.
army.¹ With the company of those participating, he filled four circles, one within the other, with the largest circle inclosing the others. The circuit of the outer ring was of ten stades and was filled with the mercenaries and the mass of the allies; the circuit of the second was of eight stades, and in it were the Macedonian Silver Shields and those of the Companions who had fought under Alexander; the circuit of the next was of four stades and its area was filled with reclining men—the commanders of lower rank, the friends and generals who were unassigned, and the cavalry; lastly in the inner circle with a perimeter of two stades ² each of the generals and hipparchs and also each of the Persians who was most highly honoured occupied his own couch. In the middle of these there were altars for the gods and for Alexander and Philip. The couches were formed of heaps of leaves covered by hangings and rugs of every kind, since Persia furnished in plenty everything needed for luxury and enjoyment; and the circles were sufficiently separated from each other so that the banqueters should not be crowded and that all the provisions should be near at hand.

23. While all were being duly served, the crowd applauded the generosity of Peucestes, and it was clear that he had made a great advance in popularity. But Eumenes, seeing this and reasoning that Peucestes was playing up to the crowd in furtherance of his desire for the chief command, had fabricated a false letter, through which he made the soldiers

¹ Cp. Plutarch, Eumenes, 14. 3.
² The circles were about 6000, 4800, 2400, and 1200 feet in circumference respectively.

² kal after τάξεως deleted by Madvig.
σεις πρὸς τὰς μάχας κατεσκεύασεν καὶ τοῦ Πευ-
κέστου τὸν άγιον καὶ τὸ πρόσχημα ταπεινώσας
έαυτὸν εἰς ύψος ἤγαγε καὶ προσδόκιαν ἤρεν1
2 ἐλπίδων ἄγαθῶν παρὰ τοὺς πλῆθεσιν. ἦν δὲ ὁ
νοῦς τῶν γεγραμμένων ὅτι τὸ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου
παιδίον Ὀλυμπιάδος παραλαβοῦσα κεκόμεται καὶ
τὴν Μακεδονίαν βασιλείαν κυρίως, ἀναρεθέντος
Κασάνδρου, Πολυπέρχων δὲ διαβέβηκεν εἰς Ἀσίαν
πρὸς Ἀντίγονον ἔχων τῆς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως τὴν
κρατισθήν ταῖς ἐλέφανταις, ἔστι δὲ προσάγων
3 ἦδη περὶ Καππαδοκίαν. ἦ δὲ ἐπιστολὴ Σιμώνος
γεγραμμένη γράμμασιν ἀπέσταλτο παρὰ Ὀρόντου
τοῦ σατραπεῖαν μὲν ἔχοντος Ἀρμενίας, φίλου δὲ
ἀυτοῦ Πευκέστη. πιστευθεῖσας δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς
διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν τὴν προὐπάρχουσαν τοὺς σατρά-
παίς δὲ μὲν Εὐμενῆς ἐκέλευσε περιενεγκείν καὶ
dεῖξαι τοῖς τε ἡγεμόνι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν
tois πλείστοις, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἀπαν μετετέθη
tauς διανοίας καὶ πάντες ἀπέβλεπον πρὸς τᾶς
Εὐμενοῦς ἐλπίδας, ὡς τούτοι δυνησμένοι καὶ
προάγει διὰ τῶν βασιλέων ός ἂν βούληται καὶ
4 δικὰς λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν ἄδικοινων. μετὰ δὲ τὴν
eὐσχίαν Εὐμενῆς βουλόμενος καταπληξάσθαι τοὺς
ἀπειθοῦντας ἡ στρατηγίας ὀργομένους παρήγαγεν
eis κρίσιν Σωφρίνων, ὡς ἦν τῆς μὲν Ἀραχωσίας
σατράπης Πευκέστου δὲ μάλιστα φίλος, ἔλαβε δὲ
ἀυτῶν τῶν ἵππων τινὰς ἀποστείλας εἰς Ἀρα-
χώτας καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευάς κελεύσας παρελέ-
σθαι εἰς τηλυκοῦτος περιέστησε κυνδύνους ὡστε,
ei μὴ λαθὼν διέδρα, θεανάτων περιέπεσεν ἄν ύπο
τοῦ πλῆθους.

1 ἤρεν added by Capps.
confident of the outcome of the battles and, by lowering the pomp and circumstance of Peucctes, improved his own standing and increased his prospects of success in the eyes of the crowd. The purport of what he had written was that Olympias, associating Alexander's son with herself, had recovered firm control of the kingdom of Macedonia after slaying Cassander, and that Polycperchon had crossed into Asia against Antigonus with the strongest part of the royal army and the elephants and was already advancing in the neighbourhood of Cappadocia. The letter, written in the Syrian writing, was sent from Orontes, who held the satrapy of Armenia and who was a friend of Peucctes. Since the letter was believed because of the previous friendship between the satraps, Eumenes ordered it to be carried around and shown to the commanders and also to most of the other soldiers. The sentiment of the entire encampment was changed and all began to turn their attention to Eumenes' prospects in the belief that he would be able by help of the kings both to promote whomever he wished and to exact punishment from those who wronged him. After the feast Eumenes, in his desire to overawe those who did not obey him or who craved a command, brought to trial Sibyrtius, who was satrap of Arachosia and a very close friend of Peucctes. Without Sibyrtius' knowledge, Eumenes sent some horsemen into Arachosia, and by ordering the seizure of his baggage, he brought him into such danger that, if he had not escaped secretly, he would have been condemned to death by the assembly.¹

¹ Sibyrtius, however, continued as satrap of Arachosia (chap. 48. 3).
24. Τούτω δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τούς μὲν ἄλλους κατα-
πληξάμενοι, ἐαυτῷ δ' ὄγκου καὶ πρόσχημα μέγα
περιποίησας μετεβάλετο πάλιν καὶ τὸν Πεντέκτην
λόγοις φιλανθρώπους καὶ μεγάλας ἐπαγγελίας
προσαγαγόμενος εὐνοου ἑαυτῷ καὶ πρόθυμον κατ-
εσκέυασεν εἰς τὸ τοῖς βασιλεύσι συναγωνίζεσθαι.
2 σπεύδων δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων σατραπῶν καὶ
στρατηγῶν ὠσπερ ὀμηρὰ λαβεῖν τοῦ μὴ κατα-
λείψειν αὐτόν, προσεποίηθη χρημάτων σπανίζειν
καὶ παρεκάλεσεν ἕκαστον κατὰ δύναμιν διαφέρον
3 τοῖς βασιλεύσι. Λαβὼν δὲ παρ' ὧν ἔδοκει συμφέ-
ρειν ἡγεμόνων τετρακόσια τάλαντα τοὺς πρότερον
ὑπόπτους ὄντας ἐπιβουλεύειν ἣ καταλείψειν πιστο-
τάτους φύλακας ἤσχε τοῦ σίωματος καὶ συναγωνι-
στάς.

4. Οὕτως δὲ αὐτοῖς περὶ τούτων πρὸς τὸ μέλλον
στρατηγοῦντος ἦκὼν τινες ἔκ Μηδίες ἀπαγγέλ-
λοντες δὴ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως Ἀντίγονος τὴν
ἀνάζευξιν ἐπὶ τῆς Περσίδος εἰς πεποιημένον. ἂ δὴ
πυθόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνέζευξε, διεγνωκὼς ἀπαντῶν
5 τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ διακυνδυνεύειν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν
ὕδωρπορίαν δευτεράδι θυσίαν ἐπετέλεσε τοῖς θεοῖς
καὶ τὴν δύναμιν εὐωχήσας πολυτελῶς τὰ μὲν πλήθη
πρὸς εὐνοιαν προεκάλεστο, αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὴν
μέθην συμπεριενεχθεῖς τῶν παραληφθέντων τοῖς
eἰς τὸ πίνειν ὀρμήσασιν ἐνέπεσεν εἰς ἀρρωστίαν.
διόπερ ἡμέρας τινὰς ἐπέσχε τῆς πορείας, κατα-
βαρούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους. ἢ δὲ δύναμις ἐν
ἀθυμίᾳ καθειστήκει, τῶν μὲν πολεμίων προσδοκω-

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24. After Eumenes had frightened the others in 317 B.C. this manner and had surrounded himself with pomp and circumstance, he changed once more and, having won Peucetiaes over with kind words and great promises, rendered him loyal toward himself and eager to join in the struggle in behalf of the kings. Desiring to exact from the other satraps and generals hostages, as it were, to prevent their deserting him, he pretended to be in need of money and called on each of them to lend all the money he could to the kings. By taking four hundred talents from those leaders from whom he considered it expedient, he converted men whom he had formerly suspected of plotting against him or of intending to abandon him into most faithful guards of his person and partners in the contest.¹

While Eumenes was making these strategic moves with an eye to the future, there came men from Media with information that Antigonus and his army had broken camp and set out for Persia. When he heard this, he also set out, having made up his mind to meet the enemy and risk the issue. On the second day of the journey he performed a sacrifice to the gods and entertained the army sumptuously; the large majority he had indeed encouraged to loyalty, but he himself during the drinking bout was led on by those of the invited guests who were eagerly engaged in drinking, and he became ill.² For this reason he delayed the march for some days, since he was overcome by his ailment; and the army was disheartened, for the enemy were expected to

¹ Plutarch (Eumenes, 13. 6) puts this stratagem a little earlier. In general Plutarch's account of the last campaigns of Eumenes is of little value.
² Cp. Plutarch, Eumenes, 14. 3-5.

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μένων ταχέως συνάψειν, τοῦ δ’ ἴκανωτάτου τῶν ἑπταθυγίων ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου πιεζουμένου. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τοῦ πάθους κριθέντος ἐπειδὴ βραχέως αὐτὸν προσανέλαβε, προῆγε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀφηγουμένου Πευκέστου καὶ Ἀντιγένους, αὐτός δὲ φορίω κομιζόμενος ἐπηκολούθει τοὺς οὐραγούσις, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τῶν θόρυβων καὶ τῆς στενοχωρίας παρενοχλητὸ. 25. Ὡς δ’ ἦμέρας ὅδον ἀπέσχοιν ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων τὰ στρατόπεδα, κατασκόποις ἑπεμηθάν ἀμφότεροι καὶ μαθόντες τὰ πλῆθος καὶ τὰς προσερείσις τῶν πολεμίων παρεσκευάσαντο μὲν πρὸς τὸν κύδωνον, δὲ διελύθησαν δὲ χωρὶς μάχης προβεβλημένοι γὰρ ἀμφότεροι ποταμοῦ τινα καὶ χαράδραν ἐξέταζαν μὲν τὰς δυνάμεις, διὰ δὲ τὰς τῶν τόπων δυσχωρίας οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν διαγωνισθῆναι. καταστρατοπεδεύσαντες δ’ ἀλλήλοις ἀπὸ σταδίων τριῶν ἐπὶ μὲν ἦμέρας τέσσαρας ἀκροβολίζομενοι καὶ προνομεύοντες τὴν χώραν διετέλεσαν, πάντων σπανίζοντες, τῇ πέμπτῃ δ’ Ἀντίγονος πρεσβεύτας ἐξαπέστειλε πρὸς τε τοὺς σατράπας καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ἀξιῶν Εὔμενεῖ μὲν μὴ προσέχειν ἐαυτῷ δὲ πι- 3 στείευν συγχωρῆσαν γὰρ ἐφὴ τοῖς μὲν σατρά- παις ἐξειν τὰς ἵδαις σατραπείας, τῶν δὲ ἀλλῶν τοῖς μὲν χωρὰν πολλὴν δύσεως, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἀποστελεῖν μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δωρεῶν, τοὺς δὲ στρατεύεσθαι βουλομένους διωμεῖν εἰς τὰς 4 ἐκάστω καθηκούσας τάξεις. τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων οὖ προσεχόντων τοῖς λόγοις, ἄλλα καὶ προσαπει- λούντων τοὺς πρεσβεύτας Εὔμενῆς παρελθὼν ἐπη- νεσέν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ λόγον ἐλπὶ τῶν παραδεδομένων μὲν καὶ παλαιῶν, ὅπως ἀνοίκειον δὲ τῆς περιστά- 5 σεως. ἐφὴ γὰρ ἑρασθέντα λέοντα παρθένου δια- 296
engage them shortly and the ablest of their generals was handicapped by his illness. Nevertheless, when the attack had passed its crisis and he had recovered a little, Eumenes advanced with the army, which Peucestes and Antigones were leading, while he himself, carried in a litter, followed the rearguard so that he might not be disturbed by the confusion and the congestion of the road.

25. When the armies were a day's march from each other, they both sent scouts, and after learning the size and the intentions of the enemy, they both made ready for the fray; but they separated without a battle; for each had drawn up his army with a river and a ravine in front of him, and because of the difficulty of the terrain they were not able to come to blows. The armies, encamped at a distance of three stades from each other for four days, continued to skirmish and to plunder the country, for they were entirely without supplies; but on the fifth day Antigonus sent envoys to the satraps and the Macedonians, urging them not to obey Eumenes but to put trust in himself. He said that he would allow the satraps to keep their own satrapies, that to some of the Macedonians he would give a large gift of land, would send back others to their homes with honours and gifts, and would assign to appropriate posts those who wished to serve in his army. When, however, the Macedonians paid no heed to these offers and even threatened the envoys, Eumenes came forward and praised them and told them a tale, one of the traditional time-worn stories, it is true, but one not unsuited to the situation. He said that a

1 About 1800 feet.

1 διανεμεῖν Wesseling: διανέμειν.
λεξθήναι τῶν πατρὶ τῆς κόρης ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάμου, τὸν
dὲ πατέρα λέγειν ὡς ἔτοιμος μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ
dουναι, δεδοικέναι δὲ τοὺς ὄνυχας καὶ τοὺς οἴκους,
mήποτε γῆμας καὶ παροξυνθεῖς διὰ τινὰ αἰτίαν
6 προσευκένθηται τῇ παρθένῳ θηρωδῶς. τοῦ δὲ
λέοντος ἐξελόντος τοὺς τε ὄνυχας καὶ τοὺς οἴκους
tὸν πατέρα, θεωρήσαντα πάντα δὲ ὅν ἦν φοβερός
ἀποβεβληκότα, τύπτοντα τῷ ἔλω ῥάδιος ἀπο-
κτεῖται. τὸ παραπλήσιον οὐν ποιεῖν καὶ τὸν Ἀντί-
γονον μέχρι τοῦτου γὰρ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἐπαγγελίας
ἐως ἀν τῆς δυνάμεως κυριεύσῃ καὶ κολάσῃ τη-
νικάτα τοὺς ἄφηγγομένους. ἐπισημανομένου δὲ
tοῦ πλῆθους καὶ ὅρθως λέγοντος, τότε μὲν ἔλυσε
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

26. Νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιγενομένης ἦκὼν τίνες ἀὐτο-
μοληκότες μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιγόνου στρατοπεδείας,
λέγοντες δὲ ὅτι παρήγγειλε τοῖς στρατιώταις Ἀντί-
γονος ἀναζευγνύειν περὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν. ὁ δὲ
Εὐμενῆς συλλογιζόμενος ἀληθῶς ὑπέλαβε τοὺς
2 πολέμιους ἀποχωρήσειν εἰς τὴν Γαβρηνήν· αὐτὴ γὰρ
ἀπέχουσα τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἄκεραίος ἦν καὶ
πλῆρης καρπῶν καὶ χορτασμάτων καὶ καθόλου τῶν
dυναμένων χορηγῆσαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια μεγάλαις δυνά-
μες δαιμολῶς. πρὸς δὲ τούτως τοῖς ἄγαθοῖς ὁ
tόπος αὐτὸς συνήγγει, ποταμοὺς ἐξών καὶ χαράδρας
dυσεξόδους. σπεύδων οὖν φθάσαι τοὺς πολέμιους
τὸ ὁμοίων ἔπραξε. τῶν μὲν μισθοφόρων τινὰς
χρήματι πείσας ἐξέπεμψεν ὡς αὐτομόλους, συν-
τάξας λέγειν ὅτι διέγνωκεν Εὐμενῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιτί-
θεσθαι τῷ χάρακι· αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀποσκευὴν
προαπέστειλε, τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε τὴν
1 καὶ Καρπιο ὡς. 2 ὑπέλαβε Rhodoman: ὑπέβαλε.
lion, having fallen in love with a maiden, spoke to the girl’s father about marriage. The father said that he was ready to give her to him, but that he was afraid of the lion’s claws and teeth, fearing that after he had married her he might lose his temper about something and turn on the maiden in the manner of a beast. When, however, the lion had pulled out his claws and his teeth, the father, perceiving that the lion had thrown away everything which had made him formidable, killed him easily by beating him with a club. “It is this same sort of thing,” he added, “that Antigonus is doing now; he will only keep his promises until he becomes master of the army, and in that very moment will execute its leaders.” While the crowd was shouting approval and saying “Right,” he dismissed the assembly.

26. That night, however, there appeared certain deserters from Antigonus’ army with the report that Antigonus had given his soldiers orders to break camp at about the second watch. Eumenes, on considering the matter, concluded rightly that the enemy intended to withdraw into Gabenê, as this place, distant about three days’ march, was unplundered and filled with grain, fodder, and in general with that which could amply supply the provisions for a great army. Furthermore, the terrain itself supplemented these advantages, since it had rivers and ravines that were hard to cross. Being anxious, therefore, to occupy this place before the enemy, he imitated him. He caused certain mercenaries, whose consent he had won by money, to go away as if they were deserting, ordering them to say that Eumenes had decided to attack the camp during that night. He himself, however, sent the baggage on ahead and ordered the
4 ταχίστην δεινοποιησαμένους ἀναζευγνύειν. ὃν ἀπαίτων ὁξέως συντελεσθέντων 'Αντίγονος ἀκούσας τῶν αὐτομολῶν ὅτι μάχεσθαι νυκτὸς διεγνώκασιν οἱ πολέμοι. τῆς μὲν πορείας ἀπέσχετο, διέτασσε δὲ τὴν δύναμιν εἰς τὸν κώδυνον. τοῦ δὲ περὶ ταῦτα θορυβομένου καὶ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀγωνιῶντος ἐλάθον οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ προλογοῦσιν διὰ τὴν ἀδυνπορίαν ποιούμενοι κατὰ τάχος εἰς τὴν Γαβρηνήν. ὁ δὲ 'Αντίγονος μέχρι μὲν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς συνείχε τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς δὲ παρὰ τῶν κατασκόπων ἐπύθετο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν τῶν ἐναντίων, γνῶν τούτων κατεστρατηγημένου οὐδὲν ἦττον ἀντείχε τῆς αὐτής προαρέσεως. περαγγείλας οὖν τοῖς στρατωτάσισι ἀναζευγνύειν, προῆγε σύντονον τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενος καὶ διωγμῷ παραπλήσιον. προέχοντος δὲ Εὐμενοῦς δύο φυλακὰς ὁρῶν ὅτι καταλαβεῖν οὐ βαδίων ἔστι τῇ δύναμιν πάση τοὺς τοσοῦτο προεληφότας, ἐπενόησε τι 7 τοιοῦτο. τὴν μὲν ἄλλην δύναμιν παραδοῦσι Πίθων προσέταξε κατὰ σχολὴν ἀκολουθεῖν, αὐτῶς δὲ τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἀναλαβῶν ἠλαύνει ἀπὸ ρυτήρος καὶ περιλαβῶν ἀμφημέρα τῆς οὐραγίας τῶν πολεμίων καταβαίνουσαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκρολοφίας ἐπέστη ταῖς 8 ἀκρωρείαις, φανερῶς ὅν τοῖς ἐναντίοις. οἱ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Εὐμενῆ θεωρῆσαντες ἐξ ἱκανοῦ διαστήματος τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς καὶ δόξαντες εἶναι πλησίον ἅπασιν τὴν δύναμιν, τῆς μὲν πορείας ἐπέσχον, τὴν δὲ στρατιάν διέτασσον, ὡς αὐτίκα τῆς παρατάξεως 9 γενησομένης. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱγγείμονες ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον ἀλλήλους κατεστράτηγησαν, ὡσπερ προαγωγοῦσαι περὶ συνέσεως καὶ δεικνύοντες ὅτι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐν αὐτοῖς.
soldiers to break camp after having taken a very hasty meal. When all this had been swiftly accomplished, Antigonus, who had heard from the deserters that the enemy had decided to fight during the night, postponed his departure and drew up his forces for the battle. While he was distracted by these operations and concentrating on the coming battle, he failed to notice that Eumenes had got the start of him and was marching at top speed for Gabene. For some time Antigonus kept his army under arms; but when he learned from his scouts that his opponent had departed, although he knew that he had been outgeneralled, none the less he held to his original purpose. So, ordering his soldiers to break camp, he led them on a forced march that resembled a pursuit. Eumenes, however, had a start of two watches; therefore Antigonus, knowing that it was not easy to overtake with his whole army a force that was so far ahead, devised a stratagem as follows. He gave the rest of the army to Pithon and ordered him to follow at leisure, but he himself with the cavalry pursued at top speed; and overtaking the rearguard of the enemy at daybreak just as it was coming down from some hilly country, he took position on the ridges, where he was visible to the enemy. When Eumenes from a considerable distance beheld cavalry of the enemy and supposed that the entire army was near, he halted the march and drew up his army on the assumption there would be an engagement immediately. Thus in the manner described the generals of the two armies each outwitted the other as if they were taking part in a preliminary contest of skill and showing that

1 Literally, "with loose rein."
10 ἔχουσι τῆς νίκης. ο δ' οὖν Ἀντίγονος διὰ ταύτης τῆς ἐπιφοινᾶς ἐκάλυπτε μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους προάγεν εἰς τούμπροσθεν, αὐτῷ δὲ δοὺς ἄνεσιν εἰς τὸ προσδέξασθαι τὴν δύναμιν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἦκεν, ἀπαν ἐξέταξεν εἰς μάχην καὶ κατέβαινε συντεταγμένος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καταπληκτικῶς.

27. Εἶχε δὲ τοὺς σύμπαντας σὺν τοῖς διὰ Πίθωνος καὶ Σελεύκου προσγεγεννημένοις πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν διαμυρλῶν ὀκτακυκλίων, ἵππεις δὲ ὀκτακυκλίων πεντακοσίων, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ἐξήκοντα πέντε. δυσλαγμέναις δὲ ἐχρήσαντο ταῖς τάξεσιν οἱ στρατηγοὶ, διαμιλλώμενοι καὶ περὶ τῆς 2 ἐν τούτοις ἐμπειρίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Ἐμμενὴς μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ λαϊκοῦ κέρατος ἔταξεν Εὐθαμὸν τὸν καταγαγόντα τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐξ Ιιδῶν, ἔχοντα τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν ἁγήμα τῶν ἱππέων, ὄντων ἐκατον πεντήκοντα, πρὸς τούτων ἐξῆκεν δύο ἔνστοφόρων ἐπιλέκτων, πλήθος ἔχοντας ἱππέων πεντήκοντα. καὶ συνήψε μὲν τούτους τοῖς ὑπερδεξίοις τῆς ὑπωρίας, ἔζης δὲ τούτων Στάσασαυρον τὸν στρατηγόν ἔταξεν ἔχοντα τοὺς ἱδίους ἱππεῖς ἐννακοσίους πεντήκοντα. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἔστησεν ἀμφίμαχον τὸν Μεσοποταμίας σατράπην, ὃς συνηκολοθοῦν ἱππεῖς ἐξακόσιοι, συνάπτοντας δὲ τούτους τοὺς ἐξ Ἀραχωτῶν ἱππεῖς ἐξακόσιοι, ἄν ἤγετο πρότερον μὲν Σιβύρτιος, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου 5 φυγὴν μετειλήφθει τὴν ἠγεμονίαν Κεφάλων. ἔζης δ' ἦσαν πεντακόσιοι μὲν ἐκ Παραπανισάδων, οἱ

1 ἔχουσι Wesseling: ἄντεχουσι.
2 Εὐθαμὸν, cp. chap. 14. 1, etc.: Εὐθήμον.
3 πλήθος Post, μήκος Reiske: βάθος.
each placed his hope of victory in himself. In any case, Antigonus by this device prevented the enemy from going forward while securing for himself a respite in which to bring up his army, and then when the army arrived, he drew it all up for battle and marched down in awe-inspiring array against the enemy.

27. Including the reinforcements brought by Pithon and Seleneus, Antigonus had in all more than twenty-eight thousand foot soldiers, eight thousand five hundred horsemen,¹ and sixty-five elephants. The generals employed different formations in drawing up the armies, vying with each other in regard to their competence in tactical skill as well. On his left wing Eumenes stationed Eudamus, who had brought the elephants from India, with his squadron of one hundred and fifty horsemen, and as an advance guard for them two troops of selected mounted lancers with a strength of fifty horsemen.² He placed them in contact with the higher land of the base of the hill, and next to them he put Stasander, the general, who had his own cavalry to the number of nine hundred and fifty. After them he stationed Amphimachus, the satrap of Mesopotamia, whom six hundred horsemen followed, and in contact with these were the six hundred horsemen from Arachosia, whose leader formerly had been Sibyrtius, but, because of the latter's flight, Cephalon had assumed command of them. Next were five hundred from Paropanisadae

¹ This is some 2000 less than the total of the individual cavalry detachments listed in chap. 29.
² The text is uncertain, but ἑδρος, "with a depth of 50 men," seems impossible. In chap. 28. 3 we find six eijae of 50 each and one of 300, but the latter is regarded as unusual.
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δὲ τούτως ὦσι Ὄρακες ἐκ τῶν ἀνω κατοικιῶν. πρὸ δὲ τούτων ἀπάντων ἠταξεν ἠλέφαντας μὲν ἐν ἐπικαμπίῳ τεσσαράκοντα πέντε, τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας ἐν τοῖς τῶν θηρίων διαστήμασι τοὺς ἕκανοι. τούτων δὲ τῶν τρόπων ὀχυρωσάμενοι τῷ λαϊν κέρας συνῆσεν αὐτῶ τῇ φάλαγγα. ταύτης δὲ τῷ ἄκρον ἐπείχον οἱ ἔξενοι, πλείους ὄντες τῶν ἐξακισχιῶν, τὸ δὲ ἔξης οἱ καθωπλισμένοι μὲν εἰς τὰ Μακεδονικά, παντοδαποὶ δὲ ὄντες τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, εἰς πεντακισχιῶν.

28. Μετὰ δὲ τούτως ἐτάχθησαν οἱ Μακεδόνες ἀγγυρᾶσπιδες, ὄντες μὲν πλείους τρισχιλίων, ἀνικητοὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς πολὺν φόβον παρεχόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις· ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν, ὄντες1 πλείους τρισχιλίων, ἀφηγομένου τούτων τε ἁμα καὶ τῶν ἀγγυρασπίδων Ἀντιγένεω καὶ Τευτάμου. πρὸ δὲ πάσης τῆς φάλαγγος ἔστησεν ἠλέφαντας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τὰ τούτων διαστήματα τοῖς ψυλικοῖς τάγμασιν2 ἀνεπλήρωσεν.

3 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος ἠτέαξε τοὺς ἱππεῖς, ἐχομένους μὲν τῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς ἐκ Καρμανίας ὀκτακόσιους, ὃν Τηπόλεμος σατράπης ἤγειτο, ἔξης δὲ τὸς καλουμένους ἐταίρους ἐννακοσίους καὶ τὸ Πενκέστου καὶ Ἀντιγένους ἄγημα, τριακοσίους ἔχον ἱππεῖς μιᾷ περιελκμένους εἴλῃ, ἐπὶ ἄκρον δὲ τοῦ κέρατος τὸ Ἐὐμενοῦς ἄγημα, τοὺς ὦσιν ἔχον ἱππεῖς, καὶ τούτων πρόταγμα τῶν Ἐὐμενοῦς παῖδων εἴλας δύο, συνεστηκιώτα ἐκατέρας ἐς ἱπ-

1 ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ οἱ ... ὄντες Geer: ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τοὺς ... ὄντας.
2 τάγμασιν Dindorf: τὴν τάξιν.
and an equal number of Thracians from the colonies of the upper country. In front of all these he drew up forty-five elephants in a curved line with a suitable number of bowmen and slingers in the spaces between the animals. When Eumenes had made the left wing strong in this way, he placed the phalanx beside it. The outer end of this consisted of the mercenaries, who numbered more than six thousand; next were about five thousand men who had been equipped in the Macedonian fashion although they were of all races.

28. After them he drew up the Macedonian Silver Shields, more than three thousand in number, undefeated troops, the fame of whose exploits caused much fear among the enemy, and finally the men from the hypaspists, more than three thousand, with Antigenes and Teutamus leading both them and the Silver Shields. In front of the whole phalanx he placed forty elephants, filling the spaces between them with light armed soldiers. On the right wing he stationed cavalry: next to the phalanx, eight hundred from Carmania led by the satrap Tlepolemus, then the nine hundred called the Companions and the squadron of Peucetides and Antigenes, which contained three hundred horsemen arranged in a single unit. At the outer end of the wing was Eumenes’ squadron with the same number of horsemen, and as an advance-guard for them two troops of Eumenes’ slaves, each composed of fifty mounted men, while at

1 The difference, if any, between the hypaspists and the other heavy armed foot soldiers is not clear. Tarn (Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments, 17) suggests that the “real distinction between the hypaspists and the phalanx was probably one of standing and recruitment; it was the difference between the Guards and the infantry of the line.”
πέων πεντήκοντα, καὶ πλαγίας ψυλλαττούσας ἐξω τοῦ κέρατος εἶλας τέσσαρας, ἐν αἷς ἦσαν ἵππεῖς ἐπιλεκτοὶ διακόσιοι. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἑπαρχιῶν ἐπιλεγμένους τοῖς τάχεσι καὶ ταῖς ῥώμαις ἵππεῖς τριακόσιοι ἔστησε κατόπιν τοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν ἄγῆματος. παρὰ δὲ τὴν ὅλην τοῦ κέρατος τάξιν προέταξεν ἐλέφαντας τεσσαράκοντα. ἦ δὲ πᾶσα δύναμις ἤν τῶν περὶ τῶν Εὐμενῆ πεζοὶ μὲν τρισμύριοι πεντακισχίλιοι, ἵππεῖς δὲ ἐξακισχίλιοι ἐκατόν, ἐλέφαντες δὲ ἐκατὸν τεσσαρεσκαίδεα.

29. Ἀντίγονος δ’ ἐκ μετεωρῶν τῶν κατιδῶν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων τάξιν πρὸς ταύτην ἀρμοζόντως διεκόσμησε τὴν ἄδιαν δύναμιν. ὤρων γὰρ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων δεξιῶν κέρας ὑχυρωμένου τοὺς τε θηρίους καὶ τοὺς κρατόστους τῶν ἱππέων ἀντέταξε τοὺς ἐλαφροτάτους τῶν ἱππέων, οἱ κατὰ στόμα μὲν ἡμελλον φυγομαχήσεων ἀραιοὶ διαστάτες, ἐκ μεταβολῆς δὲ διαγωνιεύσαντα καὶ τοῦτα τῷ τρόπῳ ποιήσεων ἀπρακτον τῶν ἐναντίων τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ὃς μᾶλλον 2 ἐπίστευον. ἔστησε δ’ ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ κέρατος τοὺς τε Ἐμηδίας καὶ Παρθυνάς ἀφιπποποτικότας καὶ λογχοφόρους, ὄντας μὲν χιλίους, πεφυκότας δ’ εὖ πρὸς τὴν ἐκ μεταβολῆς κλίσιν, ἔξης δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ ἀλάσσος συναναβεβηκότας Ταραντίνους διοιχίλιους καὶ διακόσιους, ἐπιλεκτουσ ἐν ἐνέδραις καὶ καλῶς διακεκιμένους ταῖς εὑνοίαις πρὸς αὐτῶν,

1 ἐπίστευον Rhodoman: ἐπίστευον.
2 τούτου τοῦ κέρατος Capps, ταύτα τῆς φαλαγγος Post: ταύτης τής φαλαγγος.
3 Παρθυνάς Wesseling: Παρουλίας.
4 κλίσιν Capps, cp. Polybius, 18. 30. 4 κλίσις, ἥ ἐς τούπισθε μεταβολῆ: κρίσιν.
an angle beyond the end of the wing and guarding it were four troops, in which there were two hundred selected horsemen. In addition to these, three hundred men selected from all the cavalry commands for swiftness and strength were stationed by Eumenes behind his own squadron. Along the whole of the wing he drew up forty elephants. The entire army of Eumenes consisted of thirty-five thousand foot soldiers, sixty-one hundred horsemen, and one hundred and fourteen elephants.¹

29. As Antigonus looked down from a high position, he saw the battle line of his enemy and disposed his own army accordingly. Seeing that the right wing of the enemy had been strengthened with the elephants and the strongest of the cavalry, he arrayed against it the lightest of his horsemen, who, drawn up in open order, were to avoid a frontal action but maintain a battle of wheeling tactics and in this way thwart that part of the enemies’ forces in which they had the greatest confidence. On this wing he stationed the mounted archers and lancers from Media and Parthia, a thousand in number, men well trained in the execution of the wheeling movement; and next he placed the twenty-two hundred Tarentines² who had come up with him from the sea, men selected for their skill in ambushing, and very well disposed to

¹ To make these figures agree approximately with the totals of the separate units, we must either assume a considerable lacuna in chap. 27. 6 or 28. 1, or else suppose that the light armed troops numbered about 18,000 and are included in the total; the 28,000 foot soldiers of Antigonus (chap. 27. 1) include only those capable of standing in the phalanx (chap. 29. 3).

² The Tarentines were cavalrymen equipped with javelins. The connection with Tarentum is obscure, but Tarentine coins show such troops (A. Martin in Daremberg et Saglio, 2. 770).
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τοὺς δ’ ἀπὸ Φρυγίας καὶ Λυδίας χιλίους, τοὺς δὲ μετὰ Πίθανος χιλίους πεντακοσίους καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Λυσανίου ἔποικόρους τετρακοσίους, ἐπὶ πάσιν δὲ τοὺς τε ἀμφίππους ὄνομαζομένους καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀνώ κατοικοῦντων ὄκτακόσιους. καὶ τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον κέρας ὑπὸ τούτων ἐπληρώθη τῶν ἵππων, ὅν ἀπάντων Πίθανος εἶχε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν δὲ πεζῶν πρῶτοι μὲν ἑταξθησαν οἱ ξένοι, πλείους δὲ τῶν ἐνακισχιλίων, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Λύκιοι καὶ Παμφύλιοι τρισχίλιοι, παντοδαποὶ δὲ εἰς τὰ Μακεδονικὰ καθαπλεύσαντες πλείους τῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων, ἐπὶ πάσι δὲ Μακεδόνες οὐ πολὺ ἐλάττους τῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων, οὔς ἐδωκεν Ἀντίπατρος καθ’ ὅν καρδῶν ἐπιμεληθῆς ἀπεδείχθη τῆς 4 βασιλείας. τῶν δ’ ἵππων πρῶτοι μὲν ἡσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξίου κέρατος συνάπτοντες τῇ φάλαγγι μισθοφόροι παντοδαποὶ πεντακόσιοι, ἐξῆς δὲ Θρᾷκες χίλιοι, παρὰ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πεντακόσιοι, ἐχομένοι δὲ τούτων οἱ προσαγορευθέντες ἡταῖροι χίλιοι, Δημήτριου ἑκοτες ἡγεμόνα τῶν Ἀντιγόνου, τότε πρῶτος μέλλοντα συναγωνίζεσθαι τῷ πατρὶ. 5 ἐπ’ ἀκρον δὲ τοῦ κέρατος ἦν τὸ ἄγγιμα τῶν ἵππων τριακόσιων, μεθ’ ὅν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκυστύνευε προταγμα δὲ τούτων ἐκ τῶν ἱδίων παιδῶν εἴλαι τρεῖς ὑπῆρχοι καὶ ταύτας ἦσαν 4 παράλληλοι, συναγωνιν. 6 ἐκ ἵππων αὐτοῖς Ταραντίνων ἐκατόν. παρὰ 5 δὲ τὸ

1 ἀμφίππους Wesseling: ἀθλίππους RV, ἀθλίππους ΧΡ.
2 Fischer adds Θρᾴκων after κατοικοῦντων, cp. chap. 37. 5.
3 πρόταγμα δὲ τούτων Wesseling, πρόταγμα δὲ τούτων Reiske: τὸ τάγμα δὲ τοῦτο.
4 ἢσαί Dindorf: ἢσοι.
5 παρὰ Dindorf: περὶ.

1 One must suppose that each of these brought an extra
himself, the thousand cavalry from Phrygia and Lydia, the fifteen hundred with Pithon, the four hundred lancers with Lysanias, and in addition to all these, the cavalry who are called the "two-horse men," and the eight hundred cavalry from the colonists established in the upper country. The left wing was made up of these cavalrymen, all of whom were under the command of Pithon. Of the infantry, more than nine thousand mercenaries were placed first, next to them three thousand Lycians and Pamphylians, then more than eight thousand mixed troops in Macedonian equipment, and finally nearly eight thousand Macedonians, whom Antipater had given him at the time when he was appointed regent of the kingdom. The first of the horsemen on the right wing adjacent to the phalanx were five hundred mercenaries of mixed origin, then a thousand Thracians, five hundred from the allies, and next to them the thousand known as the Companions with Antigonus’ son Demetrius as commander, now about to fight in company with his father for the first time. At the outer end of the wing was the squadron of three hundred horsemen with whom Antigonus himself was entering the battle. As an advance guard for these there were three troops from his own slaves, and parallel to them were as many units reinforced by a hundred Tarentines. Along the whole wing he mount to the battle, as did the Tarentines who followed Philopoemen (Livy, 35. 28. 8).

2 The outer end of the wing consisted of the 300 horse under Antigonus in line with the cavalry previously mentioned, an advance guard of three troops (of 50 men each?) from the personal retinue of Antigonus, and a rearguard of three similar troops plus 100 Tarentines (cp. chap. 28. 3-4). The forces enumerated total 10,600 horse and 28,000 heavy infantry (cp. chap. 27. 1).
κέρας παν ἐξέταξε τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν ἐλεφάντων τριάκοντα, ποιήσας1 ἐπικάμπτουν, καὶ τὰ διαστήματα τούτων συνεπλήρωσε τοῖς ψυλᾶς τάγμασιν ἐπιλέκτοις· τῶν δ’ ἄλλων θηρίων τὰ πλείω μὲν τῆς φάλαγγος προεστησεν, οἵγα δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς εὐωνύμωις μέρεσι. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἐκτάξας τὸ στρατόπεδον κατέβαινεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, λόγῳ ποιήσας τὴν τάξιν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ δεξιὸν κέρας, ἡ μάλιστα ἐπιστευειν, προεβάλετο, τὸ δ’ ἔτερον ὑπεστείλατο, διεγνωκάς ὦ μὲν φυγομαχεῖν, ὦ δὲ διαγωνίζοσθαι.2

30. Ἐπεὶ δὲ σύνεγγυς ἀλλήλων ἐγένετο τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ τὸ σύσσωμον ἡρῆ παρ’ ἀμφοτέρους, ἐπηλάλαξαν μὲν αἱ δυνάμεις ἐπαλλαξὶ πλευρᾶς, ἐσήμεναν δ’ οἱ σαλπίγκται τὸ πολεμικόν. πρῶτοι δ’ οἱ μετὰ Πίθωνος ἐσπεῖος, στερεοὺς μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδ’ ἀξιόλογον ἔχοντες πρόφραγμα περὶ αὐτούς, υπερέχοντες δὲ τῶν ἀντιταγμένων τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ ταῖς ἑλαφρότησιν, ἑπειράντω χρήσασθαι 2 τοῖς ἰδίοις προτερήμασι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ στόμα διακυδωνεύειν πρὸς ἑλεφαντάς οὐκ ἀσφαλές ἐνώμιζον, περιππεύσαντες δὲ τὸ κέρας καὶ πλαγίους ἐμβαλόντες πυκνοῖς τοῖς βέλεσι κατετήρωσκον, αὐτοὶ μὲν διὰ τὰς ἑλαφρότητας οὐδὲν πάσχοντες, μεγάλα δὲ βλάπτοντες τοὺς διὰ τὰ βάρη μήτ’ ἐκδιώξει δυναμένους μήτ’ ἀναχωρεῖν ὅταν καιρὸς 3 παραγγείλῃ. Ἐμμενὴς δ’ ὄργων πιεζούμενον τὸ κέρας τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀριστοτόξων μετεπέμψατο παρ’ Ἕβδομον τοῦ τὸ λαῖδον κέρας ἔχοντος τοὺς 4 ἑλαφροτάτος τῶν ἐπιπέων, ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ ἐπὶ κέρας

1 δ’ after ποιήσας deleted by Dindorf.
2 δ’ διαγωνίζοσθαι Fischer; δ’ ἀγωνίζοσθαι.
drew up the strongest thirty of the elephants, making 317 B.C. a curved line, and he filled the intervals between them with selected light armed men. Most of the other elephants he placed before the phalanx, but a few were with the cavalry on the left wing. When he had drawn up the army in this fashion, he advanced down the hill against the enemy keeping an oblique front, for he thrust forward the right wing, in which he had most confidence, and held the left back, having determined to avoid battle with the one and to decide the contest with the other.

30. When the armies were close to each other and the signal had been raised in each of them, the troops shouted the battle-cry alternately several times and the trumpeters gave the signal for battle. First Pithon's cavalry, who had no stability or any advance-guard worth mentioning yet were superior to those arrayed against them in numbers and in mobility, began trying to make use of their own advantages. They did not consider it safe to make a frontal attack against elephants, yet by riding out around the wing and making an attack on the flanks, they kept inflicting wounds with repeated flights of arrows, suffering no harm themselves because of their mobility but causing great damage to the beasts, which because of their weight could neither pursue nor retire when the occasion demanded. When Eumenes, however, observed that the wing was hard pressed by the multitude of mounted archers, he summoned the most lightly equipped of his cavalry from Eudamus, who had the left wing. Leading the whole squadron in a flanking movement, he made an attack upon his
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thn olhν ταξιν τοις μεν ψαλοις και τοις ἐλαφροταις των ἵππεων εἰσέβαλεν εἰς τους ἑναντίους, ἐπακολουθοῦντας δὲ καὶ τῶν θηρίων βαδίως τρεφόμενοι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Πήδωνα κατεδώκει μεχρὶ τῆς ὑπωρίας. ἀμα δὲ τούτοις πραπτομένοις συνέβη καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐφ’ ἰκανόν μὲν χρόνον φαλαγγομαχεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον πολλῶν πεσόντων παρ’ ἀμφιθεροῖς ἐπικρατήσας τοὺς παρ’ Ἑυμενεῖ τεταγμένους διὰ τὰς τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων Μακεδόνων ἀρετάς· οὕτω γὰρ ταῖς μὲν ἠλικίαις ῥήθη προσβηθίκεισαν, διὰ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κυνίων διέφερον ταῖς τόλμαις καὶ ταῖς εὐχερίαις, ὡστε μηδένα δύνασθαι κατὰ στόμα τὴν βίων ὑποστῆναι. διὸ καὶ τότε τρισχύλω οὐὸς οἴονει στόμωμα καθεστήκεισαν πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως.

7 'Antígonoς δ’ ὀρῶν τὸ τε εὐώνυμον κέρας τῶν ἱδίων πεφυγότας καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα πάσαν τετραμμένη τοῖς μὲν συμβουλεύοντον ἀποχωρεῖν πρὸς τὴν ὀρεινὴν καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς σωζόμενος ἀναλαμβάνει, ἀθραυστὸν ἔχοντα τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως, οὐ προσέχει, τῷ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ καιροῦ δοθέντι προτερήματι δεξιῶς χρησάμενος καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας τῶν ἱδίων ἔσώσει καὶ τῆς νίκης ἔτυχεν.

8 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀργυράσπιδες οἱ παρ’ Ἑυμενεῖ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν πεζῶν ὡς τάχιστα ἐτρέφατο τοὺς ἀντιταγμένους, ἐπεδίωκεν μέχρι τῆς ἐγγύτης υπωρίας· δ’ ἑν’ Ἀντίγονος γενομένου διαστήματος ἐν τῇ τῶν πολεμίων τάξει διππεύσας μέρει τῶν ἵππεων ἐνέβαλεν εἰς πλαγιόν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἑὐ-

1 Ἑλην Wesseling: ὕλην.
2 ἐγγύτερας Π’, πρόπερον ῬΧ, Fischer (who obelizes it and suggests πορρώτερον).

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opponents with light armed soldiers and the most lightly equipped of the cavalry. Since the elephants also followed, he easily routed the forces of Pithon, and pursued them to the foothills. At the same time that this was going on, it so happened that the infantry for a considerable time had been engaged in a battle of phalanxes, but finally, after many had fallen on both sides, Eumenes' men were victorious because of the valour of the Macedonian Silver Shields. These warriors were already well on in years, but because of the great number of battles they had fought they were outstanding in hardihood and skill, so that no one confronting them was able to withstand their might. Therefore, although there were then only three thousand of them, they had become, so to speak, the spearhead of the whole army.

Although Antigonus saw that his own left wing had been put to flight and that the entire phalanx had been defeated, he did not heed those who advised him to retire to the mountains and furnish a rallying point for those who escaped from the rout, while keeping the part of the army under his immediate command an unbroken unit; but rather, by cleverly taking advantage of the opportunities offered by the situation, he both saved the fugitives and gained the victory. For as soon as Eumenes' Silver Shields and the remaining body of his infantry had routed those who opposed them, they pursued them as far as the nearer hills; but Antigonus, now that a break was thus caused in the line of his enemy, charged through with a detachment of cavalry, striking on the flank the troops who had been stationed with Eudamus on

1 None were less than sixty years of age (chap. 41. 2).
10 δαμον τεταγμένους ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρατος. ταχὺ δὲ διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τρεις μένους τοὺς ἐναντίους καὶ πολλοὺς ἄνελων διαπέστειλε τῶν ἐπεόν τοὺς ἐλαφροτάτους καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀνεκαλέσατο τοὺς φεύγοντας καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὑπωρίαν πάλιν εἰς τάξιν κατέστησεν. καὶ γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ πυθόμενοι τὴν τῶν ἴδιων τροπὴν ἀνεκαλοῦντο τῇ σάλπυγι τοὺς διώκοντας, ἐπευδουσές βοηθῆσαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εὐθαμον.

31. Ἡδὴ δὲ τῆς ὠρας οὔσης περὶ λύχνου ἄφας ἀμφότεροι τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀνακαλεσίμενοι πάλιν πάσαν ἐξέτασσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοσαύτης φιλονεικίας ὑπήρχον πλῆρεις οὓς οἱ στρατηγοὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ 2 τὰ πλῆθη τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς οὖσης αἰθρίου καὶ πανσέληνου καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων ἀντι-παραγωγῶν ἀλληλες ὡς ἂν ἐν τῇ τέταρτῃ πλῆθος ὁ ψόφος τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν ἔπων ὁ φρυγικός ἐν χερεῖν ἐδόκει πάσων εἶναι τοῖς ἀντιτεταγμένοις. ἔσσε δὲ παράγοντες ἀπέσχον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεπτωκτῶν ἂς τριάκοντα σταδίους, ἢ μὲν ἄρα κατελάμβανεν μεσονύκτιος, κακῶς δὲ διεκείναι ἀμφότεροι διὰ τε τὴν ὀδοτορίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ 3 μάχῃ κακοπάθειαν, ἐτὶ δὲ τὴν ἀστίαν, ὡστε ἡγα-κάσθησαν ἄφεμενοι τῆς μάχης καταστρατιστοποιη-σαί. Εὐμενῆς μὲν οὖν ἐπεχείρη ἀναξεγυνώσων ἐπὶ τῶν νεκρῶν, σπειδῶν κρατεῖν τῆς τούτων ἀναίρε-σεως καὶ τὴν νίκην ἀναφύσιτητον περισσοῦσα-σθαι. οὐ προσεχόντων δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἀλλὰ βοῶντων ἐπὶ τὴν ἴδιαν ἀποσκευήν ἀναχωρεῖν μα-κρὰν ἀπέχουσαν ἡναγκάσθη πεισθῆναι τῷ πλῆθει.

1 ἐν added by Wesseling.
2 ἔπων Wesseling : ἔπων.
the left wing. Because the attack was unexpected, 317 B.C. he quickly put to flight those who faced him, destroying many of them; then he sent out the swiftest of his mounted men and by means of them he assembled those of his soldiers who were fleeing and once more formed them into a line along the foothills. As soon as Eumenes learned of the defeat of his own soldiers he recalled the pursuers by a trumpet signal, for he was eager to aid Eudamus.

31. Although it was already lamp-lighting time, both rallied their fleeing troops and began to put their entire forces in battle order once more, such zeal for victory filled not only the generals but also the mass of the contestants. Since the night was clear and lighted by a full moon and the armies were forming parallel to each other at a distance of about four plethra, the clatter of arms and the snorting of the horses seemed close at hand to all the contestants. But as they were moving from column into line, being distant about thirty stades from those who had fallen in the battle, the hour of midnight overtook them, and both armies were so exhausted by marching, by their suffering in the battle, and by lack of food, that they were forced to give up the battle and go into camp. Eumenes undertook to march back to the dead, desiring to control the disposal of the bodies and to put his claim to victory beyond dispute. When, however, the soldiers would not listen to him, insisting with shouts that they return to their own baggage train, which was some distance away, he was forced to yield to the majority; for he was not able to

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1 400 feet.  
2 About three and one-half miles.  
3 Cp. Nepos, Eumenes, 8, 10.
4 οὔτε γάρ τοῖς στρατιώταισι δυνατὸν ἦν πικρῶς ἐπιτιμᾶν ἀμφισβητοῦντων πολλῶν τῆς στρατηγίας, οὔτε τὸν καρδὸν ἐπιτίθεον ἐώρα κολάζειν τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας. δ' δὲ 'Αντίγονος τούναντιν χωρίς δημαγωγίας βεβαιῶς ἔχων τὴν ἄγερον ἐβιάζοντο μὲν τὸ πλῆθος ἔπε τῶν νεκρῶν στρατοπεδεύσαι, κύριοι δὲ γενόμενοι τῆς τούτων ταχῆς ἡμισιβῆτε τῆς νίκης, ἀποφασώμενοι προτερεῖν εἰς ταῖς μάχαις τὸ τῶν πεσόμενων κυριεύσαι. ἀνηρέθησαν δ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν μὲν 'Αντιγόνου πεζοὶ μὲν εἰς τρισχλίους ἐπτακοσίους, ἰππεῖς δὲ πεντήκοντα τέσσαρες, τριμαστίας δ' ἐγένοντο πλείους τῶν τετρακισχίλιων τῶν δ' 'Ευμενοῦς ἐπεσον πεζοὶ μὲν πεντακόσιοι τεσσαράκοντα, ἰππεῖς δ' ὁλίγοι παντελῶς, τριμαστίας δ' ἐγένοντο πλείους τῶν ἐνακοσίων.

32. Ὅ δ' 'Αντίγονος μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀποχώρησιν ὀρῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀθυμοῦντας διέγνω τὴν ταχύτητιν ἀναζευγνύειν ὡς πορρωτιτῶν τῶν πολεμίων. Βουλόμενος δὲ εὐξύνων ποιῆσαι τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς τὴν ἀποχώρησιν τοὺς μὲν τραυματίας καὶ τὰ βαρύτατα τῆς ἀποσκευῆς προαπέστειλεν εἰς τινὰ τῶν πλησίον πόλεως, τοὺς δὲ νεκροὺς ἀμ' ἡμέρα θάμας καὶ παρακατασχῶν τὸν παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ηκοντα κήρυκα περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναρέσεως παρήγγειλε τῆς ἱρᾶς δειπνο-ζ θείωσαν. τῆς δ' ἡμέρας διελθοῦσις τῶν μὲν κήρυκα ἀπέπεμψε,1 δουσ εἰς τὴν αὐρίων τὴν ἀνα-ρέσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρῶτης φυλακῆς ἀρχομένης ἀν-έξευξε μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ συντόνους τὰς πορείας ποιούμενος ἀπέστη μὲν τῶν πολεμίων μακράν, ἐσχε δὲ χώραν ἀκεραιαν εἰς ἀνάληψιν τοῦ

1 ἀπέπεμψε Dindorf: ἔπεμψε.
punish the soldiers severely when there were many who disputed his right to command, and he saw that the time was not suitable for chastising those who disobeyed. On the other hand, Antigonus, who firmly held the command without need of courting popular favour, forced his army to make camp by the bodies; and since he gained control of their burial, he claimed the victory, declaring that to possess the fallen is to be victorious in battle. In this battle three thousand seven hundred foot and fifty-four horse from the army of Antigonus were slain and more than four thousand men were wounded; five hundred and forty of Eumenes' infantry and very few of his cavalry fell, and the wounded were more than nine hundred.

32. When after leaving the battle Antigonus saw that his men were disheartened, he decided to move as far as possible from the enemy with the utmost speed. Wishing to have the army unencumbered for the retirement, he sent the wounded men and the heaviest part of the baggage ahead to one of the neighbouring cities. He began to bury the dead at dawn and detained the herald who had come from the enemy to treat for the recovery of the bodies; and he ordered his men to eat dinner at once. When the day had passed he sent the herald back, assigning the removal of the bodies to the next morning, but he himself at the beginning of the first watch broke camp with the whole army, and by making forced marches withdrew a long distance from the enemy and gained

1 Cp., e.g., Book 17. 68. 4; Justin, 6. 6. 10; Xenophon, Hellenica, 7. 5. 26.
2 This was to prevent Eumenes from discovering that Antigonus' losses were far greater than his own (Polyaenius, 4. 6. 10).
στρατοπέδου· διήνυσε γὰρ ἐως Γαμάργων τῆς Ἡλείας, οὕτως τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ Πίθωνα καὶ δυναμένης μεγάλαις δυνάμεσι πρὸς διατροφὴν δαμιλῶς ἀπαντα χορηγῆσαι. Εὐμενὴς δὲ διὰ τῶν κατασκοπῶν πυθόμενος τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τῶν περὶ Ἀντίγονον τοῦ μὲν διώκειν ἀπέστη διὰ τὸ καὶ τοὺς ἱδίους στρατιώτας ἐν ἄστια καὶ κακοπαθείας μεγάλαις γεγονέναι, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν τετελευτηκότων γενόμενοι ἐπεμελήθη τῆς ταφῆς μεγαλοπρεπῶς. ἐνθα δὴ συνέβη γενέσθαι πράγμα παράδοξον καὶ πολὺ τῶν παρ’ Ἐλληνι νομίμων ἐξηλλαγμένον.

33. Κητεύς γὰρ στὸν Ἔκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀπηντηκοτῶν στρατηγός ἀνηρέθη μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος, ἀπέλυσε δὲ δύο γυναῖκας συνακολοθοῦσας ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τῇ μὲν νεόγαμον, τὴν δὲ ὀλίγος ἔτεσι πρότερον συνουσίσασιν, ἀμφοτέρας δὲ φιλοστόργων πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένας. οὔτος δὲ παλαιὸς νόμοι παρὰ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τοὺς γαμοῦντας καὶ τὰς γαμομένας παραδέπους μὴ διὰ τῆς τῶν γονέων κύριεσι πουεύσαται τῶν γάμων, ἀλλὰ πείσονται ἀλλήλους, τὸν μὲν ἐμπροςθεν χρόνον τῆς μνησείας γενομένης διὰ νεωτέρων ταῖς ἥλικίας ὅσ ἐπὶ πολὺ συνέβανε διαπίπτειν τὰς κρίσεις καὶ ταχὺ μεταμελομένων ἀμφοτέρων πολλὰς τῶν γυναικῶν διαφθείρεσθαι καὶ δὲ ἀκραίαν φιλοστοργεῖν ἔτερον, τέλος δὲ μὴ δυναμένος εὐσχήμων ἀπολυτεῖν τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς προκριθέντας διὰ φαρμάκων ἀναίρεσιν τοὺς συνοικοῦντας, καὶ τὴν χώραν δ’ οὐκ ὀλίγας ἀφορμὰς αὐταῖς δοῦναι, πολλὰς καὶ ποικιλὰς φέροντας φθαρτικὰς δυνάμεις, ἐξ ὧν ἐνίας προσχρωσθείσας μόνον τοὺς ἑδέσμασιν ἡ ποτηρί-318
an un plundered country in which to refresh his sol-
diers. He went, indeed, as far as Gamarga in
Media, a land that was subject to Pithon and that was
able to supply great armies abundantly with every-
thing needed for their support. When Eumenes
learned through scouts of the departure of Antigonus,
he refrained from following him because his own
soldiers also had lacked food and had suffered great
hardship; but he attended to the taking up of the
dead and saw to it that they received a magnificent
burial. Then an event took place that was amazing
and very different from Greek custom.

33. Ceteus, the general of the soldiers who had
come from India, was killed in the battle after fighting
brilliantly, but he left two wives who had accom-
panied him in the army, one of them a bride, the
other married to him some years before, but both of
them loving him deeply. It is an ancient custom
among the Indians that the men who marry and the
maidens who are married do not do so as a result of
the decision of their parents but by mutual persua-
sion. Formerly, since the wooing was done by
persons who were too young, it often happened that,
the choice turning out badly, both would quickly
regret their act, and that many wives were first
seduced, then through wantonness gave their love
to other men, and finally, not being able without
disgrace to leave the mates whom they had first
selected, would kill their husbands by poison. The
country, indeed, furnished no few means for this,
since it produced many and varied deadly poisons,
some of which when merely spread upon the food or

1 Probably identical with Gadamala (chap. 37. 1). Neither
the location nor the correct form of the name is certain.
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3. οἰς ἐπιφέρειν τὴν ἀπώλειαν. ἐπιπολαξοῦσης δὲ τῆς ῥαδιουργίας καὶ πολλῶν ἀναπομένων τούτων τῶν τρότων, ἐπειδὴ κολαξοῦτες τὰς αἰτίας τῶν κακῶν οὐκ ἔδυνηθήσαν ἀποτρέψαι τὰς ἄλλας τῶν ἄδικημάτων, νόμον ἔθεσαν ὅπως συγκατακαλοῦνται τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἀνδράσιν αἱ γυναίκες πλὴν τῶν ἐγκύων ὑ τῶν ἐχουσῶν τέκνα, τὴν δὲ μὴ βουλομένην τῷ δόγματι πειθαρχεῖν χήραν μὲν εῖναι1 διὰ τέλους καὶ θυσίαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νομίμων εἰργε-4 σθαν διὰ παντὸς ὡς ἀσεβοῦσαν. τούτων δὲ νομοθετήσων εἰς τούναντίον τὴν παρανομίαν τῶν γυναïκων μεταβαλεῖν συνέβη̂ διὰ γὰρ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀτιμίας, ἐκάστης ἦπομενοῦσα ἐκουσίως τὸν θάνατον, οὐ μόνον προνοοῦσαν τὴν τῶν συνοικιστῶν ἀσφαλείας ὡς κοινῆς οὐσίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλας ἀμυλλάσθαι καθάπερ ὑπὲρ τῆς μεγίστης εὐδοξίας.

31. "Ὁ καὶ τὸ τέλειον τοῦ γὰρ νόμου μίαν κελεύσεως συγκατακαλεῖθαι παρῆσαν ἄμφοτεραι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Κητέως ταφὴν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ συναπό-2 θανεῖν ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀριστοῦν συμφιλοτιμοῦμεναί. τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν διακρινόντων ἡ νεωτέρα μὲν ἀπεφαινετο τὴν ἐτέραν ἐγκυών εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ δύνασθαι χρῆσασθαι τῷ νόμῳ, ἡ δὲ πρεσβυτέρα δικαίοτερον ἀπεφαινετο εἶναι τὴν προέχουσαν τοῖς χρόνοις προέχειν καὶ τῇ τιμῇ καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων θεωρεῖσθαι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους πολὺ προέχοντας τῶν νεωτέρων εἰς ἐντροπὴν καὶ 3 τιμῆν. οἳ δὲ οὖν στρατηγοὶ διὰ τῶν μαιευσθείας δυναμένων γνώντες τὴν πρεσβυτέραν ἐγκυών οὕσαν προέκρισαν τὴν νεωτέραν. οὗ συμβάντος ἢ μὲν

1 μὲν εῖναι MSS., Fischer, μὲνεν Dindorf.
the wine cups cause death. But when this evil be-
came fashionable and many were murdered in this
way, the Indians, although they punished those
guilty of the crime, since they were not able to deter
the others from wrongdoing, established a law that
wives, except such as were pregnant or had children,
should be cremated along with their deceased hus-
bands, and that one who was not willing to obey this
law should not only be a widow for life but also
be entirely debarred from sacrifices and other re-
ligious observances as unclean. ¹ When these laws
had been established, the lawlessness of the women
changed into the opposite, for as each one because of
the great loss of caste willingly met death, they not
only cared for the safety of their husbands as if it
were their own, but they even vied with each other
as for a very great honour.

34. Such rivalry appeared on this occasion. Al-
though the law ordered only one of Ceteus’ wives to
be cremated with him, both of them appeared at his
funeral, contending for the right of dying with him
as for a prize of valour. When the generals under-
took to decide the matter, the younger wife claimed
that the other was pregnant and for that reason could
not take advantage of the law; and the elder asserted
that more justly should the one who had the pre-
cedence in years have precedence also in honour, for
in all other matters those who are older are regarded
as having great precedence over the younger in
respect and in honour. The generals, ascertaining
from those skilled in midwifery that the elder was
pregnant, decided for the younger. When this

¹ This same origin of the custom of suttee is given in
Strabo, 15. 1. 30 (cp. also 15. 1. 62).
ἄποτυχοῦσα τῆς κρίσεως ἀπῆει μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ, καταρρήξασα τὸ περὶ τὴν κεφάλην διάδημα καὶ τὰς τρίχας σπαράσσουσα, καθαπερεῖ τῶν συμφορᾶς μεγάλης προσηγγελμένης· ἢ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ περιχαρῆς ἀπῆει πρὸς τὴν πυρὰν, στεφανομένη μὲν μέτραις ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων γυναικῶν, κεκοσμημένη δὲ διαπρεπῶς ἀπὸ τὰ τοῦ γάμου προεπέμπετο ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν, ἀδόντων ὕμνον εἰς τὴν ἀρετήν αὐτῆς. ὡς δὲ ἐγγὺς ἐγενήθη τῆς πυρᾶς, περιμαρμένη τὸν κόσμον ἑαυτῆς διείδιδο τοῖς οἰκείοις καὶ φίλοις, ὡς ἂν εἶποι τις, καταλείπουσα τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι μνημείον. ὁ δὲ κόσμος ἦν περὶ μὲν τὰς χεῖρας δακτυλιῶν πλῆθος ἐνδεδεμένων λίθους πολυτελέσι καὶ δυσλαμένοις τοῖς χρώμασι, περὶ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν χρυσῶν ἀστερίσκων ὀὐκ ἠλίγγος ἀριθμὸς παντοδαποῖς λίθοις διειλημμένων, περὶ δὲ τὸν τράχηλον ὦρμων πλῆθος, τῶν μὲν ἔλασσόνων, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ἄλλην ἀεὶ καθ' ὑπέρθεσιν μειξώνων. 5 τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἀσπασμένη τοὺς οἰκείους ὑπὸ τάξεις υπὸ ταῖς ὠργής μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν ἀνεβιβάσθη, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ συνδραμόντος ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν πλῆθος θωμαθεῖσα κατέστρεφεν ἡρωικῶς τὸν βίον· ἢ μὲν γὰρ δύναμις ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς πᾶσα πρὶν ἀπεσθαὶ τὴν πυρὰν τρὶς περιήλθεν, αὐτὴ δὲ ταῦτα παρακληθεῖσα καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ὀρμήν ωδεμίαν φωνὴν ἀγεννὴ προερέμη προεκαλέσατο τῶν ὀρώτων τοὺς μὲν εἰς ἔλεον, τοὺς δὲ εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ἐπαλν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἐνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπετίμων τοῖς νομίμοις ὡς ἀγρίοις ὅσιοι καὶ χαλεποῖς. 6 Ὡ δὲ Εὐμηνής ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν τετελευτηκότων ταφῆς γενόμενος ἀνέζευξεν ἐκ τῶν Παραιτάκων 7 τε after δακτυλιῶν deleted by Dindorf.
happened, the one who had lost the decision departed weeping, rending the wreath that was about her head and tearing her hair, just as if some great disaster had been announced to her; but the other, rejoicing in her victory, went off to the pyre crowned with fillets that her maidservants bound upon her head, and magnificently dressed as if for a wedding she was escorted by her kinsfolk, who sang a hymn in honour of her virtue. As she drew near the pyre, she stripped off her ornaments and gave them to her servants and friends, leaving keepsakes, as one might say, to those who loved her. These were the ornaments: upon her hands a number of rings set with precious stones of various colours, about her head no small number of golden stars interspersed with stones of every kind, and about her neck numerous necklaces, some of them smaller, the others each a little larger in a constant progression. Finally, after taking leave of the household, she was assisted to mount the pyre by her brother, and while the multitude that had gathered for the spectacle watched with amazement, she ended her life in heroic fashion. For the entire army under arms marched three times about the pyre before it was lighted, and she herself, reclining beside her husband and letting no ignoble cry escape her during the onset of the fire, stirred some of those who beheld her to pity, others to extravagant praise. Nevertheless some of the Greeks denounced the custom as barbarous and cruel.

When Eumenes had completed the burial of the dead, he moved the army from among the Parae-
eis tēn Ἐαρηνήν, οὔσαν ἀκέραιον καὶ δυναμένην
8 πάντα δαιμονίας δυνάμεις παρέχεσθαι. Ἀπέχειν
δὲ συνέβαινε τὴν χώραν ταύτην τῶν περὶ 'Αντίγο-
νον διὰ μὲν τῆς οἰκουμένης πορευομένων σταθμοὺς
ἐκκοσαί πέντε, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ἀνώδρου
σταθμοὺς ἐννέα. οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ Ἐὔμενη καὶ
τὸν 'Αντίγονον τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλων διεστότες ἐν
tούτοις τοῖς τόποις παραχείμαζεν ἄμα καὶ τὰς
dυνάμεις ἀναλάμβανον.

35. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἐυρώπην Κάσσανδρος μὲν ἐν
Πελοποννήσῳ Τεγέας πολυρκῶν καὶ πυθόμενους
τὴν τε Ὁλυμπιάδος κάθοδον εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ
τὴν Εὐρυδίκης καὶ Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναί-
ρεσιν, ἐτὶ δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἰόληα τάξιλοι τάφον
συμμεθηκότα πρὸς μὲν τοὺς Τεγέατας διελύσατο,
tὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν προῆγεν ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν,
καταλύτων τοὺς συμμάχους ἐν πολλῇ ταχεῖᾳ
ἐφιδρεύε γὰρ ταῖς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεσιν
'Αλέξανδρος ὁ Πολυπέρχων ἔχων στρατόπεδον.

2 Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενοι τῇ τε Ὁλυμ-
πιάδι καὶ Πολυπέρχων τα περὶ τὰς Πύλας
στενὰ κατελάβοντο καὶ τῆς παρόδου τὸν Κάσσανδρον
ἀπέκλεισαν. ὁ δὲ βιάζεσθαι μὲν πρὸς τόπους δυσ-
εμβόλους ἀπέγνω, παρακενασάμενος δὲ πλοῖα
καὶ σχεδίας ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας καὶ τῆς Λοκρίδος
3 ἐπεραίωσε τὴν δύναμιν εἰς τὴν Ἡσσαλίαν. ἀκούων
δὲ περὶ τὴν Περραιβίαν προκαθήσθαι 1 Ἀπολυπέρ-
χοντα μετὰ στρατοπέδου Κάλλαν μὲν ἀπέστειλε
στρατηγόν μετὰ δυνάμεως, προστάξας διαπολεμεῖν
tοῖς μετὰ Πολυπέρχωντος. Δεινίας δὲ τὰ στενὰ

1 τὰ περὶ . . . τάφον RX, Fischer, τὰ περὶ ταξιλοί καὶ τὸν

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taceni into Gabenē, which was unplundered and capable of supplying everything in abundance for the armies. It happened that this country was a twenty-five days' march from Antigonus if one went through inhabited country, but if one went through waterless desert, a march of nine days. In these regions and at this distance from each other Eumenes and Antigonus passed the winter and at the same time refreshed their men.¹

35. In Europe when Cassander, who was besieging Tegea in the Peloponnesus, learned of the return of Olympias to Macedonia and of the murder of Eurydice and King Philip, and moreover what had befallen the tomb of his brother Iollas,² he came to terms with the people of Tegea and set out for Macedonia with his army, leaving his allies in complete confusion; for Polyperchon's son Alexander with an army was waiting to attack the cities of the Peloponnesus. The Aetolians, who wished to please Olympias and Polyperchon, had occupied the pass at Thermopylae and barred Cassander from the passage. Cassander decided against forcing his way through this region, which was difficult to attack, but he secured boats and barges from Euboea and Locris and transported his army to Thessaly. Hearing that Polyperchon and his army were in position in Perrhaebia, he dispatched his general Callas with an army, ordering him to carry on the war with Polyperchon. Deinias

² Continued from chap. 11. 9.
³ For all these events cp. chap. 11. 8.

ʻIollou táfou F, tὰ περὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰὸλλου τάφου Dindorf.
² προκαθῆσας Wesseling : προκαθῆσας.
προκαταληψόμενος, ἀπαντήσας τοῖς ὑπ’ Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐξαποσταλεῖι στρατιώταις ἐφθασε τῶν παρό-4 δων κυριεύσας. Ὀλυμπιάς δὲ πυθομένῃ Κάσανδρον μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως πλησίον εἶναι τῆς Μακε-δονίας, Ἀριστόνων μὲν ἀπεδείξε στρατηγῶν, 5 κελεύσασα διαπολεμεῖν τοῖς περὶ Κάσανδρον, αὐτῇ δὲ παρῆλθεν εἰς Πύδναν ἔχουσα τῶν υἱῶν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ Ῥωξάινην καὶ Θετταλονίκην τῆς Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου θυγα-τέρα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Δημιάμειαν τε τῆν Λικίδου θυγατέρα τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν, Πύρρου δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ύστερον πολεμήσαντος ἀδελφήν, καὶ τὰς Ἀστάλου θυγατέρας, ὡμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀξιολογοτάτων φίλων τοὺς συγγενεῖς, ὡστ’ ἀθροισθῆναι περὶ αὐτὴν πλῆθος μὲν πολὺ σωμάτων, ἀχρεῶν δὲ εἰς πόλεμον τῶν πλει-στών. οὐδὲ γὰρ τροφῆς ἴκανον ήν πλῆθος τοῖς 6 μέλλουσι πολιορκίαν ὑπομένειν πολυχρόνων. δὲν ἀπάντων προδήλην ἐχόντων τὸν κύδυνον οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐνταῦθα διέγνω μένειν, ἔλπίζουσα αὐτῇ βοηθήσει κατὰ θάλασσαν 'Ελλήνων τε καὶ Μακε-7 δόνων πολλοὺς. συνήσαν δ’ αὐτῇ τῶν τ’ ἐξ Ἀμ-βρακίας ἱππεῶν τυνὲς καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλήν εἰσωθῶν διατρίβειν στρατιωτῶν οἱ πλείους, ἔτι δὲ τῶν μετὰ Πολυτέρχων ἑλεφάντων οἱ κατα-λειφθέντες τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων θηρίων κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ἐμβολὴν εἰς Μακεδονίαν Κάσανδρος ἐκεκυρεύκει.

36. "Ος τότε διελθὼν τὰ κατὰ Περραιβίαν στενὰ καὶ παραγενόμενος πλησίον τῆς Πύδνης τὴν μὲν πόλιν περιεχαράκωσεν ἐκ τῆς τάλαττης εἰς τάλατταν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν συμμαχεῖν βουλομένων μετεπέμπτε 326
however, in order to occupy the passes, went to meet \textsuperscript{317} n.c. the soldiers who had been sent out by Olympias and gained control of the defiles ahead of them. But Olympias, on learning that Cassander and a large army were near Macedonia, designated Aristonoûs general, ordering him to fight Cassander, and she herself went to Pydna accompanied by the following: Alexander's son, his mother Roxane, and Thessalonice, daughter of Philip son of Amyntas; also Deidamia, daughter of Acacides king of the Epirote and sister of that Pyrrhus who later fought against the Romans, the daughters of Attalus, and finally the kinsfolk of Olympias' other more important friends. Thus there were gathered about her a large number of persons, but persons for the most part useless in war; and there was not a sufficient supply of food for people who were about to endure a very long siege. Although the risk involved in all these circumstances was clear, none the less she decided to remain there, hoping that many Greeks and Macedonians would come to her aid by sea. She had with her some of the Ambracian horse and most of the soldiers who were accustomed to serve about the court, also those of Polyperchon's elephants that remained, for Cassander had gained possession of the rest of the elephants in his previous expedition into Macedonia.\textsuperscript{1}

36. Cassander, going through the passes of Perhraebia and arriving near Pydna, surrounded the city from sea to sea with a stockade and requisitioned

\textsuperscript{1} Cp. Book 18. 75. 1. Except for these two incidental references there is no evidence for this expedition.

\textsuperscript{1} δὲ Dindorf: τε.
\textsuperscript{2} τῶν after θηρίων deleted by Dindorf.
ναίς καὶ βέλη παντοδαπὰ καὶ μηχανὰς, διανοοῦμενοι πολυορκεῖν τοὺς μετ᾽ Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ κατὰ 2 γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. πυθόμενος δὲ Αιακίδην τὸν 'Ηπειρωτῶν βασιλέα μετὰ δυνάμεως μέλλειν βοηθῆσαι 'Ολυμπιάδι, στρατηγὸν ἐξέπεμψεν 'Αταρρίαν, δοὺς στρατόπεδον καὶ συντάξας ἀπαντῶν τοῖς 3 'Ηπειρώταις. οὐ ταχὺ τὸ προσταχθὲν πουήσαντος καὶ τὰς ἑξ 'Ηπείρου παρόδους προκαταλαβομένου συνέβη τὸν Αιακίδην ἄπρακτον γενέσθαι. καὶ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν 'Ηπειρωτῶν ἁκουσίων ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας καὶ στάσιν ἐποίει κατὰ τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὀδε Αιακίδης ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου βουλόμενος βοηθεῖν 'Ολυμπιάδι τοὺς μὲν ἀλλοτρίως διακεκατέρευσεν ἀπελυσε τῆς στρατείας, τοὺς δὲ συγκυνόντες βουλόμενους ἀναλαβοὺς προθυμίαν μὲν εἶχε τοῦ διακυνδυνεύτως, οὐκ ἀξίαμαχος δὲ ἦν ὡς ἀν διλέγον καταλελειμμένου τοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ 4 συστήματος. οἱ δὲ χωρισθέντες τῶν 'Ηπειρωτῶν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας κατεστασίας ἀπόντα τὸν βασιλέα καὶ κοινῷ δόγματι φυγῇν αὐτοῦ καταγωγὸς πρὸς Κάσανδρον ἐπουθαντὸ συμμαχίαν. ὅπερ οὐδέποτε γενέσθαι συνέβη κατὰ τὴν "Ηπειρον ἄφοι Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ 'Αχιλλεὺς ἐβασίλευσε τῆς χώρας· οἱ γὰρ παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς διαδεχόμενος τὴς δυναστείαν ἐναπέδηνσε ταῖς βασιλείαις μέχρι τῶν- 5 δὲ τῶν καιρῶν. Κασάνδρου δὲ παραλαβόντος τὴν "Ηπειρον τῇ συμμαχίᾳ καὶ πέμψαντος εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπιμελητὴν ᾧμα καὶ στρατηγὸν Λυκίσκον οἱ πρότερον κατὰ Μακεδονίαν δυστάξοντες περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας ἀπῆλπισαν μὲν τὰ κατ' 'Ολυμπιάδα πράγματα, τῷ δὲ Κασάνδρῳ προσέβεντο. μᾶς δὲ κυῆς αὐτῇ βοηθείας τῆς παρὰ Πολυπέρχοντος 328.
ships, missile weapons of all sorts, and engines of war from those who wished to become his allies, with the intention of laying siege to Olympias by land and sea.\(^2\) Being informed that Aeades king of the Epirote was about to come to the aid of Olympias with an army, he sent out Atarrhias as general, giving him an army and ordering him to meet the Epirote. Atarrhias carried out his orders quickly and by occupying the passes from Epirus succeeded in holding Aeades inactive. Indeed, most of the Epiotes set out for Macedonia against their will and were mutinying in the camp; and Aeades, who wished at all costs to aid Olympias, by releasing from the army those who were disaffected and taking those who wished to share the fortunes of war with him, although he showed his zeal for a fight to a finish, was not a match for his opponents because few of his army remained. Those of the Epiotes who went back to their native land rebelled against their absent king, condemned him to exile by a public decree, and made an alliance with Cassander. This was something that had never happened in Epirus from the time when Neoptolemus the son of Achilles was king of the land; for sons had always succeeded to their fathers' authority and had died on the throne up to this time. Cassander received Epirus in his alliance and sent Lyciscus to it as regent and general, at which the people throughout Macedonia who had previously held apart from the alliance abandoned the fortunes of Olympias in despair and joined themselves to Cassander. Her only hope of aid was from Polyperchon, and this was also

\(^2\) The siege began in the early part of the winter of 317/16.
6 συνέβη καὶ ταύτην συντρεβήναι παραδόξως· ὁ γὰρ ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου πεμφθεὶς στρατηγὸς Κάλλας ἐπειδὴ πληθὺν γενόμενον τοῦ Πολυπέρχοντος κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν τῇ Περραιβίᾳ, διεφθέρε τῶν μετ’ αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν τοὺς πλείστους χρήσαν, ὡστε ὄλγους τοὺς μᾶλιστα πιστοὺς ἀπολειψάναι· αἱ μὲν οὖν Ἡλυμπιάδος ἐλπίδες ἐν ὄλγῳ χρόνῳ τούτῳ τοῦ τρόπου ἐταπεινώθησαν.

37. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀντίγονος μὲν χειμάζων ἐν Γαδαμάλῳ τῆς Μηδίας καὶ θεωρῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἀσθενεστέραν οὔταν τῆς τῶν πολεμῶν ἐσπευδὴν ἀνελπίστως αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ καταστρατηγῆσαι, ἐτύγχανον δ’ οὗτοι τὴν χειμασίαν ἔχοντες ἐν πολλοῖς μέρεσι διεξεγεμένην, ὡστ’ ἐνίους ἀπ’ ἄλληλων ἀπέχειν ὅδιν ἥμερῶν ἦς.

2 τὸ μὲν οὖν διὰ τῆς οἰκουμενῆς χώρας ὀδοιπορεῖν ἀπεδοκίμασε διὰ τὸ καὶ μακρὰν εἶναι καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐθεῖρητον, τὸ δὲ τολμῆσαι διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ἀνύδρου προάγειν ἔπισθον μὲν ἔκρυνεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν βεβουλευμένην ἐπιβολὴν χρησιμώτατον· οὐ μόνον γὰρ διὰ ταύτης συντόμως ἦν ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥάδιος λαθεῖν ἀπροσοδικῆς ἐπιπεσόντα τοῖς διὰ τὴν ἀγνοιάν διερρραμένους κατὰ κώμας καὶ 3 ῥανικοῦσι. ταῦτα δὲ διανοοθεῖσι τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις παρῆγγελεν ἑτοίμους εἶναι πρὸς ἀνάζευξιν καὶ παρασκευάσασθαι δέχ’ ἥμερῶν ἀπ’ οὔτα, αὐτὸς δὲ διαδός ὁ λόγον ἐπ’ Ἀρμενίας προάγειν ἄφων παρὰ τῆν πάντων ὑπόληψιν ὄρμησε διὰ τῆς ἐρή-

1 διαδός Dindorf: δοῦς.

1 Continued in chap. 49.
2 Continued from chap. 34. 8.
3 Gadamala is probably identical with Gamarga (chap. 330
unexpectedly crushed; for when Callas, who had been 317 B.C. sent by Cassander as general, drew near Polypychon in Perrhaebia and camped there, he corrupted most of Polypychon's soldiers by bribes so that there remained only a few and these the most faithful. Thus Olympias' hopes were humbled in a brief time. 1

37. In Asia 2 Antigonus, who was wintering in Gadamala 3 in Media, seeing that his force was weaker than that of the enemy, was anxious to get the better of them by attacking them without warning. It happened that the enemy 4 were occupying winter quarters which were divided in many parts, so that some of the detachments were six days' march distant from others. So Antigonus disapproved of the idea of marching through the inhabited country 5 because the route was long and easily observed by the enemy, and decided that to venture the journey through the waterless desert although difficult, would be most suitable for the attack that he had planned; for not only was it possible to go quickly by that route, but it was also easy to escape attention and fall unexpectedly upon an army that, because ignorant of his movements, would be scattered among villages and at its ease. Having formed this plan he ordered the soldiers to be ready to break camp and to prepare ten days' supply of food that would not require cooking. He himself, after spreading the report that he was going to lead the army against Armenia, suddenly and contrary to the assumption of all set out across the

32. 2) Neither the exact location nor the correct form of the name is certain. The winter is that of 317/16.

4 i.e. the army of Eumenes.

5 Cp. chap. 34. 8. For the following campaign cp. Plutarch, Eumenes, 15.
μου, τής ὥρας οὔσης περὶ χειμερινὰς τροπάς. 4 κατὰ δὲ τὰς στρατοπεδεῖας παρήγγειλε τῆς ἡμέρας μὲν τὰ πυρά κάειν, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς κατασβεννύον τελέως, ὅπως μὴ τνες ἐκ τῶν μετειώρων κατανοήσαντες ἀπαγγείλωσι τὸ γυνὸμενον τοῖς πολεμίοις. 5 ἢν γὰρ ὡς μὲν ἔρημος πᾶσα σχεδὸν πεδίας, περιεχετο δὲ ὑπὸ λόφων ύψηλῶν, ἀφ’ ὧν βάδιον ἢν ἐκ πολλοῦ διαστήματος συνορᾶν τὴν αὐγήν τοῦ πυρός. ἐπιπόνως δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως πενθὸ ἡμέρας ὀδοιποροῦσι οἱ μὲν στρατιώται διὰ τὸ ψῦχος καὶ τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας ἔκασων πῦρ μεθ’ ἡμέραν τε καὶ ἰνύκτωρ ἐν ταῖς στρατοπεδείαις. δὴ δὴ συνιδόντες τινὲς τῶν παρὰ τὴν ἔρημον οἰκούντων ἐπεμφάν τοὺς ἀπαγγελοῦντας αὐθημερον τοῖς περὶ Εὐμενῆ καὶ Πεινέστην, δόντες δρομάδας καμήλους· διατείνει γὰρ τὸ ζύον τούτο σταδίους οὐ πολὺ ἐλάττωσαν χιλίων πεντακόσιων.

38. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πεινέστην πυθόμενοι κατὰ μέσην τὴν ὁδὸν ἐωρᾶον τὴν στρατοπεδείαν, διέγνωσαν ἀναχωρεῖν εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους τόπους τῆς χειμασίας, φοβοῦμενοι μὴ καταληψθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πρὶν ἢ συνελθέων πανταχόθεν τὴν συμβαθρούσαν δύναμιν. δὲν ὃρῶν τὴν ἀθυμίαν Εὐμενῆς θαρρεῖν παρεκελεύετο καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων τῆς ἔρημου· εὐρηκέναι γὰρ τρόπον δὲν οὐ ποιήσει τὸν Ἀντίγονον ὦστερον ἡμέρας τριῶν ἢ τέτταρας παραγενέσθαι· τούτου δὲ γενομένου τὴν μὲν ἑαυτῶν δύναμιν ῥάδιως ἄθροισθήσεθαι, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους καταπεπονημένους καὶ πάντων ἑυδεῖς ὄντας ὑπὸ τοι 3 χειρίσιον γενήσεσθαι. πάντων δὲ θαυμασάστων τὸ
BOOK XIX. 37. 3—38. 3

desert, it being about the time of the winter solstice.\(^1\) 317/16 B.C.
He gave orders to build the fires in the camps by day, but to extinguish them completely at night, so that no one seeing them from the higher ground might take word to the enemy of what was happening; for almost the entire desert was a plain, but it was surrounded by high hills from which it was easy to see the gleam of fire from a great distance. After the army had been marching five days with great suffering, the soldiers because of the cold and to satisfy their urgent needs burned fires in the camps both by day and by night. On seeing this, certain of those who lived near the desert sent men to report it on the same day to Eumenes and Peucestes, giving them dromedaries, for this animal can travel continuously for almost fifteen hundred stades.\(^2\)

38. When Peucestes learned that a camp had been seen in the middle of the route, he made up his mind to withdraw to the most distant part of the territory in which they were wintering, for he was afraid that they might be overtaken by the enemy before the allied force assembled from all directions. Seeing his lack of spirit, Eumenes urged him to take courage and to remain on the borders of the desert; for, he said, he had found a way through which he would delay Antigonus’ arrival by three or four days. If this took place, he added, their own force would easily be assembled, and the enemy would be delivered over into their hands when utterly worn out and lacking everything. While all were wondering at this strange

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\(^1\) December, 317.

\(^2\) About 170 miles. For the speed of these dromedaries (literally, running camels) cp. Strabo, 15. 2. 10; Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments*, 160-161.
παράδοξον τής ἐπαγγελίας καὶ ξητούντων μαθεὼν τὸν ἔσται τὸ δυνάμενον κωλύσαι προὰγειν τοὺς ἐναντίους, προσέταξεν ἀκολούθειν ἐαυτῷ πάντας τοὺς ἥγεμόνας μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων στρατιωτῶν, ἔχοντας ἐν ἀγγείοις πλείστη πῦρ. ἐκλεξάμενος δὲ τῆς μετεώρου χώρας τόπον ἐστραμμένον ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀποθεώρησιν πανταχόθεν εὐφυῆ, σημεῖα θέμενος περιέλαβεν ὡς ἂν ἐβδομήκοντα στα-δίων περιφέρειαν. διελῶν δὲ τόπως ἐκάστῳ τῶν συνακολουθοῦντων συνέταξε νυκτὸς πῦρ καί εἰς δια-στάντας ὡς ἂν εἰκοσι πῆχεις καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὴν πρώτην φυλακήν πολλὴν φλόγα ποιεῖν ὡς ἂν ἔγρηγοροτών ἔτι καὶ πρὸς θεραπείαν καὶ δεῖπνων παρασκευαζόμενων, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας ἑλάττω, καὶ τῆς τρίτης ἀπολυπεῖν ολίγα παντελῶς ὡστε δοκεῖν εἶναι τοῖς εὖ ἀποστήματος θεωροῦσιν ἀληθείνη
4 στρατοπεδεῖαν. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ποιησάντων τὸ προσταχθὲν κατενόησαν τὶνς τὰ πυρὰ τῶν νεμο-μένων μὲν τὴν ἀπεναντίον ὀρεινήν, φίλων δὲ ὄντων Πίθωνι τῷ Μηδίας σατράπῃ. δόξαντες δὲ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εἶναι στρατοπεδεῖαν, καταδραμόντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἀπῆγγελαν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἁγίλιονον καὶ 5 Πίθωνα. οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ παράδοξον καταπλαγάντες καὶ τῆς ὀδοιπορίας ἐπισχύντες ἐβουλεύουσι πῶς χρηστέον τοῖς προσηγγελμένοις· ἢ γὰρ ἐπικυνδυνὸν τὸ πεπονηκότας καὶ πάντων ἐνδεεῖς συνηγμένον ἦδη τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ πάντων εὐποροῦσι συμβα-6 λεῖν. ύπολαβόντες δὲ προδοσίαν γεγενήθαι καὶ προακηκοότας τὸ μέλλον τοὺς πολεμίους ἠθροίζον, τὸ μὲν ἐπ᾿ εὐθείας προᾶγειν ἀπέγνωσον, εἰς δεξιά

1 διαστάντας Dindorf: διαστάντας.
promise and were trying to learn what in the world it would be that could prevent the enemy from advancing, he ordered all the commanders to follow him with their own soldiers bringing fire in many jars. He then selected a place in the higher ground that faced toward the desert and was well situated to be clearly visible from every direction and by setting up markers laid out a space with a perimeter of seventy stades. Assigning an area to each of those who followed him, he ordered them at night to light fires about twenty cubits apart and to keep the flames bright in the first watch as if men were still awake and busy with the care of their bodies and the preparation of food, but dimmer in the second watch, and in the third watch to leave only a very few, so that to those who watched from a distance it would seem to be a genuine camp. The soldiers carried out the directions. The flames were seen by some of those who pastured flocks on the hills opposite and who were friendly toward Pithon, the satrap of Media. Believing that this truly was a camp, they hurried down into the plain and carried the news to Antigonus and Pithon. These were astonished at this unexpected news and halted the march while they took counsel how they should use this information, for it was dangerous to lead an army that had been undergoing hardship and was in need of everything against hostile forces that were already assembled and were well provided with everything. Believing that there had been treachery and that the enemy had assembled because they knew in advance what was to happen, they gave up the plan of going straight forward and, turning to the right, went to

1 About eight miles.  
2 About thirty feet.
δὲ κλίναντες προῆγον ἐπ᾽ ἀκέραιαὶ μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης χώρας, βουλόμενοι τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς κακοπαθείας ἀναλαβένω.

39. Ἡμενής δὲ τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον καταστρατηγήσας τοὺς πολεμίους μετεπέμπετο πανταχόθεν τοὺς διερρημένους τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ χειμάζοντας ἐν ταῖς κόμαις. βαλόμενος δὲ χάρακα καὶ τάφρω βαθείᾳ τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὁχυρώσας ὑπεδέχετο μὲν τοὺς ἀκὴ καταντῶντας τῶν συμμάχων, ἐπιλήφθη δὲ τὴν στρατοπεδείαν πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ τηθείων. ὁ δ᾽ Ἀντίγονος διελθὼν τὴν ἔρημον καὶ πυθόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων σχεδὸν τὴν μὲν ἀλλήν δύναμιν ἀπασάν συνεληφθηκέναι τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἡμενή, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐλέφαντας μέλλειν ἀναξενήσειν ἐκ τῆς χειμασίας καὶ πλησίον εἶναι μεμονωμένους πάσης βοήθειας, ἀπέστειλεν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἱππεῖς λογχοφόρους μὲν Μήδους δυσχιλίους, Ταραντίνους δὲ διακοσίους, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἀπαντάς·

3 ἠλπίζε γὰρ μεμονωμένοι τοῖς θηρίοις τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ποιησάμενος τοὺς τε βαθιὰς κυριεύσειν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων παρελεῖσαι τὸ κράτιστον μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως. ὁ δ᾽ Ἡμενής καταστρατισμένος τὸ μέλλον ἀπέστειλεν ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν ἱππεῶς μὲν τοὺς κρατιστοὺς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, πεζοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς τρισχιλίους. ἐπιφανεντών δὲ πρότερον τῶν Ἀντίγονος στρατιωτῶν οἱ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἵμμονες τάξαντες εἰς πληθὺν τὰ θηρία προῆγον, ἐν μέσῳ μὲν ἀπειληφότες τὰ σκευοφόρα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν οὐραγίαν ἔχοντες συναγωγιζομένους ἱππεῖς οὐ 5 πλείους τετρακοσίων. ἐπιπεσόντων δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τῶν πολεμίων παντὶ τῷ βάρει καὶ βιαίοτερον ἐπικειμένων οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς ἐτράπησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους 336.
unplundered parts of the inhabited country, since 317/16 B.C., they wished to refresh the army after its hardships.

39. When Eumenes had outgeneralled the enemy in the manner described, he called together from all sides those of his soldiers who had been widely scattered while wintering in the villages. After building a palisade as a protection and strengthening the encampment by a deep ditch, he received those of the allies who came down from time to time, and he filled the camp with all the necessary supplies. But Antigonus, having got across the desert, learned from the inhabitants that, although almost all the rest of Eumenes' army had assembled, the elephants were slow in leaving their winter quarters and were near at hand, cut off from all assistance. He sent cavalry against them—two thousand Median lancers and two hundred Tarentines—and all his light infantry, for he hoped that, by attacking the elephants when they were isolated, he could easily gain control of them and deprive the enemy of the strongest element in his army. Eumenes, however, guessing what was on foot, sent to the rescue fifteen hundred of the strongest cavalry and three thousand light infantry. Since the soldiers of Antigonus arrived first, the commanders of the elephants arranged them in a square and advanced, placing the baggage train in the centre and in the rear the cavalry that accompanied the elephants, consisting of a force of not more than four hundred men. As the enemy fell upon them with all its weight and pressed ever more heavily, the cavalry was routed, overwhelmed by

1 ἐν' ἀκέραια Fischer in apparatus: ἐφ' ἐκάτερα.
καταπονηθέντες, οί δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἑλεφάντων ἐφεστη-
κότες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντείχον καὶ διεκαρτέρων
πανταχόθεν κατατιτυσκόμενοι, βλάψαι δ' οὐδὲν
θαυμάσαν τοὺς πολεμίους δυνάμενοι, ἣδη δ' αὐτῶν κατα-
πονουμένων ἀνελπίστως ἐπιφανέντες οἱ παρ' Εὐ-
μενοὺς ἐξήρπασαν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν κυδώνων, μετὰ
δ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἐν τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους ἀντι-
στρατοπεδουσών τῶν δυνάμεων ἐξέταξαν ἀμφό-
τεροι τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰς μάχην, ὡς περὶ τῶν
ὀλων κρίσεως ἐσομένης.

40. Ἀντίγονος μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ τὰ κέρατα
dielόμενον τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον μέρος Πίθουν παρ-
ἐδωκε, τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν τῷ νυῒ Δημητρίῳ, μεθ' οὗ καὶ
αὐτὸς διαγωνίζεσθαι διεγνώκει· τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς εἰς
μέσον καταστήσωσ προέταξε· παρ' ὀλην τὴν δύναμιν
τοὺς ἑλεφάντας, πληρώσας τὰ διαστήματα τῶν
ψυκτικῶν τάγματος. ὁ δὲ πᾶς ἄριθμος ἦν αὐτοῦ
τῆς δυνάμεως πεζοῦ μὲν δισμίριοι δισχίλιοι, ἱππεῖς
δὲ ἐνακοιχίλιοι σὺν τοῖς ἐκ Μηδίας προσκαταγρα-
φεῖσι, θηρία δὲ ἐξήκοντα καὶ πέντε.

2 ὁ δ' Ἐυμενῆς πυθόμενος τῶν Ἀντίγονον ἐπὶ τοῦ
dεξιοῦ κέρατος τετάχθαι μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἱππεῶν,
καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντετάξατο, ἐπὶ τὸ λαιὸν κέρας ἐπι-
stήσας τοὺς ἀρίστους· καὶ γὰρ τῶν σατραπῶν τοὺς
πλεῖστος ἔνταθα κατέστησεν μετὰ τῶν συναγω-
νιζομένων αὐτοὺς ἱππέων ἐπιλέκτων καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ
tούτων ἔμελλε κυδωνεύειν· συνὴν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ
Μιθριδάτης ὁ Ἀριστοβαρζάνου μὲν νῦσ, ἀπόγονος δ'
ἐνος τῶν ἑπτά Περσῶν τῶν συγκαθελόντων τοῦ

1 προέταξε Wesseling, cp. chap. 28. 4: παρέταξε.
numbers; but those who were in charge of the ele-
phants resisted at first and held firm even though
they were receiving wounds from all directions and
were not able to injure the enemy in return in any
way; and then, when they were now becoming ex-
hausted, the troops sent by Eumenes suddenly
appeared and rescued them from their danger. A
few days later, when the armies were encamped
opposite each other at a distance of forty stades,¹
each general drew up his army for battle, expecting
to decide the issue.

40. Antigonus placed his cavalry on the wings,
giving the command of the left to Pithon and that of
the right to his own son Demetrius, beside whom he
himself planned to fight. He stationed the foot sol-
diers in the centre and extended the elephants across
the whole front, filling the spaces between them with
light armed troops. The total number of his army
was twenty-two thousand foot, nine thousand horse
including the additional troops enlisted in Media,
and sixty-five elephants.

When Eumenes learned that Antigonus had taken
his place on the right with his best cavalry, he drew
up his army against him, stationing his best troops
on the left wing. In fact, he placed there most of
the satraps with the selected bodies of cavalry that
accompanied them in battle, and he himself intended
to take part in the fight along with them. There was
also present with them Mithridates, the son of Ari-
obarzanes and a descendant of one of the seven Persians

¹ About four and a half miles. For the battle ep. Plutarch,
Eumenes, 16.

² τὴν δύναμιν τοὺς ἑλέφαντας, πληρώσας Rhodoman: τὴν
dύναμιν τοὺς δ’ ἑλέφαντας πληρώσαντες.
mágoun Σμέρδων, ἀνήρ ἀνδρείας διαφέρων καὶ τεθραμ-3 μένος ἐκ παιδός στρατιωτικῶς. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ κέ-ρατος παντὸς ἔταξεν ἐν ἐπικαμπίῳ τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν ἑλεφάντων ἐξήκοντα καὶ τὰ διαστήματα τοῖς ψυλοῖς διέλαβε τάγματα. τῶν δὲ πεζῶν πρῶτοις μὲν ἔταξε τοὺς ὑπασσιστάς, εἶτα τοὺς ἀργυράσπι-δας, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τοὺς ξένους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς εἰς τὰ Μακεδονικά καθωπλισμένους, καὶ πρὸ τού-4 τῶν ἑλεφαντας καὶ τῶν ψυλῶν τοὺς ἱκανοὺς. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ δεξίων κέρας τάξας τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ἑλεφάντων τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἀπέδειξεν ἣγεμόνα τῶν πάντων Φιλίππου· τοῦτο δὲ διεκελεύσατο ψυγομαχεῖν καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ θατέρου μέρους κρίσιν ἀπο-θεωρεῖν. οἱ δὲ σύμπαντες ἦσαν μὲτ' Εὐμενοὺς κατὰ τούτον τὸν καιρὸν πεζοὶ μὲν τρυσμύριοι ἐξακισχίλιοι ἐπτακόσιοι, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἐξακισχίλιοι, ἑλεφαντες δὲ ἐκατὸν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα.

41. Μικρὸν δὲ πρὸ τῆς παρατάξεως Ἀντιγένης ὁ τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων στρατηγὸς ἐπεμβεν ἐνα τῶν Μακεδόνων ἱππέων ἐπὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ἐναντίων, προστάξας πλῆθον παραγενόμενον ἀναβοῆσαι. οὕτως δὲ προσυππέεσας μόνοις οἰς φωνῆς ἀκοῆν, καθ' ὃ μέρος ἡ φάλαγξ ἦν τῶν παρ' Ἀντιγόνου Μακεδόνων, ἀνεβόησεν ἃ Ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας ἀμαρ-τάνετε, ὡς κακὸν κεφαλαῖ, τοὺς μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλέξάνδρου τὰ ὅλα κατειργασμένους; ὁς μετ'

1 Wesseling adds ἀμαρτάνετε after πατέρας from Plutarch, Eumenes, 16. 4.

1 Shortly before the death of Cambyses in 522 B.C., the Persian throne was usurped by a certain Magian who claimed to be Bardiya or Smerdis, a brother of Cambyses, whom the latter had slain before the Egyptian campaign. After
BOOK XIX. 40. 2—41. 1

who slew the Magian Smerdis, a man remarkable for courage and trained from childhood as a soldier. In front of the whole wing he drew up in a curved line the sixty strongest of the elephants and screened the intervals with light troops. Of the foot soldiers he placed first the hypaspists, then the Silver Shields, and finally the mercenaries and those of the other soldiers who were armed in the Macedonian fashion. In front of the infantry he stationed elephants and an adequate force of his light troops. On the right wing he drew up the weaker of the cavalry and of the elephants, putting all of them under the command of Philip, whom he ordered to avoid battle and to observe the outcome on the other wing. In all there were in Eumenes' army at this time thirty-six thousand seven hundred foot soldiers, six thousand horsemen and one hundred and fourteen elephants.

41. A short time before the battle Antigenes, the general of the Silver Shields, sent one of the Macedonian horsemen toward the hostile phalanx, ordering him to draw near to it and make proclamation. This man, riding up alone to within carshot opposite the place where the phalanx of Antigonus' Macedonians was stationed, shouted: "Wicked men, are you sinning against your fathers, who conquered the whole world under Philip and Alexander?" and added that in a little while they would see that these

Cambyses' death the pretender was slain by seven Persians, of whom Darius was one. The romantic account in Herodotus (3. 67 ff.) needs to be corrected by the Behistun Inscription (cp. G. B. Gray in Cambridge Ancient History, 4. 173-177).

2 That is, nearest the left wing. For the hypaspists cp. note on chap. 28. 1.

3 Cp. Plutarch, Eumenes, 16. 4.
Diodorus of Sicily

ὁλίγον ὀψονταί καὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν προ-
2 γεγονότων ἁγώνων ἀξίως. καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανον
κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν τῶν ἄργυρασπίδων οἱ
νεώτατοι μὲν περὶ τὰ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων
οἱ πλείους μὲν περὶ τὰ ἐξίδομήκοντα, τινὲς δὲ καὶ
πρεσβύτεροι, πάντες δὲ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις καὶ ταῖς
ρώμαις ἀνυπόστατοι· τοσαύτη περὶ αὐτούς ἦν εὐ-
χερία καὶ τόλμα διὰ τὴν συνέχειαν τῶν κυνηγών.

3 γενομένου δὲ τοῦ κηρύγματος καθότι προείρηται,
παρὰ μὲν τοῖς περὶ Ἀντίγονον ἐγίνοντο φωναὶ
dυσχερεῖς, ὅτι συναναγκάζοντο πρὸς συγγενεῖς καὶ
πρεσβυτέρους διαμάχεσθαι, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς μετ’ Ἑὐ-
μενοῖς παρατασσομένοις παρακελευσμός καὶ βοή
tὴν ταχύτερον ἀγείν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. ὅπως Ἑὐ-
μενῆς ὄρων τὴν προβαμίαν ἥρεν τὸ σύσσωμον, δι’
oδ’ παρεστήσατο τοὺς μὲν σαλπυγκτὰς τὸ πολεμικὸν
σημαινείν, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἀλαλάξει πᾶσαν.

42. Συνήψε δὲ μάχην πρῶτον μὲν τὰ θηρία, μετὰ
dὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ τῶν ἵππων πλῆθος. τοῦ δὲ πε-
δίου πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἔχοντο καὶ παντὸς ὑπάρ-
χοντος ἄργος διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ διήκουσαν ἄλμυρὰ
tοσοῦτον συνεβή ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἐξαιρέσθαι κοινορ-
τὸν ὥστε μηδένα δύνασθαι βαδίως συνορᾶν εἰς

2 ὅλιγον διαστήματο τὸ γινόμενον. δ’ ὅτι καταναθ-
σας Ἀντίγονον ἀπέστειλε τοὺς Ἐκ Μηδίας ἦπεῖς καὶ
tῶν Ταραντῶν τοὺς ἱκανοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπο-
σκευὴν τῶν πολεμίων· ἥλπιζε γὰρ, ὅπερ ἦν ἄληθες,
diα μὲν τὸν κοινορτὸν λήσεσθαι, δια δὲ τὴν ἀλώσιαν
tῆς ἀποσκευῆς ἀκοννητὶ κρατήσειν2 τῶν πολεμίων.

3 οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες περιππεύσαντες τὸ κέρας τῶν

1 oδ Wesseling, approved by Fischer in apparatus: ὅν
MSS., Fischer.

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veterans were worthy both of the kings and of their own past battles. At this time the youngest of the Silver Shields were about sixty years old, most of the others about seventy, and some even older; but all of them were irresistible because of experience and strength, such was the skill and daring acquired through the unbroken series of their battles. When this proclamation had been delivered as we have said, there arose from the soldiers of Antigonus angry cries to the effect that they were being forced to fight against their kinsfolk and their elders, but from the ranks of Eumenes there came a cheer and a demand that he lead them against the enemy as soon as possible. When Eumenes saw their enthusiasm, he gave the sign by which he directed the trumpeters to sound the signal for combat and the whole army to raise the battle cry.

42. The first to join in battle were the elephants, and after them the main body of the cavalry. Since the plain was of great extent and entirely uncultivated because of the salt that permeated it, such a cloud of dust was raised by the cavalry that from a little distance one could not easily see what was happening. When Antigonus perceived this, he dispatched the Median cavalry and an adequate force of Tarentines against the baggage of the enemy; for he hoped, as indeed happened, that this manoeuvre might not be discovered because of the dust, and that by the capture of the baggage he might prevail over the enemy without labour. The detachment rode around the flank of their opponents and without being

\[ \text{κρατήσεως Dindorf: κρατήσου MSS., Fischer.} \]
DIODORUS OF SICILY

ἐναντίων καὶ λαθόντες ἐπέθεντο τοῖς σκευοφόροις, ἀπέχουσι τῆς μάχης ὡς πέντε σταδίους· εὑρόντες δὲ αὐτὴν πλήρη μὲν ὠχλον πρὸς μάχην ἀχρήστου, τοὺς δὲ ἀμυνομένους ὀλίγους ταχὺ τοὺς ἀντιστάντας τρεις ἄμεσοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἐκυρίευσαν. 4 ἂμα δὲ τούτους πραστομένους Ἀντίγονος μὲν συν-άψας μάχην τοῖς ἀντιτεταγμένοις καὶ μετὰ πλήθους ἱππέων ἐπιφανείς κατεπλήξατο Πευκέστην τὸν τῆς Περσίδος σατράπην, οὗ μετὰ τῶν περὶ ἐαυτὸν ἱππέων ἐξώ τοῦ κοινορτοῦ διδοὺς ἐμφιάζον συνεπεσπάσατο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς χιλίους πεντά-κοσίως. Εὔμενής δὲ μετ' ὀλίγων ἀπολειψθεὶς ἐπὶ ἄκρου τοῦ κέρατος τὸ μὲν εἶχαί τῇ τύχῃ καὶ φυγεῖν αἰσχρὸν διέλαβεν, τὸ δὲ τηροῦντα τὴν δεδομένην ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλεῶν πρὸς γενναία προαίρεσε συν-ἀποθανεῖν προκρίνας ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἐσώσατο τὸν Ἀντί-6 γονον. γενομένης δ' ἱππομαχίας καρτερὰς καὶ τῶν μὲν μετ' Εὔμενοις ταῖς προθυμίαις προεχόντων, τῶν δὲ μετ' Ἀντιγόνου τῷ πλήθει περιγυμνομένων πολλοὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐπιπτοῦν· ὥστε δὴ συνεβή καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνιζομένων πεσέων τῶν Εὔμενοις τὸν προηγούμενον, συμπλα-κέντα τῷ κρασίστῳ τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων. διόπερ Εὔμενής ὁρῶν τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πανταχοθεὺν ἐλαττου-μένους ἐξῆγεν ἐκ τῆς μάχης τοὺς ὑπολεμιμένους ἱππεῖς καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ θάτερον κέρας ἀνελάμβανε τοὺς μετὰ Φιλίππου τεταγμένους οἶς ἦν παρηγγελ-κώς φυγομαχεῖν. ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἱππέων μάχη τοιοῦτον ἐσχε τὸ τέλος.

43. Τῶν δὲ πεζῶν οἱ μὲν ἀργυράσπιδες συμφρά-ξαντες καὶ βιαστέρου τοῖς ἀντιτεταγμένοις ἐπι-πεσόντες τοὺς μὲν ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ διέφθειραι, τοὺς 844.
noticed attacked the baggage train, which was about five stades \(^1\) distant from the battle. They found that it was packed with a multitude of persons who were useless for fighting but had few defenders, and after quickly defeating those who resisted, they captured all the others. While this was taking place, Antigonus joined battle with those who were opposite him and by appearing with a large number of cavalry struck panic into Peucestes, satrap of Persia, who in retiring from the dust cloud with his own cavalry drew away fifteen hundred others as well. Eumenes, although he and a few troopers were left unsupported at the extremity of the wing, regarded it as shameful to yield to fortune and flee; preferring to die while still upholding with noble resolution the trust that had been given him by the kings, he forced his way toward Antigonus himself. A fierce cavalry battle ensued, in which Eumenes' men were superior in spirit but those of Antigonus had the advantage in number, and many were falling on both sides. It was at this time, while the elephants also were struggling against each other, that Eumenes' leading elephant fell after having been engaged with the strongest of those arrayed against it. Thereupon Eumenes, seeing that his forces were everywhere having the worst of it, led what remained of the cavalry out of the battle and went around to the other wing, where he assumed command of those troops whom he had assigned to Philip and had ordered to avoid fighting. This was the outcome of the cavalry engagement.

43. As for the infantry, the Silver Shields in close order fell heavily upon their adversaries, killing some of them in hand to hand fighting and forcing others to

\(^1\) About 1000 yards.
dè συνηνάγκασαν φυγεῖν. ἀκατάσχετοι δὲ ταῖς ὀρμαῖς γενόμενοι καὶ πρὸς πάσαν τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων φάλαγγα διαγωνισάμενοι τοσοῦτον ταῖς εὐχερίαις καὶ ρώμαις ὑπερεῖχον ὡσθ' ἐαυτῶν μὲν ἀποβαλεῖν μηθένα, τῶν δ' ἐναντίων ἀνελεῖν μὲν ὑπέρ τοὺς πεντακισχίλιους, τρῆψασθαί δὲ τοὺς πεζοὺς πάντας,

2 ὸντας πολλαπλασίους. Εὐμενῆς δὲ πυθόμενος τὴν μὲν ἀποσκευὴν ἠλικέναι, τοὺς δ' ἐπιεῖς τοὺς μετὰ Πευκέστου μὴ μακρὰν ἀπέχειν, ἐπεχείρησεν ἄθροιζεν ἀπαντᾶσα καὶ πάλιν ὑπομαχεῖν πρὸς 'Αντίγονον ἦλπιζε γὰρ μάχῃ κρατήσασι οὐ μόνον τὴν ἰδίαν ἀποσκευήν σώσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν πολε-3 μίων προσλήμεσθαι. τῶν δὲ περὶ τῶν Πευκέστην σφήνα ὑπακούοντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούναντιον πορρωτέρῳ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ποιομένων ἐπὶ τυχα τοταμόν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ νυκτὸς καταλαμβανούσης ἡναγκάσθη

4 συνεῖδε τῷ καιρῷ. 'Αντίγονος δὲ τοὺς ἐπείς εἰς δύο μέρη διελόμενος τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐκείνων ἐφήδρευε τοὺς περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ, τὴν ὀρμὴν αὐτῶν ἀποθεωρῶν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους παραδοὺς Πίθωνι προσέταξεν ἐπιθέσατο τοῖς ἀργυράσπισι μεμονω-5 μένοις τῆς τῶν ἐπείων βοηθείας. ταχὺ δ' αὐτὸς τὸ προσταχθὲν συντελοῦντος οἱ Μακεδόνες εἰς πλωθίων ἑαυτοὺς ποιῆσαντες ἀσφαλῶς ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν περὶ τῶν Πευκέστην κατηγόρουν ὅς αὐτῶν γεγενημένων τῆς τῶν ἐπ-πείων ἡττησ. καταντησάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ τῶν Εὐμενῆ περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύ-

6 οντὸ τῷ χρῆ πράττεν. οἱ μὲν σὺν σατράπη τῇ ταχίστῃ ἐφησαν δὲν ἀποχωρεῖν εἰς τὰς ἀνω σατραπείας, δ' Εὐμενῆς ἀπεφαίνετο μένειν καὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι, τῆς μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων φάλαγγος 346
flee. They were not to be checked in their charge and engaged the entire opposing phalanx, showing themselves so superior in skill and strength that of their own men they lost not one, but of those who opposed them they slew over five thousand and routed the entire force of foot soldiers, whose numbers were many times their own. When Eumenes learned that his baggage train was taken but that the cavalry force of Peucestes was not far away, he tried to collect all his mounted men and renew the cavalry battle against Antigonus; for he hoped, if superior in battle, not only to save his own baggage, but also to capture that of the enemy. Since Peucestes, however, would not listen to him but on the contrary retired still farther to a certain river, and since night was now coming on, Eumenes was forced to yield to the situation. Antigonus divided his cavalry into two bodies with one of which he himself lay in wait for Eumenes, watching for his first move; but the other he gave to Pithon and ordered him to attack the Silver Shields now that they had been cut off from their cavalry support. When Pithon promptly carried out his orders, the Macedonians formed themselves into a square and withdrew safely to the river, where they accused Peucestes of being responsible for the defeat of the mounted forces. After Eumenes joined them at about the time for lighting lamps, they took counsel together what should be done. The satraps, indeed, said that it was necessary to retire to the upper satrapies as rapidly as possible, but Eumenes declared that they should stay and fight it out, for the phalanx of the

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1 ποταμόν Geer, cp. § 5, infrar, λόφον Reiske: τόπον.
2 ἤργακάσθη συνέξα Wesseling: ἤργακάσθησαν ἐξαι.
συντετριμμένης, τῆς δὲ τῶν ἱππέων δυνάμεως 7 ἑφαμίλλον παρ' ἀμφότεροις οὖσης. οἱ Μακεδόνες οὐδετέροις ἐφασαν ὑπακούσεσθαι, τῆς ἀποσκευῆς αὐτῶν ἥλωκώιας καὶ παρὰ τοὺς πολεμίοις ὀντῶν τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἀναγκαίων 8 σωμάτων. τότε μὲν οὖν διελύθησαν οὐδεμίαν συμπεφωνημένην γνώμην ἐβεβαιώσαντες· μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ Μακεδόνες λάθρα διαπρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς Ἀντίγονον τὸν μὲν Εὐμενῆ συναρπάζαντες παρεδωκαν, τὰς δ' ἀποσκευὰς κομισάμενοι καὶ πίστεις 9 λαβόντες κατετάχθησαν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. τὸ παραπλήσιον δ' οὐ τε σατράπαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων τε καὶ στρατιωτῶν οἱ πλείστοι, τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐγκαταλιπόντες, τῆς ἴδιας ἀσφαλείας μόνον ἐφρόντισαν.

44. Ἀντίγονος δὲ παραδόξως κυριεύσας τοῦ τ' Ἐυμενοῦς καὶ πάσης τῆς ἀντιτεταγμένης δυνάμεως Ἀντιγένην μὲν τὸν τῶν ἀργυραστίδων ἡγούμενον συλλαβῶν καὶ καταθέμενος εἰς σειρὸν ζῷονα κατέκαυσεν, Εὐδαμὸν1 δὲ τὸν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν καταγαγόντα τοὺς ἑλέφαντας καὶ Κελβανὸν2 καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν ἀλλοτρίων αὐτὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐχόντων ἀνείλεν. 2 Ἐυμενῆ δὲ παραδόσας εἰς φυλακὴν ἐβουλευσε τῶς αὐτῷ χρηστέων εἰς. ἐσπευδόντες γὰρ ἐξεῖν μεθ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ χάριτος ὑπόχρεων, οὐ λιῶν δ' ἐπίστευεν αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς φιλίαν· καὶ γὰρ

1 Εὐδαμὸν, cp. chap. 14. 1: Εὐδημὸν.
2 Κελβανὸν RX, Κέβαλον F, Wesseling, Κεβαλίνον Dindorf.

1 For Eumenes' betrayal and death cp. Plutarch, Eumenes, 348
enemy had been shattered and the cavalry forces on 317/16 B.C. the two sides were equal. The Macedonians, however, refused to heed either party since their baggage had been taken, and their children, their wives, and many other relatives were in the hands of the enemy. The meeting accordingly broke up without having adopted any generally approved plan, whereupon the Macedonians secretly entered into negotiations with Antigonus, seized and surrendered Eumenes, recovered their baggage, and after receiving pledges were enrolled in Antigonus’ army. In the same way the satraps and most of the other commanders and soldiers deserted their general, thinking only of their own safety.¹

44. Now that Antigonus had unexpectedly mastered Eumenes and all the army that had been opposing him, he seized Antigenes, the commander of the Silver Shields, put him into a pit, and burned him alive. He slew Eudamus, who had brought the elephants from India, and Celbanus,² as well as certain others of those who had always been hostile to him. Putting Eumenes under guard, he considered how best to dispose of him. He wished, indeed, to have at his side a man who was a good general and who would be under obligations to him, but he had little faith in Eumenes’ promises because of the latter’s loyalty to Olympias and the kings; in fact,

¹ 17-19; Justin, 14. 3-4. According to Plutarch (Eumenes, 16. 1), even before the battle most of Eumenes’ generals had plotted to betray him as soon as his military genius had won them one more victory.

² For Eudamus ep. chap. 14. 8. Celbanus (or Cebalus) is otherwise unknown. There is no reason to identify him with the Cebalinus who disclosed the conspiracy of Dimnus (Book 17. 79. 2).
Diodorus of Sicily

πρότερον σωθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ περὶ Νάρα τῆς Φρυγίας οὐδὲν ἦττον τοῖς βασιλέωι προδυμότατα συνηγωνίσατο. ὅρων δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων ὁρμῆν ἀπαραίτητον οὕσαν πρὸς τὴν κατ’ Ἐυμενοῦς τιμωριάν ἀνεῖλε τὸν ἄνδρα. διὰ δὲ τὴν προγεγενημένην φιλίαν καύσας τὸ σῶμα καὶ καταθέμενος εἰς ἀγγεῖον τὰ ὅστα πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπέ-3 στείλεν. ἀνήχθη δ’ ἐν τοῖς τραυματίαις αἰχμαλώτος καὶ δ’ τὰς ἱστορίας συνταξάμενος 'Ἰερώνυμος ὁ Καρδιανός, ὃς τὸν μὲν ἐμπροσθεν χρόνων ὑπ’ Ἐυ-μενοῦς τιμώμενος διετέλεσεν, μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον ὑπ’ Ἀντιγόνου ἐτύγχανε φιλανθρωπίας καὶ πίστεως.

4 Ὁ δ’ Ἀντίγονος τὴν δύναμιν ἀπασάν ἀναλαβὼν εἰς Μηδίαν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τοῖς κακῶι παρεχεῖμασεν οὐσὶς πλησίον Ἑκβατάνων, ἐν ὡς τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης ἑστὶ τὰ βασιλεία, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἐπὶδείλεν εἰς ἀπασάν τὴν σατραπείαν καὶ μάλιστα εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν τὴν προσαγορευμένην Ῥάγας, ὡς ταύτην τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐσχεν ἀπὸ τῶν γενομένων περὶ αὐτὴν ἀτυχημάτων ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν χρόνοις. 5 πλείστας γὰρ ἔχουσα πόλεις τῶν ἐν ἐκείνους τοῖς τόποις καὶ μάλιστ’ εὔδαμονούσας τηλικοῦτος ἑσχὲ σεισμοὺς ὡστε καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς ἑνοικοῦντας ἀπαντᾷ ἀφανισθῆναι, καθόλου δὲ τὴν χώραν ἀλλοκθήναι καὶ ποταμοὺς ἀντὶ τῶν προὐπαρχόντων ἀλλος φανῆναι καὶ λίμνας.

45. Κατὰ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους συνεβή γενέσθαι περὶ τὴν Ῥωδίων πόλιν τὸν τρίτον κατακλυσ-

2 For Hieronymus cp. Introduction to this volume.
3 The rest of the winter of 317/16.

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on the previous occasion, after Eumenes had been 317/16 B.C. spared by Antigonus at Nora in Phrygia, he had none the less supported the kings most whole-heartedly.\(^1\) When Antigonus saw also that the ardent desire of the Macedonians for the punishment of Eumenes was not to be turned aside, he put him to death; but because of his former friendship for him, he burned his body, and after placing his bones in an urn, he sent them to his relatives. Among the wounded there was also brought in as a captive the historian Hieronymus of Cardia,\(^2\) who hitherto always had been held in honour by Eumenes, but after Eumenes’ death enjoyed the favour and confidence of Antigonus.

After Antigonus had taken his entire army into Media, he himself spent the winter \(^3\) in a village that is near Ecbatana, where the capital of this country is situated, but he distributed the soldiers throughout the entire satrapy and particularly in the eparchy called Rhagae, which had received this name from a catastrophe that had occurred there in former times.\(^4\) Of all the lands in that part of the world, its cities had been the most numerous and the most prosperous, but it had experienced so violent an earthquake that both the cities and all their inhabitants vanished, and, in general, the land was altered and new rivers and marshy lakes appeared in place of the former ones.\(^5\)

45. At this time occurred the third inundation of the city of Rhodes, which destroyed many of its

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\(^1\) This etymology (Rhagae, “breaks” or “clefts”), given also by Duris (Strabo, 1. 3. 19) and Posidonius (Strabo, 11. 9. 1), is false, but the catastrophe may be a fact since this region suffered severe earthquakes at a later date.

\(^2\) Continued in chap. 46. 1. The winter is that of 317/16 B.C.
DIO DORUS OF SICILY

μόν, ὁς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐνοικοῦντων διέφθειρεν. ὥν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ὁλίγα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐνώχλησεν, ὥς ἂν τῆς πόλεως σύνης νεοκτίστου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
2 πολλὴν ἐυρυχωρίαν ἔχουση, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος μείζων ἐγένετο καὶ πλεῖον σώματα διέφθειρεν. ὁ δὲ τελευταῖος ἐπέπεσε μὲν ἑαυτὸς ἀρχομένου, καταρραγέντων ἕξαιρήσεωις μεγάλων ὁμβρῶν καὶ χαλάζεις ἀπίστου τὸ μέγεθος· μιαία γὰρ ἐπιτύπων, ἐστὶ δ’ ὅτε καὶ μείζους, ὡστε πολλὰς μὲν τῶν οἰκίων συμπίπτειν διὰ τὸ βάρος, οὐκ ὁλίγους δὲ καὶ τῶν
3 ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλλυσθαι· θεατροειδοὺς δ’ οὐχὶς τῆς Ῥώδου καὶ τὰς ἐγκλίσεις τῶν ὑδάτων κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰς ἑνα τόπου ποιουμένης εὐθύς τὰ τιπευκαὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιθρόντο, τῶν μὲν ὀχετῶν διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν παρεληλυθέναι τὸν χειμώνα κατημελημένων, τῶν δ’
4 ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν ὀβελίσκων συμφραγιθέντων. τοῦ δ’ ὑδατος παραδόξως ἀθροιζομένου πᾶς μὲν ὁ περὶ τὸ δείγμα καὶ Διονύσiou τόπος ἐπεπλήρωτο, πρὸς δὲ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ῥηθ’ τοῦ λειμάζουσι τόπου προσωπικῶν ἐκπλαγείς μὲν ἰδίαν ἄπαντες, πρὸς δὲ τὴν
5 σωτηρίαν διαφόροις ἐχρόωντο κρίσεσιν. οἵ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ πλοία συνέφυγον, οἵ δ’ ἐπὶ τὸ θέατρον ἀνέδραμον, τινὲς δὲ τῶν περικαταλαμβανομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ δεινοῦ διαποροῦτες ἐπὶ τοὺς υψηλοτάτους βωμοὺς καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀνδριάντων βάσεις προσανέ
6 ἐβιβάζαν. κυνινυνυνύης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀρδήη μετὰ τῶν κατοικοῦντων ἀπολέσθαι βοήθεια τις αὐτο-
ματος ἐγένετο· τοῦ γὰρ τείχους Ῥαγέντος ἐπὶ πολλῶν τόπων ἐξέπεσε ταύτη τὸ συνεστικὸς ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ταχύ πάλιν ἔκαστο εἰς τὴν προ-
7 ψάρχουσαν τάξειν ἀποκατάστη. συνήργησε δὲ τοῖς κυνινυνύοις καὶ τὸ μεθ’ ἥμεραν γενέσθαι τὸν κατα-
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inhabitants. Of these floods, the first did little damage to the population since the city was newly founded and therefore contained much open space; the second was greater and caused the death of more persons. The last befell at the beginning of spring, great rain storms suddenly bursting forth with hail of incredible size. Indeed, hail-stones fell weighing a mina \(^1\) and sometimes more, so that many of the houses collapsed because of the weight, and no small number of the inhabitants were killed. Since Rhodes is shaped like a theatre and since the streams of water were thus deflected chiefly into a single region, the lower parts of the city were straightway flooded; for, because it was thought that the rainy season of winter had passed, the drains had been neglected and the drainage openings through the city walls had become clogged. The water that suddenly gathered filled the whole region about the Market and the Temple of Dionysus; and then, as the flood was already advancing to the Temple of Aesclepius, all were struck with fear and began to follow various plans for gaining safety. Some of them fled to the ships, others ran to the theatre; certain of those overtaken by the calamity in their extremity climbed upon the highest altars and the bases of statues. When the city and all its inhabitants were in danger of being utterly destroyed, relief of a sort came of itself; for, as the walls gave way over a long stretch, the water that had been confined poured out through this opening into the sea, and each man soon returned again to his former place. It was to the advantage of those who were endangered that the flood came by day, for

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\(^1\) About one pound, but standards varied from city to city.
κλωσμόν· οἱ γὰρ πλείστοι φθάσαντες ἐξεπήδησαν ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων εἰς τοὺς μετεώρους τόπους τῆς πόλεως· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ μὴ πλυνθάνας εἶναι τὰς οἰκίας, ἀλλὰ λιβάνας καὶ διὰ τούτο τοὺς ἔπι τὰ 8 στέγη καταφυγόντας ἀσφαλῶς διασωθήναι. ὡμως δὲ τηλικοῦτων ἀτυχημάτων γενομένων σώματα μὲν διεφθάρη πλείω τῶν πεντακοσίων, οἰκίαι δὲ αἱ μὲν τελέως ἐπεσον, αἱ δὲ διεσπείρθησαν.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν 'Ρόδον συμβιώνα τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τὸν κύδυνον.

46. Ἀντίγονος δὲ χειμάζων ἐν τῇ Μηδίᾳ καὶ πυθόμενος Πίθωνα πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν τῇ χειμασίᾳ στρατιωτῶν ἐπαγγελῶς καὶ δωρεάν ἰδίους κατασκεύασεν καὶ διανοεῖσθαι νεωτηρίζειν, τὴν μὲν ἰδίαν προαίρεσιν ἐπεκρύψατο, προσποιηθεὶς δὲ ἀπωστείν τοῖς διαβάλλουσι, τούτους μὲν πολλῶν ἁκούων ἐπετίμησεν ὡς διστάνοντι τὴν φιλίαν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐκτὸς διέδωκε λόγον ὅτι μέλλει καταλιπεῖν τῶν ἀνω σατραπείων στρατηγὸν Πίθωνα καὶ δύναμις 2 μὲν ἐκανόν τὴν παρέξουσαν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολήν, ἀξιών ἢ ἱκεν τὴν ταχύστην, ὅπως κατὰ πρόσωπον περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαῖων κοινολογησάμενοι ταχέως τὴν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατάβασιν ποιήσονται. ταῦτα δ’ ἐμηχανύσατο σπεύδων τῆς μὲν ἀληθοῦς ὑποψίας αὐτὸν ἀποστῆσαι, πείσαι δ’ ὡς σατράπην καταλειφθῆσομεν ἐλθεῖν εἰς χεῖρας· μετὰ βίαις γὰρ συλλαβέων οὐ ῥάδιον ἦν ἀνδρα καὶ παρ’ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προαγωγῆς δι’ ἀρετὴν τετευχότα καὶ κατ’ ἐκείνων τὸν καιρόν σατράπην μὲν ὀντα τῆς Μηδίας, πεπολιτευμένον δὲ 3 πρὸς ἄπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον. δ’ δὲ Πίθων ἐτύγχανε μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις μέρεσι τῆς Μηδίας χειμάζων

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most of the people escaped in time from their houses to the higher parts of the city; and also that the houses were not constructed of sun-dried brick but of stone and that for this reason those who took refuge upon the roofs were safe. Yet in this great disaster more than five hundred persons lost their lives, while some houses collapsed completely and others were badly shaken.

Such was the disaster which befell Rhodes.

46. When Antigonus, who was wintering in Media, was informed that Pithon was winning the support of many of the soldiers in the winter quarters by promises and gifts and that he planned to revolt, he concealed his own intentions and, pretending not to believe those who were spreading the charges, he rebuked them, in the hearing of many, for trying to disrupt his friendship, and caused a report to be spread abroad that he was about to leave Pithon as general of the upper satrapies with an army sufficient for their safety. He even wrote to Pithon himself a letter asking him to come as soon as possible, so that he might discuss the necessary matters with him in person and then quickly make his journey to the sea. He devised this plan because he wished to prevent Pithon from suspecting the truth and to persuade him to come within reach on the assumption that he was about to be left behind as satrap; for it was no easy matter to arrest a man by force who had gained preference for merit while serving under Alexander and who at that very time was satrap of Media and had curried favour with the entire army. Pithon, who was wintering in the most distant parts of Media, had

1 Continued from chap. 44. 5.
2 For Pithon's character cp. Book 18. 7. 4.
καὶ πλῆθος ἡδὲ διεθθλεύματος τῶν ἐπαγγελλομένων συναποστήσεσθαι, γραφοῦντων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων περὶ τῶν Ἀντιγόνου προαιρέσεις καὶ μεγάλας ὑπογραφοῦντων ἐλπίδας ἑξαπατηθεῖς κενὰς προσ-4 δοκίμας ἦκε πρὸς Ἀντιγόνον. ὃ δὲ κυριεύσας τοῦ σώματος καὶ κατηγοριάν ποιησάμενος ἐν τοῖς μετέχοντι τοῦ συνεδρίου ραδίως κατεδίκασε καὶ 5 παραχρήμα ἀπέκτεινεν. συναγαγὼν δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰς ἑνὸν τόπον σαυτράπην μὲν ἀπέδειξε τῆς Μηδίας Ὀροντοβάτην Μηδίου, στρατηγὸν δὲ Ἰππόστρατον, ἔχοντα πεζοὺς μὲν ἐξεύσας πρωτισχίλιον πεν-6 τακοσίους . . . 1 αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν παρῆλθεν εἰς Ἑκβάτανα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ παραλαβὼν ἁσίμου ἀργύρου τάλαντα πεντακισχίλια προῆγεν ἐπὶ τῆς Περσίδος, οὐσίς τῆς ἀναβάσεως ὡς ἂν εἰκοσιν ἡμερῶν εἰς τὸ βασίλειον, δ' ἐκεῖνοι Περση-πόλεις.

47. Τοῦ δ' Ἀντιγόνου καθ' ὅδον οἴτωs τοῦ Πίθωνος φίλοι καὶ μετεσχηκότες τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, ὅν ἦσαν ἐπιφανεστάτου Μελέαγρου καὶ Μενοίτας, ἠθροισαν τοὺς πλανωμένους τῶν Βυσινοῦς τε καὶ 2 Πίθωνος συνήθων, εἰς ὀκτακοσίους ἑπτεῖν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῆν χώραν ἐλεγχάτου τῶν μὴ βουλωμένων συναφιστάσαι Μηδίων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πυθόμενοι καταπεφρονηκότως2 στρατοπεδεύουν τὸν τε Ἰππόστρατον καὶ τὸν Ὀροντοβάτην ἐπέθεκτο νυκτὸς τῇ παρεμβολῇ. καὶ παρ' ὁλίγον μὲν ἐκρά-τησαν τῆς περιβολῆς,3 ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πλῆθους κατ-ισχυόμενοι καὶ τινὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν πείσαντες

1 So Fischer. Dindorf adds ἑπτεῖν δὲ before πεντακοσίους.
2 καταπεφρονηκότως added by Fischer, ep. chaps. 93. 2, 95. 5.
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already corrupted a large number who promised to join him in the revolt, but when his friends wrote to him about the plans of Antigonus and hinted at his own great prospects, he was deceived by empty expectations and came to Antigonus. The latter, when he had gained possession of his person and had accused him before the members of the council, easily won a conviction and had him executed at once. Then, gathering the army into one place, he appointed Orontobates, a Mede, satrap of Media, but he made Hippostratus general with an infantry force of thirty-five hundred mercenaries. . . . 1 Antigonus himself moved to Ecbatana with his army. There he took possession of five thousand talents of uncoined silver and then led the army into Persia, the march to the capital, which is called Persepolis, lasting about twenty days.

47. While Antigonus was on the march, Pithon's friends who had shared in his conspiracy, of whom the most notable were Melcager and Menoetas, collected the scattered comrades of Eumenes and of Pithon to the number of eight hundred mounted men. At first they harried the territory of those Medes who refused to join the revolt, but afterwards, on learning that Hippostratus and Orontobates were encamped with no thought of danger, they set upon the camp by night. They almost took the outer works, but were overcome by numbers and withdrew after

1 Fischer suggests that some indication of the cavalry strength has been lost from the manuscripts at this point.

3 περιβολής Capps: ἐπιβολής.
3 synaposthēnai pálin ἀπεχώρησαν. εὐξωνοὶ δ’ ὄντες καὶ πάντες ὑπὸ παῦσιν χρωμενοι τὰς τε καταδρομὰς ἀπροσδοκήτους ἐποιοῦντο καὶ τὴν χώραν ταραχῆς ἐπιλήρωσαν. μετὰ δὲ τινα χρόνον συγκλεισθέντες εἰς τινα τόπον κρημνωὶς περιεχόμενοι οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνηρεθησαν, οἱ δ’ ἐξωγρηθῆσαν. τῶν δὲ ἧγεμόνων Μελέαγρος καὶ Ὄκρανης ὁ Μῆδος καὶ τινες τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἀνδρῶν ὑποστάντες ἀνηρεθῆσαν.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τοὺς ἀποστάντας ἐν Μηδίᾳ τουαύτην ἐσχε τῇ κατάστασι.

48. Ὅ δ’ Ἀντίγονος ἐπειδὴ τάχυτι ἤλθεν εἰς τὴν Περσίδα, τιμῆς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἤξιωθη βασιλικῆς ὡς ἄν κύριος ὁν ὀμολογομενῶς τῆς Ἀσίας, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων συνεδρεύσας ἐβουλεύετο περὶ τῶν σατραπεῖων. τὴν μὲν οὖν Καρμανίαν ἐνάσεν ἔχειν Τλητόλεμον καὶ τὴν Βακτριανὴν ὑμοίως Στασάνορα· οὐ γὰρ ῥάδιον ἦν τούτους δι’ ἐπιστολῆς ἐκβαλείν, εὑ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἐγχωρίους πεπολεμεμένους καὶ πολλοὺς ἔχοντας συναιχωνιστάς. εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀρίαν ἀπέστειλεν Εὐστόν· τελευτήσατο δὲ μετ’ ὅλιγον χρόνον ἀντικατέστησεν Εὐαγόραν, ἀνδρα καὶ κατ’ ἀνδρείαν καὶ σύνεσιν θαυμαζόμενον. Ὁξυάρην δὲ τὸν Ῥωξάνης πατέρα τὴν ἐν Παροπαυσάδαις σατραπεῖαν ἐνάσεν ἔχειν, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον ἔχειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτον ἦν ἐκβαλείν δυνατὸν ἄνευ χρόνου πολλού καὶ δυνάμεως ἄδρας.

3 Metepēmβατο δὲ καὶ Σιβύρτιον εἰς Ἀραχωτῶν, εὗ διακεῖσθαι τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ τὴν τε σατραπείαν ἔχειν συνεχώρησε καὶ τῶν ἀργυραστίδων

1 καὶ deleted by Dindorf and Fischer.
2 οὐδὲ Dindorf: οὔτε.
winning certain of the soldiers to join the revolt. 316 B.C.
Since these\(^1\) were without heavy equipment and were all mounted on horses, their raids were unexpected, and the country was filled with confusion. After some time, however, they were hemmed up in a narrow place that was surrounded by cliffs, where some of them were killed and the others were taken alive. Meleager and Ocranus the Mede, who were among the commanders, and some of the outstanding men were killed while resisting the attack.

This was the outcome of the revolt in Media.

48. As soon as Antigonus came into Persia, he was granted the dignity of kingship by the inhabitants as if he was the acknowledged lord of Asia, and he himself sitting in council with his friends considered the question of the satrapies.\(^2\) He permitted Tlepolemus to retain Carmania, and likewise Stasane to retain Bactrian, for it was not easy to remove them by sending a message since they had conducted themselves well toward the inhabitants and had many supporters. He sent Evitus to Aria,\(^3\) but when Evitus died soon afterwards he put Evagoras in his place, a man admired for both courage and shrewdness. He permitted Oxyartes, the father of Roxane, to keep the satrapy in Paropamisadacae as before, for he too could not be removed without a long campaign and a strong army.

From Arachosia he summoned Sibyrtius, who was well disposed to him, permitted him to retain the satrapy, and assigned to him the most turbulent of

\(^1\) i.e. Meleager and Menoeatas and their followers.
\(^2\) Cp. Book 18. 39. 5-7 for the previous distribution.
\(^3\) Stasander, to whom Aria and Dragnea had been assigned by Antipater (Book 18. 39. 6), had supported Eumenes (chap. 14. 7).
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΟΙΣ ΣΙΚΙΛΥ

συνέστησε τοὺς ταραχωδεστάτους, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ χρείας, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ πρὸς ἀπώλειαν· κατ' ἰδίαν γὰρ ἐνετείλατο κατ' ὀλίγονς αὐτῶν εἰς τοιαύτας χρείας ἀποστέλλειν ἐν αἷς ἐμελλὼν ἀπολεῖσθαι. ἐν δὲ τούτοις εἶναι συνεβαίνει καὶ τοὺς Εὐμενή παραδόντας, ὡστε τῶν εἰς τὸν στρατηγὸν παρανομημάτων συντόμως αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήναι τιμωρίαν· αἱ γὰρ ἀσεβεῖς χρεῖαι τοὺς μὲν δυνάσταις διὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν γίνονται λυσιτελεῖς, τοὺς δ' ὑπακούσασον ἰδιώταις μεγάλων κακῶν ὡς ἐπίπαν αὐτίαν καθίστανται.

5 'Ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀντίγονος ὁ ὁρῶν τὸν Πευκέστην παρὰ τοὺς Πέρσας μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς τυγχάνοντα τῷ μὲν πρῶτον παρελευτὸ τὴν σατραπείαν αὐτοῦ. τῶν δὲ ἐγχυκρῶν ἀγανακτοῦντων, ἔνδω τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Θεσπίου καὶ παρρησίαν ἀγαγόντος ὡς οὐ υπακουουμένων Περσῶν ἐτέρω, τούτον μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, Ἀσκληπιιδώρων δὲ κατέστησε τῆς Περσῶδος ὑπαρχον καὶ τοὺς ἰκανοὺς στρατωτὰς παρέδωκεν· Πευκέστην δ' εἰς ἄλλας ἐλπίδας ἀγα- γόνων καὶ κενῶς μετεωρίσας ἑξῆγαγεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας.

6 ποιομένου δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ Σοῦσον ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῷ Πασηγίρῳ ποταμῷ Ξε- νόφιλος δ' κυριεύων τῶν ἐν Σοῦσοις χρημάτων, ἀπεσταλμένος ὑπὸ Σελεύκου πᾶν ποιήσαι τὸ προστασίουμεν. τούτοι μὲν οὖν προσδεξάμενοι προσεποιήτο τιμῶν ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις τῶν φίλων, εὐλαβοῦμενοι μὴ μετανοήσας πάλιν αὐτὸν ἀπο- 7 κλείσῃ· αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἐν Σοῦσοις ἀκαρν

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1 aós editors: oíš.
2 πᾶν ποιήσαι editors, ὡς πᾶν ποιήσων Carps: καὶ πᾶν ποιήσεων F, πᾶν ποιήσεων RX.

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the Silver Shields, ostensibly that they might be 316 B.C. useful in the war, but in reality to insure their destruction; for he privately directed the satrap to send a few of them at a time on duties in which they were bound to be killed. Among them there were, as it happened, those who had betrayed Eumenes, so that punishment for their treachery to their general came upon them speedily. Unholy acts, in truth, are of advantage to princes because of their power, but to private individuals who have merely obeyed orders they are usually the cause of great evil.

Now Antigonus, perceiving that Peucetius was enjoying great favour among the Persians, first took his satrapy away from him. Then when the Persians were angry, and when Thespius, one of their leading men, even said frankly that the Persians would not obey anyone else, Antigonus had this man killed and set up Asclepiodorus as ruler of Persia, giving him a sufficient number of soldiers. As for Peucetius, Antigonus, after leading him on to hope for other things and filling him with vain expectations, removed him from the country. While Antigonus himself was journeying to Susa, he was met at the Pasitigris River by Xenophilus, the supervisor of the treasury at Susa, who had been sent by Seleucus with orders to carry out Antigonus' every command. Antigonus received him and pretended to honour him among his closest friends, taking care lest he change his mind and shut him out again. When he himself had occupied the

2 Peucetius never again played an important rôle, but he seems to have outlived Antigonus and to have retained, or regained, the favour of Demetrius (Phylarchus, PGrH, 81. 12).
3 Cp. chaps. 17. 3, 18. 1.
κατέλαβεν ἐν αὐτῇ τήν τε χρυσῆν ἀναδευδράδα καὶ πλήθος ἄλλων κατασκευασμάτων, τῶν1 πάντων συναγομένων εἰς μύρια καὶ πεντακισχίλια τάλαντα. ἡθοποίησθη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλο πλήθος χρη-8 μάτων ἐκ τῶν στεφάνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δωρεῶν, ἔτι δὲ ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων· ταῦτα γὰρ ἦσαν πεντα-κισχίλια τάλαντα, καὶ κατὰ τὴν Μηδίαν ἄλλα το-σαύτα χωρίς τῶν ἐν Σούσιοι θησαυρῶν, ὡστε τὰ πάντα συναχθῆναι τάλαντα δισμύρια πεντακισχίλια.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀντίγονον ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

49. Ἡμεῖς δὲ διεληλυθότες τὰ κατὰ τήν 'Ασίαν πραγματέοις μεταβιβάσομεν τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ τὰ συνεχῆ τῶν προερημεύσεως διέξ-μεν. δ' ἀρὰ Κάσανδρος εἰς Πύδναν τῆς Μακε-δονίας συγκεκλεικὼς 'Ολυμπιάδα προσβολάς μὲν τοῖς τεῖχεσιν ἦδυνάτεi ποιεῖσθαι διὰ τοὺς χειμώ-νας, περιστρατοπεδεύσας δὲ τὴν πόλιν καὶ χά-ρακα βαλόμενος ἀπὸ θαλάσσης εἰς θαλάσσαν, ἐτι δὲ ἐφόρμῳ τῷ λιμένι πάντα τὸν2 βουλόμενον 2 ἐπικοινώνησα διεκώλυεν. ταχὺ δὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐξαναλωθέντων τοσαύτην περὶ τούς ἐνδον κατ-εσκευάσειν ἐνδεικνύον ὡστ' ἐκλυθήναι τὸ παράπαν· εἰς τούτῳ γὰρ ἦλθον ἀνάγκης ὡστε τῷ μὲν στρατιωτῇ συνομετρεῖν χοινικὰς πέντε τοῦ μηνός, τοῖς δ' ἐλέφασι τοῖς κατακλεισθεῖσι διδόμαι πρίοντας τὰς δοκούς, τὰ δ' ὑποζύγια καὶ τοὺς ὑπόπους κατακόψαι 3 πρὸς διατροφῆν. τοιαύτης δὲ περιστάσεως κατ-εχούσης τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῆς Ὁλυμπιάδος ἐτι προσ-ανεχούσης ταῖς ἐξωθεὶς ἐλπίσεων οἱ μὲν ἐλέφαντες

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1 τῶν added by Dindorf.  
2 τὸν added by Dindorf.

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1 For the golden vine that stood with the golden plane tree

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citadel of Susa, he found in it the golden climbing vine and a great number of other objects of art, weighing all told fifteen thousand talents. There was collected for him, besides, a great amount of money from the crowns and the other gifts, and also from the spoils. This came to five thousand talents; and there was another equal amount in Media apart from the treasury in Susa, so that in all twenty-five thousand talents were gathered together.

Such was the state of the affairs of Antigonus.

49. Now that we have completed the account of events in Asia, we shall turn our attention to Europe and set forth what took place there following the events previously described. Although Cassander had shut Olympias into Pydna in Macedonia, he was not able to assault the walls because of the winter storms, but by encamping about the city, throwing up a palisade from sea to sea, and blockading the port, he prevented any who might wish to aid the queen from doing so. And as the supplies were rapidly exhausted, he created such famine among those within that they were completely incapacitated. In truth, they were brought to such extreme need that they gave each soldier five choenices of grain per month, sawed up wood and fed the sawdust to the imprisoned elephants, and slaughtered the pack animals and horses for food. While the situation of the city was so serious and while Olympias was still clinging to hopes of rescue from outside, the elephants

In the chamber of the Persian king cp. Herodotus, 7. 27; Athenaeus, 12. 514 f.

2 Continued in chap. 55. 1.

3 Continued from chap. 36. 6. For the siege of Pydna cp. Justin, 14. 6. 1-5.

4 One choenix of grain was the normal daily ration in the Persian army (Herodotus, 7. 187; Diog. Laert. 8. 18).
DIODORUS OF SICILY

ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας διεφθάρησαν, τῶν δ’ ἑπεύων ὁμὶλεῖν ἔξω τάξεως ὑπεντε ὁ συνομετρουμένοι τὸ παράπον σχεδὸν ἀπαντῆς ἐτελεύτησαν, οὐκ ὁλίγοι δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῆς ὕμειας καταστροφῆς 4 ἔτυχον. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων, τῆς φύσεως κατ-ισχυούσης τήν εὐλάβειαν, ἐσαρκοφάγους ἁναλεγό-μενοι τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀποθηκηκόντων. ταχὺ δὲ τῆς πόλεως πληρουμένης νεκρῶν οἱ προεστηκότες τοῦ περὶ τὴν βασιλείσαν συντήματος τὰ μὲν κατόρυττον τῶν σωμάτων, τὰ δ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν τεν-χῶν ἕξερριπτον, ὡστε εἶναι καὶ τὴν θέαν τὴν τούτων ἀπεκθῆ καὶ τὴν δυσωδίαν ἀνυπομένην μὴ μόνον γυναιξὶ βασιλίσσαις καὶ τρυφῆς οἰκεί-ας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς εἰσιθόσι κακοπάθειν.

50. Τοῦ δ’ ἕαρος ἀρχομένου καὶ τῆς ἐνδείας ἀεὶ μᾶλλον αὐξανομένης συνεδραμον πολλοὶ τῶν στρα-τιωτῶν καὶ τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα παρεκάλουν αὐτούς ἀφείναι διὰ τὴν ἄπορίαν. ἦ δὲ οὕτε συνομετρεῖν αὐτοὺς δυναμένη τὸ παράπαν οὕτε τὴν πολιορκίαν 2 λύσαι συνεχώρησεν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Κάσανν-δρος προσδεξάμενος ἀπαντᾷ τοὺς αὐτομολύσαντας καὶ φιλανθρώπως χρησάμενος διαπέστειλεν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις· ἡλπίζε γὰρ παρὰ τούτων πυθομένους τοὺς Μακεδόνας τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδος ἀσθενεῖαν ἀπελπισεῖν 3 αὐτῆς τὰ πράγματα. οὐ κακῶς δ’ αὐτοῦ στοχασαμένου περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος, οἱ μὲν συναγωνίζεσθαι διεγνωκότες τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις μετενόησαν καὶ πρὸς Κάσανδρον ἀπεχώρησαν, μονοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν Μακεδονία τῆς εὐνοιαν διεφυλάξαν 'Αριστόνου καὶ Μόνυμος, διὸ 'Αριστόνου μὲν 'Αμφιπόλεως ἐκυ- 4 ρίευεν, ὁ δ’ ἐτερος Πέλλης. ἦ δ’ Ὀλυμπιάδος ὄρῳσα

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died from lack of nourishment, the horsemen that were not in the ranks and did not receive any food whatever nearly all perished, and no small number of the soldiers also met the same fate. Some of the non-Greeks, their natural needs overcoming their scruples, found flesh to eat by collecting the bodies of the dead. Since the city was being quickly filled with corpses, those in charge of the queen’s company, though they buried some of the bodies, threw others over the city wall. The sight of these was horrible, and their stench was unbearable, not merely to ladies who were of the queen’s court and addicted to luxury, but also to those of the soldiers who were habituated to hardship.

50. As spring came on and their want increased from day to day, many of the soldiers gathered together and appealed to Olympias to let them go because of the lack of supplies. Since she could neither issue any food at all nor break the siege, she permitted them to withdraw. Cassander, after welcoming all the deserters and treating them in most friendly fashion, sent them to the various cities; for he hoped that when the Macedonians learned from them how weak Olympias was, they would despair of her cause. And he was not mistaken in his surmise about what would happen; those who had resolved to fight on the side of the besieged forces changed their minds and went over to Cassander; and the only men in Macedonia to preserve their loyalty were Aristonoüs and Monimus, of whom Aristonoüs was ruler of Amphipolis and Monimus of Pella. But Olympias, when she saw that most of

1 Cp. chap. 35. 7.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

tous μὲν πλείους μεταθεμένους πρὸς Κάσανδρον,
tous δ' ὑπολοίπους τῶν φίλων οὐκ ἴσχυοντας βοη-
техὲν, ἐπεχειρήσατε πεντῆρη ναῦν κατασσαν καὶ διὰ
5 ταύτης αὐτῆς τε καὶ τοὺς φίλους σαύζειν. αὐτο-
μόλου δὲ τινὸς το γνώμενον ἀπαγγείλατο τοὺς
πολεμίους δ' μὲν Κάσανδρος ἐπιπλέοντας ἐκυρέωσε
τοῦ σκάφους, ἢ δ' 'Ολυμπιᾶς ἀπογνώστα τὰ καθ' αὐτὴν
πρέσβεις εξέπεμψε περὶ διαλύσεων. αὐτο-
μένου δὲ δεῖν τοῦ Κασάνδρου τὰ καθ' αὐτὴν ἐπι-
τρέπειν μόνης ἐπεισεν ὥστε μόνην ἐξίαρετον λαβῆιν
6 τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσφάλειαν. Κάσανδρος δὲ
κυρεύοντας τῆς πόλεως εξέπεμψε τοὺς παραλήπτο-
7 μένους τὴν τε Πέλλαν καὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν. ὁ μὲν
οὖν τῆς Πέλλης κυριεύων Μόνιμος ἀκούσας τὰ
συμβάντα περὶ τὴν 'Ολυμπιᾶδα παρέδωκε τὴν
πόλιν. ὁ δ' 'Αριστόνους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντέχεσθαι
τῶν πραγμάτων διεγνώκει, στρατιώτας τε συγνοὺς
ἐχων καὶ προσφάτως εὐμερητικὸς. Ὁλίγας γὰρ
ἐμπροσθεν ἡμέρας παραταξάμενος πρὸς τὸν Κα-
σάνδρον στρατηγὸν Κρατεύαν τοὺς πλείστους μὲν
ἀνείλε τῶν ἀντιταχθέντων, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Κρατεύαν
μετὰ δυσχελίων φυγῶντα τῆς Βισαλτίας εἰς Βεδύνδια
περιστρατεύσεως ἐξεπολυόρκησε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα
8 παρελόμενος υπόσποντον ἀφῆκε. διὰ δὲ ταύτα
ἐπαιρόμενος καὶ τὸν Εὐμένοις θάνατον ἀγνοοῦν, ἐτὶ
dὲ τοὺς περὶ 'Αλέξανδρον καὶ Πολυπέρχοντα νομί-
ζων συνεπιλήψεσθαι τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν οὐκ ἔφη παρα-
δώσεων. ἐπει δὲ ἐγγραφεῖ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ὀλυμπιᾶς
ἀπαίτοῦσα τὴν πίστιν καὶ κελεύουσα παραδοῦναι,
διαλαβὼν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸ προστασόμενον
ποιεῖν, τὴν τε πόλιν ἐνεχείρισε καὶ τὰ πιστὰ περὶ
τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἔλαβεν.

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her friends had gone over to Cassander and that those who remained were not strong enough to come to her aid, attempted to launch a quinquereme and by this means to save herself and her friends. When, however, a deserter brought news of this attempt to the enemy and Cassander sailed up and took the ship, Olympias, recognizing that her situation was beyond hope, sent envoys to treat of terms. When Cassander gave his opinion that she must put all her interests into his hands, she with difficulty persuaded him to grant the single exception that he guarantee her personal safety. As soon as he had gained possession of the city, he sent men to take over Pella and Amphipolis. Now Monimus, the ruler of Pella, on hearing the fate of Olympias, surrendered his city; but Aristonoës at first was minded to cling to his position, since he had many soldiers and had recently enjoyed a success. That is, a few days before this in a battle against Cassander's general Cratevas he had killed most of those who faced him, and when Cratevas himself with two thousand men had fled to Bedyndia in Bisaltia, he invested him, took him by siege, and dismissed him on terms after taking away his arms. Aristonoës, encouraged by this and ignorant of the death of Eumenes, believing, moreover, that Alexander and Polyperephon would support him, refused to surrender Amphipolis. But when Olympias wrote to him demanding his loyalty and ordering him to surrender, he perceived that it was necessary to do as ordered and delivered the city to Cassander, receiving pledges for his own safety.

3 Bisaltia lies just to the west of the lower Strymon. The exact situation of Bedyndia is unknown.
51. Ο δὲ Κάσανδρος ὁρῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀριστόνου ύπάρχον ἄξιωμα διὰ τὴν παρ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρου προ-
αγωγῆν καὶ σπεύδων ἐκ ποδῶν ποιεῖν τοὺς δυνα-
μένους νεωτερίζειν ἔπανείλε τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῶν
Κρατεύα συγγενῶν. προετρέψατο δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὀι-
κείους τῶν ἄνηρμεῖν ὑπ᾽ Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐν κοινῇ
τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐκκλησία κατηγορεῖν τῇ προε-
2 ρημένης γυναικός. ἄων ποιησάντων τὸ προσταχθὲν
καὶ τῆς μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδος οὕτω παρούσης οὕτε
ἐξούσιος τοὺς ἀπολογησιομένους οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες
κατεγώνωσον αὐτῆς θάνατον, ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος
πέμψας τινὰς τῶν φίλων πρὸς τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα
συνεβούλευε λάθρα φυγεῖν, ἐπαγγελλόμενος αὐτῆς
ναῦν παρασκευάσει καὶ διακομεῖν εἰς τὰς Ἀθῆνας.
3 τούτῳ δ᾽ ἔπραττον οὐ τῆς σωτηρίας προνοοῦμενος,
ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα καθ᾽ αὐτῆς φυγήν καταγνώσα καὶ διαφα-
ρεῖσα κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν δόξῃ δικαίᾳ περιπεπτοκέναι
tιμωρίας εὐλαβεῖτο γὰρ ἁμα καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτῆν
4 ἄξιωμα καὶ τὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων εὐμετάβολον. τῆς
δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδος οὐ φαμένης φεύγεσθαι, τοῦντὶν
δ᾽ ἐτοιμὴν οὖσης ἐν πάσι Μακεδόσι κριθήναι ὁ
Κάσανδρος φοβηθεῖς μῆποτε τὸ πλῆθος ἀκοῦν τῆς
βασιλίσσης ἀπολογησιομένης καὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου
καὶ Φιλίππου πρὸς ἀπαν τὸ δ᾽ ἔθνος εὐρεγεσιῶν
ἀναμμηνευκόμενον μετανοήσῃ, διακομός τῶν
στρατιώτῶν τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους ἀπέστειλε πρὸς
5 αὐτῆν, προστάξας ἀνελεῖν τὴν ταχίστην. οὗτοι
μὲν ὁμὶ παρεισπεσόντες εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν οἰκίαν,
ὡς ἵδον τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα, καταδεσθέντες τὸ περὶ
αὐτῆν ἄξιωμα πάλιν ἀπεχώρησαν ἀπρακτοῖ. οἱ δὲ

1 τὸ added by Dindorf.
51. Cassander, seeing that Aristonoüs was respected because of the preferment he had received from Alexander, and being anxious to put out of the way any who were able to lead a revolt, caused his death through the agency of the kinsfolk of Cratevas. He also urged the relatives of those whom Olympias had slain to accuse the aforesaid woman in the general assembly of the Macedonians. They did as he had ordered; and, although Olympias was not present and had none to speak in her defence, the Macedonians condemned her to death. Cassander, however, sent some of his friends to Olympias advising her to escape secretly, promising to provide a ship for her and to carry her to Athens. He acted thus, not for the purpose of securing her safety, but in order that she, condemning herself to exile and meeting death on the voyage, might seem to have met a punishment that was deserved; for he was acting with caution both because of her rank and because of the fickleness of the Macedonians. As Olympias, however, refused to flee but on the contrary was ready to be judged before all the Macedonians, Cassander, fearing that the crowd might change its mind if it heard the queen defend herself and was reminded of all the benefits conferred on the entire nation by Alexander and Philip, sent to her two hundred soldiers who were best fitted for such a task, ordering them to slay her as soon as possible. They, accordingly, broke into the royal house, but when they beheld Olympias, overawed by her exalted rank, they withdrew with their task unfulfilled. But the relatives of her vic-

1 He had been one of the officers of the Bodyguard (Arrian, _Anabasis_, 6. 28. 4).

2 For the death of Olympias cp. Justin, 14. 6. 6-12, Pausanias, 9. 7. 2. Her death took place in the spring of 316.
τῶν ἀνηρμένων συγγενείς, Κασάνδρῳ τε χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενοι καὶ τοὺς τετελευτηκόσιν ἀμώναι, κατέσφαξαν τὴν βασίλισσαν, οὐδεμιᾶν ἀγεννῆ καὶ γυναικεῖαν προεμένην ἀξίωσιν.

6 ὁλυμπιάς μὲν οὖν, μέγιστον τῶν καθ’ αὐτὴν ἐσχήκω τοὺς ἁγιὰ ἀξίωμα καὶ γεγενημένη θυγάτηρ μὲν Νεοπτολέμου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἰππειρωτῶν, ἀδελφὴ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ στρατεύσαντος εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ἐτί δὲ γυνὴ μὲν Φιλίππου τοῦ πλείστου ἱσχύσαντος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἕλληναν δυναστεύσαντος, μήτηρ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ πλείστα καὶ κάλλιστα κατεργασμενόν τοιαύτῃς καταστροφῆς ἐτυχε.

52. Κάσανδρος δὲ, κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῷ τῶν πραγμάτων προχωροῦντων, περιελάβανε ταῖς ἐλπίσις τὴν Μακεδονίαν βασιλείαν. διὸ καὶ Θεσσαλονίκην ἔγνυμε, τὴν Φιλίππου μὲν θυγατέρα Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἀδελφὴν ὀμοπάτριων, σπεύδων οἰκεῖον αὐτὸν ἀπο-2 δεῖξαι τῆς βασιλικῆς συγγενείας. ἐκτισε δὲ καὶ πόλιν ἐπὶ τῆς Παλλήνης ὀμώνυμον αὐτοῦ Κασάνδραν, εἰς ἄν τόσ τε ἐκ τῆς χερσονήσου πόλεως συνάχησαν καὶ τὴν Ποτίδαιαν, ἐτί δὲ τῶν σύνεγγυς χωρίων οὐκ ὅλγα: κατάκις δ’ εἰς αὐτὴν καὶ τῶν Ὀλυμβίων τοὺς διασωστεμένους, οὕτως οὐκ ὅλγουσ.

3 πολλῆς δὲ χώρας προσορισθείσης τοῖς Κασανδρεύσι καὶ ταύτης ἀγαθῆς, ἐτί δὲ τοῦ Κασάνδρου πολλὰ συμφιλοτιμηθέντος εἰς τὴν αὐξησιν ταχὺ μεγάλην ἐπίδοσιν ἔλαβεν ἡ πόλις καὶ πλείστον ἵσχυε τῶν 4 ἐν Μακεδονία. ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος διεγνώκει μὲν ἀνελεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν παῖδα, καὶ τὴν μητέρα

1 Cp. Livy, 8. 24.
times, wishing to curry favour with Cassander as well as to avenge their dead, murdered the queen, who uttered no ignoble or womanish plea.

Such was the end of Olympias, who had attained to the highest dignity of the women of her day, having been daughter of Neoptolemus, king of the Epirotes, sister of the Alexander who made a campaign into Italy, and also wife of Philip, who was the mightiest of all who down to this time had ruled in Europe, and mother of Alexander, whose deeds were the greatest and most glorious.

52. As for Cassander, now that his affairs had succeeded according to his intentions, he began to embrace in his hopes the Macedonian kingdom. For this reason he married Thessalonicē, who was Philip's daughter and Alexander's half-sister, since he desired to establish a connection with the royal house. He also founded on Pallenē a city called Cassandreia after his own name, uniting with it as one city the cities of the peninsula, Potidaea, and a considerable number of the neighbouring towns. He also settled in this city those of the Olynthians who survived, not few in number. Since a great deal of land, and good land too, was included within the boundaries of Cassandreia, and since Cassander was very ambitious for the city's increase, it quickly made great progress and became the strongest of the cities of Macedonia. Cassander had determined to do away with Alexander's son and the son's mother, Roxanē, so that

2 Cp. Justin, 14. 6. 13, Pausanias, 9. 7. 3.
3 Pallenē is the south-western promontory of Chalcidice. Since only kings gave their names to cities, Cassander was in effect claiming the throne. Cp. Strabo, 7. frag. 25; Livy, 44. 11. 2.
4 For the destruction of Olynthus by Philip cp. Book 16. 53.
αὐτοῦ Ὄρωξάνην, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἡ διάδοχος τῆς βασιλείας· κατὰ δὲ τὸ παρὸν θεωρῆσαι βουλόμενος τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν λόγους, τίνες ἔσονται περὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἀναρέσεως, ἀμα δὴ οὐδὲν πεπυσμένος τῶν περὶ Ἀντίγονον, τὴν μὲν Ὄρωξάνην μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς εἰς φυλακὴν παρέδωκε, μεταγαγὼν εἰς τὴν ἀκραν τὴν ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει, τάξας τε ἐπ' αὐτῆς Γλαυκίαν των τῶν πιστευομένων ἀπέσπασε δὲ καὶ τοὺς εἰσωθότας παιδάς συντρέφεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν οὐκέτι βασιλικὴν, ἀλλ' ἰδιώτου τοῦ τυχόντος οἰκείων ἐκέλευε γίνεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα βασιλικῶς ἦδη διεξάγων τα κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν Εὐρυδίκην μὲν καὶ Φίλιππον τοὺς βασιλείς, ἔτι δὲ Κύνναν, ἧν ἀνείλεν Ἀλκέτας, ἔθαψεν ἐν Ἀἰγαίαῖς, καθάπερ ἔθαν ἥν τοὺς βασιλεύσι. τιμήσας δὲ τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἐπιταφίοις ἀγώσι κατέγραφε τῶν Μακεδόνων τοὺς εὐθέτους, διεγνωκός εἰς Πελοπόννησον στρατεύειν. 6 τούτου δὲ περὶ ταῦτ' ὅντος Πολυπέρχων ἑτοχγχανε μὲν πολυορκούμενος ἐν Ἀξωρίῳ τῆς Περραιβίας, ἀκούσας δὲ τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδος τελευτήν καὶ τελέως ἀπελπίσας τὰ κατὰ Μακεδονίαν ἐξεπήδησεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως μετ' ὀλύγων, πορευθεὶς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Θεσσαλίας καὶ παραλαβῶν τοὺς περί τὸν Διακίδην ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Λιτωλίαν, ὑπολαβῶν ἀσφαλέστατα καραδοκήσειν ἐνταῦθα τὰς τῶν

1 Ἀξωρίῳ Fischer, Ἀξώρῳ Wesseling: ἐν ναζίῳ RX, ἐν ξιφρῷ F.

2 For the death of Eurydice and Philip ep. chap. 11; and for their burial ep. Diyllus, FGrHist, 73. 1. By burying the
there might be no successor to the kingdom; but for 316 B.C. the present, since he wished to observe what the common people would say about the slaying of Olympias and since he had no news of Antigonus’ success, he placed Roxané and the child in custody, transferring them to the citadel of Amphipolis, in command of which he placed Glaucias, one of his most trusted henchmen. Also he took away the pages who, according to custom, were being brought up as companions of the boy, and he ordered that he should no longer have royal treatment but only such as was proper for any ordinary person of private station. After this, already conducting himself as a king in administering the affairs of the realm, he buried Eurydicè and Philip, the queen and king, and also Cynna, whom Alcetas had slain, in Aegae as was the royal custom. After honouring the dead with funeral games, he enrolled those of the Macedonians who were fit for military service, for he had decided to make a campaign into the Peloponnesus. While Cassander was engaged with these matters, Polypersonchon was being besieged in Azorius in Perrhaebia, but on hearing of the death of Olympias he finally, despairing of success in Macedonia, escaped from the city with a few followers. Leaving Thessaly and taking over the troops led by Aeacides, he withdrew into Aetolia, believing that he could wait there with greatest safety and observe the changes in the situa-

previous rulers, Cassander was, in effect, claiming the throne for himself (cp. W. W. Tarn in Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 482, and the importance attached to the burial of Alexander in Book 18. 28-29). Cynna was the mother of Eurydicè.

3 Azorius, or Azorus, was a town in northern Thessaly.

4 For Aeacides, king of the Molossians, cp. chap. 11. 2.
pragmatων μεταβολάς· καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν οἰκείως ἔχων πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ έθνος.

53. Κάσσανδρος δὲ συστησάμενος ἱκανήν δύναμιν ἀνέξευξεν ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας, σπεύδων Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πολυπέρχοντος ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου· οὕτως γὰρ ἦν λοιπὸς μετὰ δυνάμεως τῶν ἀντιπρασσόντων καὶ κατειλήφη κόλπες τε καὶ τόπους ἐπικαίρους. τὴν μὲν οὖν Θεσσαλίαν ἀσφαλῶς διήλθεν, τὰς δὲ ἐν Πύλαιας παρόδους εὐφάντων ὑπ᾿ Ἀιτωλῶν φυλαττομένας μάγυς τούτων βιοσάμενος 2 παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ πανταχόθεν τοὺς διασωζόμενους τῶν Θηβαίων ἐνεχείρη κατοικίζειν τὰς Θῆβας, ὑπολαβὼν κάλλιστον ἔχειν καὶρὸν πόλιν διωνυσισμένην καὶ διὰ τὰς πράξεις καὶ διὰ τῶν παράδεισον περὶ αὐτῆς μύθους ἀναστήσαι καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐφέρειαν ταύτην 3 τιχεῖν ἀθανάτον δόξης. συμβεβήκε δὲ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην πλείστας καὶ μεγίστας κεχρησθαι μεταβολάς, οὐκ ὀλυγάκις ἀνάστατον γεγενημένην· περὶ δὲ 4 οὐκ ἀνοίκευον ἐν κεφαλαίοις εἰσείν. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμὸν Κάδμου κτίσαντος τὴν ἀπ᾿ αὐτοῦ προσαγορευθεῖσαν Καδμείαν συνήλθεν ἐπ᾿ αὐτὴν λαὸς ὡν τινὲς μὲν Σπαρτοὶ προσηγορευσαν διὰ τὸ πανταχόθεν συναχθῆναι, τινὲς δὲ Ἐνθα-


2 Cp. Book 4. 2. 1. The Cadmeia was the acropolis of Thebes.

3 All ancient authorities derive the name from σπείρων, "to sow" or "scatter," but with many different explanations. The Spartoi are, variously, men who had been scattered but were brought together by Cadmus, men sown 374
tion; for as it chanced he was on friendly terms with this people.

53. But Cassander, after assembling an adequate force, set out from Macedonia, desiring to drive Polyperephon's son Alexander from the Peloponnesus; for of those who opposed Cassander he alone was left with an army, and he had occupied strategically situated cities and districts. Cassander crossed Thessaly without loss, but when he found the pass at Thermopylae guarded by Aetolians, he with difficulty dislodged them and entered Boeotia. Summoning from all sides those of the Thebans who survived, he undertook to re-establish Thebes, for he assumed that this was a most excellent opportunity to set up once more a city that had been widely known both for its achievements and for the myths that had been handed down about it; and he supposed that by this benevolent act he would acquire undying fame. The fact is that this city has experienced many very great changes of fortune and has been destroyed on no few occasions; and it will not be out of place to recount here the chief events of its history. When, after the flood that occurred in the days of Deucalion, Cadmus built the Cadmeia, which was called after his name, there came together there with him a folk whom some call the Spartoi because they had been gathered together from all sides, and others the Thebagenes or scattered among the other Thebans, the children of Cadmus himself born of many different mothers, or the offspring of the dragon's teeth that had been sown by Cadmus. The last explanation is by far the commonest. Cp. scholium on Euripides, Phoenician Women, 670, and Türk in P.-W., Realencyklopädie, 3 (2nd series), 1538-1540. For the foundation legend in general cp. Apollodorus, 3. 4. 1 ff.

4 i.e. "Theban-born."
Diodorus of Sicily

γενὴ διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τῆς προειρημένης πόλεως ὧντα διὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ δια-5 σπαρῆναι. τοὺς οὖν τότε κατοικήσαντας ὤστερον 'Εγχελείς καταπολεμήσαντες εξέβαλον, ὅτε δὴ συν-εβή καὶ τοὺς περὶ Κάδμου εἰς Ἰλλυρίους ἐκπεσεῖν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ’ Ἀμφίονος καὶ Ζήθου κρατησάντων τοῦ τόπου καὶ τότε πρῶτον τὸ ἀστυ κτισάντων, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς φησιν

οἱ πρῶτοι Θῆβης ἔδωσε ἔκτισαν ἐπταπύλοιο.

τὸ δεύτερον οἱ κατοικήσαντες τὸν τόπον εξέπεσον κατελθόντος Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου καὶ κατα-
φυονήσαντος τῶν πραγμάτων διὰ τὴν γενομένην 6 τῶν Ἀμφίονε περὶ τὰ τέκνα συμφοράν. ἐξῆς δὲ τῶν ἀπογόνων τούτου βασιλεύνοντων καὶ τῆς ὅλης χώρας ἦδη Βουωτίας καλομένης ἀπὸ Βοιωτοῦ τοῦ Μελα-
νίσσης μὲν καὶ Ποσειδώνος νῦν, δυναστεύσαντος δὲ τῶν τόπων, τὸ πρῶτον ἐκπέπτουσιν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τῶν εἰς "Ἀργοὺς ἐπιγόνων ἐκπολιορκησάντων τὴν 7 πόλιν. τῶν δ’ ἐκπεσόντων οἱ διασωθέντες κατ-
έφυγον μὲν εἰς Ἀλάλκομενίαν καὶ τὸ Τιλφώσιον

1 Wesseling's conjecture, τῶν προσταξάντων, may be correct.

1 For Cadmus among the Encheleans, an Illyrian tribe, ep. Apollodorus, 3. 5. 4; Euripides, Bacchae, 1334. As king of these Encheleans, Cadmus led an army into Greece and sacked Delphi, but I find no other reference to a sack of Thebes by the Encheleans. According to Herodotus (5. 81), when the Thebans were driven from home by the Epigoni they took refuge with the Encheleans.

2 Odyssey, 11. 263. Amphion and Zethus, sons of Zeus and Antiopē, captured Thebes to avenge the cruel treatment accorded their mother by Lycur, king of Thebes, and his wife Dirce. They then built a wall for the city, the
because they were originally from Thebes but had been driven out and scattered by the flood. Be that as it may, these people then settled in the city but later the Encheleans defeated them in war and drove them out, at which time Cadmus and his followers also were driven to Illyria.¹ Later Amphion and Zethus became masters of the site and then built the lower city for the first time, as the poet says:

First by them was established Thebes of the seven gates.²

Then the inhabitants of the place were exiled a second time, for Polydorus, son of Cadmus, came back and was dissatisfied with the situation because of the misfortunes that had befallen Amphion in connection with his children.³ Next, when Polydorus’ own descendants were kings ⁴ and the whole country had already received the name Boeotia from Boeotus, who was the son of Melanippê and Poseidon and had been ruler of the region, the Thebans for the third time suffered exile, for the Epigoni from Argos took the city by siege.⁵ The survivors of those driven out took refuge in Alalcomenia and on Mount Tila-

stones being charmed into place by the lyre-playing of Amphion.

¹ i.e. the Niobides, slain by Apollo and Artemis to punish their mother Niobê, who had presumed to compare herself with Leto.

² Eteocles and Polyneices, sons of Oedipus, son of Laius, son of Labdacus, son of Polydorus. Polyneices, wrongfully excluded from a share in power by his brother, secured the aid of his father-in-law, Adrastus of Argos, in a vain effort to make good his return—the Seven Against Thebes. Cp. Book 4. 65.

⁵ A generation after the failure of the “Seven,” their descendants, the Epigoni or Late-born, were successful in their attack on Thebes, cp. Book 4. 66-67.
δρόσος, τῶν δὲ Ἀργείων ἀποχωρησάντων ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα κατὰ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον ἐκστρατευσάντων τῶν Θηβαίων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν οἱ καταλειψθέντες ἐξέπεσαν μετὰ τῶν 8 ἄλλων Βοιωτῶν ὑπὸ Πελαγῶν. οὕτω εἶλογοι δὲ μετὰ ταύτα περιπεσόντες συμπτρώμασι μόνοις μετὰ τετάρτην γενεὰν κατὰ τὸν γενόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν κοράκων χρήσιμον ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν καὶ τὰς Θήβας κατοίκησαν. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χρόνων διαμενοῦσις τῆς πόλεως ἐπ’ ἐτη σχέδον ὑκτακόσια καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν Θηβαίων τοῦ παρ’ αὐτῶν’ ἐθνος προστάτων, μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητησάντων Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου κατὰ κράτος ἐκπολιορκήσας κατέσκαψεν.

54. Εἰκοστὸς δ’ ἔτει οὔστερον Κάσιανδρος φιλοδοξήσαι βουλόμενος καὶ πείσας τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἀνέστησε τὴν πόλιν τοὺς διασωζόμενοι τῶν Θῆ-βαίων. συνεπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ πολλαί διὰ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἡτυχηκότας ἔλεον καὶ διὰ τὴν δόξαν τῆς πόλεως. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν γὰρ τὸ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ τείχους ἀνέστησαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ἄκο- δόμησαν κατὰ δύναμιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ χρήματα πρὸς τὰς κατεπευγούσας χρείας ἀπέστειλαν οὐ μόνον τῶν ἕκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σικελίας, ἔτι δ’ Ἑταλίας. Θηβαίοι μὲν οὖν τούτοις τὸν τρόπον ἐκομίσαντο τὴν πατρίδα.

1 αὐτῶν Post: αὐτῶν.
phosium, but after the Argives had departed they returned to their native city. After that, when the Thebans had gone to Asia for the Trojan War, those who were left behind were expelled along with the rest of the Boeotians by Pelasgians. Thereafter they met with many misfortunes, and only with difficulty in the fourth generation according to the prophecy of the ravens did they return to Boeotia and re-establish Thebes. From that time the city persisted for nearly eight hundred years, the Thebans at first becoming the leaders of their own people and later disputing for the leadership of the Greeks, until Alexander, son of Philip, captured the city by storm and destroyed it.

In the twentieth year thereafter Cassander in his desire for glory, after first obtaining the consent of the Boeotians, rebuilt the city for those of the Thebans who survived. Many of the Greek cities shared in the resettlement both because of their pity for the unfortunate and because of the glory of the city. The Athenians, for example, rebuilt the greater part of the wall, and of the other Greeks, not alone from Greece itself but from Sicily and Italy as well, some erected buildings to the extent of their ability, and others sent money for the pressing needs. In this way the Thebans recovered their city.

successful invasion of Doris, where some of them settled, the rest returning to Thebes; but Herodotus (5. 61) has these Theban fugitives take refuge among the Encheleans in Illyria (cp. § 5 above).

Cp. Strabo, 9. 2. 25, 29; Thucydides, 1. 12. 3.

The scholiast on Aristophanes, Clouds, 133, gives another version: on being driven from home by Thracians, the Thebans were told to settle where they saw a white raven.

For the Theban hegemony of Greece cp. Book 15. 25-94 passim.
Diodorus of Sicily

Κάσανδρος δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναζεύξας ἐπὶ Πελοποννησοῦ καὶ καταλαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πολυπέρχοντος διεληφότα τὸν Ἰσθμὸν φυλακαῖς παρῆλθεν εἰς Μέγαρα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ κατασκευάσας σχέδια ἐπὶ μὲν τούτων τοὺς ἐλέφαντας διεβίβασεν εἰς Ἔπιδαιρον, ἐν δὲ πλοίοις τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν παρελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων πόλιν ταύτην μὲν ἦν ἀγάκειν ἀποστάσας τῆς Ἀλέξανδρον συμ-

μαχίας αὐτῷ προσθέσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὰς ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ πόλεις προσηγάγετο πλὴν Ἰθώμης καὶ τῆς Ἑρμονίδας δι’ ὁμολογίας παρέλαβεν. τοῦ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρου μὴ συγκαταβαίνοντος εἰς παράταξιν ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τὸν ἱσθμὸν πρὸς Geraniaς στρατιω-

τας δισχιλίους καὶ στρατηγὸν Μόλυκκον ἐπανήλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν.

55. Τοῦ δ’ ἑτούς τούτων διεληφθῶτος Ἀθήνης μὲν ἦρχε Πραξίβουλος, ἐν Ὀλύμπῃ δὲ κατέστησαν ὑπατοὶ Ναύτος Σπόριος καὶ Μάρκος Πόπλιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀντίγονος τῆς μὲν Σουσίας ἀπέ-

λυπε σατράπην Ἀσπίσαν, ἴνα τῶν ἐγχωρίων, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ χρήματα πάντα διαγγέλεις κατακομίζειν ἐπὶ τὰλασσαν, ἀμάξας καὶ καμήλους παρεσκευάζατο καὶ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἔχων ταύτα προῆγεν ἐπὶ 2 τῆς Βασσαλώνιας. ἐν ἡμέραις δ’ εἰκοσὶ καὶ δυοῖν αὐτοῦ κατανήμασας εἰς Βασσαλώνα Σέλευκος δ’ τῆς χώρας σατράπης δωρεάν τε βασιλικαῖς ἐπίμη-

σε τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀπάσαν εἰςτὶ-

3 ἀσεν. τοῦ δ’ Ἀντίγονου λόγους ἀπαιτοῦντος τῶν

1 Gerania is the mountain range between Megara and

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BOOK XIX. 54. 3—55. 3

To return to Cassander, he set out with his army 316 B.C. for the Peloponnesus, but on finding that Alexander, son of Polyperchon, had blocked the Isthmus with guards, he turned aside to Megara. There he constructed barges upon which he transported the elephants to Epidaurus, taking the rest of the army in boats. Coming to the city of the Argives, he forced it to abandon its alliance with Alexander and to join him, after which he won over the cities of Messenia except Ithome, and gained Hermionis through negotiation. As Alexander, however, did not come out to fight, he left at the end of the Isthmus toward Gerania 1 two thousand soldiers commanded by Molyccus and returned to Macedonia.

55. When this year had passed, Praxibulus was archon at Athens and in Rome Nautilus Spurius and Marcus Poplius were consuls. 2 While these held office Antigonus left Aspisas, a native, as satrap of Susianæ, 3 while he himself, having decided to convey all the money to the sea, prepared waggons and camels and, taking the treasure, set out for Babylonia with the army. In twenty-two days he arrived in Babylon, and Seleucus, the satrap of the country, honoured him with gifts suitable for a king and feasted the whole army. When Antigonus, however, demanded

Corinth with passes of some military importance (Book 11. 80. 1).

2 Praxibulus was archon in 315/14. Spurius Nautilus Rutilus and M. Popilius Laenas were consuls in 316 (Livy, 9. 21. 1; Fasti Capitolini for 316). The events described in this chapter and the next still belong to the year 316 B.C. (Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, 4. 2. 240).

3 Replacing an Antigenes (Book 18. 39. 6) who is probably not to be identified with the commander of the Silver Shields. Cp. Appian, Syrian History, 53, for the quarrel between Antigonus and Seleucus.
προσόδων οὐκ ἔφησεν ὄθειλεν ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς χώρας ὑπέχειν εὐθύνας, ἣν Μακεδόνες αὐτῷ δεδώκασι διὰ τὰς γεγενημένας ἐξ αὐτοῦ χρείας.

4 Ἀλεξάνδρου ζώντος. τῆς δὲ διαφορᾶς καθ’ ἕμεραν αὐξομένης ὁ Σέλευκος ἀναλογιζόμενος τὰ Πίθωνι συμβάντα περιδεῖς ἣν μὴ ποτε προφάσεως λαβόμενος ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἄνελεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρήσῃ εἴσκει γάρ τοὺς ἐν ἄξιόμασι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὄντας καὶ δυναμένους πραγμάτων ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι

5 πάντας σπεύδειν ἐκ ποδῶν ἀπαλλάσσεσι. ταῦτ’ οὖν εὐλαβθεῖσα ἤπειρήσην μετὰ πεντήκοντ’ ἱππεῶν, διανοοούμενος εἰς Λίγυπτον ἀποχωρεῖν πρὸς Πτολεμαίον, διεβέβητο γάρ ἡ τούτου χρηστότητα καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἐκτενέσει καὶ

6 φιλάνθρωπον. ὁ δ’ Ἀντίγονος ἀκούσας περικατά ἡν ἐπὶ τῶν δοκεῶν αὐτὸς μὲν μὴ συνηγαγάσθαι προσενεγκεῖν τὰς χείρας ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ καὶ συνηγαγομένῳ προθύμως, τὸν Σέλευκον δ’ αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ καταγόντα φυγὴν παραδεδωκέναι τὴν σα-

7 τραπείαν χωρὶς ἀγώνων καὶ κινδύων. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα προσελθόντων αὐτῷ τῶν Χαλδαίων καὶ προληπτῶν ὡς, εἰ τὸν Σέλευκον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀφῆσε, συμβηκεῖ τῇ τ’ Ἀσιᾶν πᾶσαν ὑποχείριον γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἐκείνων παρατάξει καταστρέψειν τῶν βίων, μεταμεληθεῖς τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐξέσπειμε τοὺς διώκοντας· οἱ μέχρι τινὸς ἐπακολουθῆσαντες ἐπανήλθον ἀπρακτοὶ.

8 ὁ δ’ Ἀντίγονος ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις καταφρονεῖν εἰσθῶς τῶν τοιούτων προρρήσεων οὐ μετρίως ἐκκινήθη τότε,

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1 He had been made satrap of Babylonia by Antipater at Triparadeisus (Book 18. 39. 6).

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an accounting for the revenues, Seleucus answered 316 B.C. that he was not bound to undergo a public investigation of his administration of this country which the Macedonians had given him in recognition of his services rendered while Alexander was alive. As the dispute grew more serious each day, Seleucus, reasoning from the fate of Pithon, feared that Antigonus would some day seize a pretext and undertake to destroy him; for Antigonus seemed eager to put out of the way all of his associates who were of high rank and were capable of claiming a share in the government. Therefore to avoid this, he escaped with fifty horsemen, intending to retire into Egypt to Ptolemy; for word had spread abroad of Ptolemy's kindness and of his cordiality and friendliness toward those who fled to him. When Antigonus learned of the flight, he was pleased, since it seemed that he himself had been spared the necessity of laying violent hands upon a man who had been his friend and had actively co-operated with him, and that Seleucus, by condemning himself to exile, had surrendered his satrapy without struggle or danger. But then the Chaldean astrologers came to him and foretold that if ever he let Seleucus escape from his hands, the consequence would be that all Asia would become subject to Seleucus, and that Antigonus himself would lose his life in a battle against him. At this, Antigonus repented his former course and sent men to pursue Seleucus, but they, after tracking him for a certain distance, returned with their mission unaccomplished. Although Antigonus was accustomed to despise prophecies of this kind on other occasions, he was not a little troubled at this time, being dis-

\[\text{Cp. chap. 46. 1-4.}\]
καταπλαγείς τὸ ἀξίωμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν· μεγάλη γάρ τις ἐμπειρία περὶ τούτους εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ παρα-
τήρησις τῶν ἀστρων1 ἀκριβεστάτη. ἀποφαίνονται
γάρ πολλὰς μυριάδας ἑτῶν ὑπάρχειν ἡς οὐ παρ'
αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἡ περὶ ταῦτα σπουδή· δοκοῦσι δὲ καὶ
'Αλεξάνδρῳ προειπεῖν ὅτι παρελθὼν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα
9 τελευτῆσει. ὁμοίως δὲ τῇ περὶ 'Αλεξάνδρου προ-
ρήσει συνέβη καὶ τῇ περὶ2 Σελεύκου τελεσθήσαι
κατὰ τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἀποφάσεις· περὶ ἢς
τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐροῦμεν, ὅταν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκείους
χρόνους ἐπιβαλλόμεθα.

56. 'Ο δὲ οὖν Σελεύκος διασώθης εἰς τὴν Ἀἰγυ-
πον φιλανθρωπίας τε πάσης ἐτύχχανε παρὰ Πτολε-
μαίῳ καὶ κατηγορίαν ἐποιεῖτο πικρὰν 'Ἀντιγόνου,
λέγων ὅτι διέγνωκεν3 πάντας τους ἐν ἄξιωμασι
ἀντα καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς 'Αλεξάνδρῳ συνεστρατευ-
κότας ἑκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῶν σαστρατευόντων καὶ τούτων
ἀποδείξεις ἐφερε τῇ το Πελώνων ἀναίρεσι καὶ τῇ
Πευκέστου τῆς Περσίδος ἀφαίρεσι καὶ τὰ περὶ
2 αὐτῶν συμβάντα· πάντας γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἰδικηκότας,
ἀλλὰ καὶ χρείας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ
παρεσχέμενος ἀρετῆς ὑπομεμενήκειν πρόστυμον.
διεξῆγε δὲ καὶ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν δυνάμεων
καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων, ἐτὶ δὲ τὰς προσφά-
tους εὐτυχίας, εὗ δὲν ὑπεδείκνυεν ὑπερήφανον γε-
γενημένον καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσι περιελήφθω πᾶσαν τὴν
3 Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν. διὰ δὲ τοιούτων λόγων
προτρεψάμενος τὸν Πτολεμαίον ἐτοιμάζεσθαι τὰ

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1 καὶ παρατήρησις τῶν ἀστρων Wurm, επ. Books 1. 28. 1,
2. 30. 1: καὶ παρὰ τούτῳ ἡ τήρησις τῶν ἀστρων.
2 περὶ added by Dindorf.
3 διέγνωκεν Hertlein: διεγνώκει.
turbed by the reputation of the men, for they are 316 B.C. reputed to possess a great deal of experience and to make most exact observations of the stars. Indeed they declare that for many myriads of years the study of these matters has been pursued among them. It is also believed that they foretold to Alexander that, if he entered Babylon, he would die.\textsuperscript{1} And just as was the case with the prophecy about Alexander, it came to pass that this prophecy in regard to Seleucus was fulfilled according to the assertion of these men. Of this we shall speak in detail when we come to the proper period.\textsuperscript{2}

56. Seleucus, arriving safely in Egypt, met with nothing but kindness from Ptolemy. He bitterly accused Antigonus, saying that Antigonus had determined to remove from their satrapies all who were men of rank and in particular those who had served under Alexander; as examples of this he mentioned the slaying of Pithon,\textsuperscript{3} the removal of Peucetides from Persia,\textsuperscript{4} and his own experiences; for all of these men, who were guiltless of wrongdoing and had even performed great services out of friendship, had been patiently awaiting a reward for virtue. He reviewed also the magnitude of Antigonus' armed forces, his vast wealth, and his recent successes, and went on to intimate that in consequence he had become arrogant and had encompassed in his ambitious plans the entire kingdom of the Macedonians. When by such arguments he had induced Ptolemy to prepare for

\textsuperscript{1} Cp. Book 17. 112. 2.
\textsuperscript{2} Book 21, in which Diodorus narrated the rise of Seleucus, is extant only in fragments.
\textsuperscript{3} Cp. chap. 46. 1-4.
\textsuperscript{4} Cp. chap. 48. 5.
πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέπεμψε τινὰς τῶν φίλων εἰς τὴν Ἑυρώπην, προστάξας πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς ὁμοίους λόγους ἐχθροὺς Ἀντιγόνου καταστήσαντος Κάσανδρόν τε καὶ Δυσίμαχον. δὲν ταχὺ τὸ κελευθέν συντελεσάντων ἀρχὴ διαφορᾶς ἐφύετο καὶ μεγάλων πολέμων. ὁ δ’ Ἀντίγονος ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων συλλογισμένος τὴν Σελεύκου προαίρεσιν ἐξέπεμψε προσβευτὰς πρὸς τε Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Δυσίμαχον καὶ Κάσανδρον, ἀξίων διαφυλάσσειν τὴν προὐπάρχουσαν φιλίαν τῆς δὲ Βαβυλωνίας καταστήσαις σατράπην Πίθιωνα τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδίκης καταβεβηκότα, μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀνέξευξεν, ἐπὶ τῆς Κηλικίας τὴν πορείαν ποιοῦμενος. 5 ὁς δ’ εἰς Μάλου παρεγένετο, διεμέρισε τὴν δύναμιν εἰς παραχεμασίαν μετὰ δύσων Ἡρώων. παρέλαβε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Κυνίδους ἱρίτατα, τάλαντα μύρια, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἔσπευτον ἐκ τῶν προσόδων αὐτῷ τῶν κατ’ ἐναντίον τάλαντα μύρια χίλια. διόπερ συνέβαινεν αὐτὸν φοβερὸν εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων.

57. Προάγοντος δ’ εἰς τὴν ἀνω Συρίαν Ἀντιγόνου παρεγένοντο πρέσβεις παρὰ τε Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Δυσίμαχον καὶ Κασάνδρον. οὕτω δ’ εἰσαχθέντες εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἥξιον Καππαδοκίαν μὲν καὶ Λυκίαν τούτων καὶ Κασάνδρως δοθῆναι, Φρυγίαν δὲ τὴν ἐφ’ Ἐλλησπόντῳ Ασσυρία, Συρίαν δὲ πᾶσαν Πτολεμαίαν, Ἥβελων Σελεύκους, τῶν δὲ θησαυρῶν, οὕς παρελαβεν μετὰ τὴν πρὸς Εὐμενῆ μάχην, ποιήσασθαι μερισμόν καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς κε-

1 ἔσπευτον Fischer in apparatus: ἐσπεύσα.  
2 Tarn (Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 484) suggests Κηλικία.  
3 Wesseling reads Ἀσσυρία, with approval of Fischer, ep. Droysen, Geschichte des Hellenismus (ed. 2), 2. 2. 6.  
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war, he sent certain of his friends to Europe, directing them to try by similar arguments to convert Cassander and Lysimachus into enemies of Antigonus. They quickly carried out their instructions, and the seed of a quarrel and of great wars began to grow. But Antigonus, who had deduced by reasoning from probabilities what course of action Seleucus was following, sent envoys to Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, urging them to maintain the existing friendship. He next established as satrap of Babylonia that Pithon who had come from India, and then, setting out with his army, he marched toward Cilicia. He arrived at Malus and, after the setting of Orion, divided the army for passing the winter. He also took the money at Cyinda, which amounted to ten thousand talents. Apart from this there fell to him from the annual revenue eleven thousand talents. As a result he was a formidable antagonist both because of the size of his armies and because of the amount of his wealth.

57. While Antigonus was going into upper Syria, envoys arrived from Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander. When they had been brought into the council, they demanded that Cappadocia and Lycia be given to Cassander, Hellespontine Phrygia to Lysimachus, all Syria to Ptolemy, and Babylonia to Seleucus, and that Antigonus should divide the treasures that he had captured after the battle with

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1 i.e. Pithon, the son of Agenor, who had been made satrap of India by Antipater (Book 18. 39. 6).
2 Malus or Mallus, a city of Cilicia on the Pyramus River, exact situation unknown, cp. Strabo, 14. 5. 16.
3 In November, 316.
5 But cp. critical note.
κοινωνηκέναι τοῦ πολέμου. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν τούτων πουήσαι, συστάντες ἁπαντες ἐφασαν πολεμήσειν 2 αὐτῷ. τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου τραχύτερον ἀποκρινα-
μένου καὶ τὰ πρὸς πόλεμον ἐπέπτως παρασκευά-
ζθαι συνέβη τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπράκτους ἐπανελθεῖν.
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτῃ οὶ μὲν περὶ Πτολεμαίων καὶ Λυσι-
μαχον, ἔτι δὲ Κάσανδρον συμμαχίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
ποιησάμενοι δυνάμεις τε συνήγων καὶ παρασκευάς
ὀπλῶν τε καὶ βελῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν χρησίμων
3 ἐποίουν. Ἀντιγόνος δὲ ὅρων ἐφ᾽ ἐαυτὸν συνεστη-
κότας πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους τοὺς ἀξιόμασιν ἄνδρας
καὶ συλλογιζόμενος τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ φυομένου πολέ-
μου τὰ τ᾽ ἔθην καὶ πόλεις καὶ δυνάμεις προσ-
4 εκαλεῖτο εἰς συμμαχίαν. Ἀγησίλαον μὲν οὖν πρὸς
τοὺς ἐν Κύπρῳ βασιλεῖς, εἰς δὲ Ρόδον Ἰδομε-
νέα καὶ Μοσχίων, Πτολεμαίου δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν
μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς Καππαδοκίαν ἀπέστειλεν, ἦν
λύσῃ μὲν Ἀμισσοῦ τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ
Κασάνδρου πεμφθέντας εἰς Καππαδοκίαν ἐκβάλῃ
πάντας, πρὸς δὲ τούτους ὅπως παραγενόμενοι εἰς
'Ελλήσποντον ἐφεδρεύῃ τοῖς περὶ Κάσανδρον, ἀν
5 ἐπιχειρη ἄδραίην ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης. Ἀριστο-
δημος δὲ τὸν Μιλήσιον εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐξεπεμ-
ήνευν ἔχοντα χάμα τάλαντα: τούτῳ δὲ συνετέτακτο
συνθέσθαι φιλιάν πρὸς 'Αλέξανδρον καὶ Πολυ-
πέρχοντα καὶ ξενολογήσαντα τοὺς ἰκανούς δια-
pολεμεῖν Κασάνδρῳ. αὐτὸς δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀσίαν

1 πόλεμον Dindorf: Πτολεμαίων.
2 Fischer in apparatus suggests Πολεμαίων, cp. IO, 23. 1. 469,
Beloch, Griechische Geschichte2, 4. 1. 124, note 3.

Eumenes, since they too had had a share in the war. 315 B.C. They said that if he did none of these things, they would all join in waging war on him. Antigonus answered rather harshly and bade them make ready for war, with the result that the envoys went away with their mission unaccomplished. At this Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, after making a mutual alliance, gathered their forces and prepared stocks of arms, missiles, and the other needful things. But now that Antigonus saw that many men of great repute had combined against him, and computed the extent of the war that was springing up, he summoned the nations, cities, and rulers to join his alliance. He sent Agesilaus to the kings in Cyprus, Idomeneus and Moschion to Rhodes, and his own nephew Ptolemy with an army to Cappadocia to raise the siege of Amisus, to drive out all who had been sent by Cassander into Cappadocia, and finally to take a position on the Hellespont and lie in wait for Cassander if he should try to cross over from Europe. He sent Aristodemus of Miletus to the Peloponnesus with a thousand talents, instructing him to establish friendship with Alexander and Polyaenus and, after raising an adequate force of mercenaries, to carry on the war against Cassander. He himself established at intervals throughout all that part of
δὴ ὁ κύριος διέλαβε πυρσοῖς καὶ βυβλιαφόροις,
δὲ ὅν ὁξέως ἤμελλεν ὑπηρετεῖσθαι πάντα.

58. Ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενόμενος ἀνέξευξεν ἐπὶ
Φωνίκην, σπεύδων ναυτικὴν δύναμιν συντήσασθαι·
συνέβαιν γὰρ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους τὸτε θαλασσο-
κρατεῖν ναῦς πολλὰς ἔχοντας, αὐτῷ δὲ τὸ παρα-
παν οὐδ' ἄλλας ἦν· στρατοπεδεύσας δὲ ἐν
Παλαιτύρῳ τῆς Φωνίκης καὶ πολιορκήσας δια-
νοούμενος τὴν Τύρον μετεπέμπετο τοὺς βασιλεῖς
τῶν Φωνίκων καὶ τοὺς ὑπάρχους τῆς Συρίας.
καὶ τοὺς μὲν βασιλεῖς προετρέψατο συνεπλαβέσθαι
ναυτηγίας, ἐπειδὴ τὰς ναῦς τὰς ἐκ Φωνίκης ἀπάσας
μετὰ τῶν πληρωμάτων Πτολεμαίως εἶχεν ἐν Λιγύ-
πτων· τοῖς δὲ ὑπάρχοις ἐκέλευσεν ἐτοιμάσαί κατὰ
τάχος πυρῶν μὲν μεδόμων μυρίδας τετρακισίως
πεντήκοντα, τοσοῦτο γὰρ εἰς τὸν ἐναυτὸν ἐγώντεο
δαπάνημα. αὐτὸς δὲ πανταχόθεν ἄθροίσας ὑλοτό-
μους καὶ πρίστας, ἔτι δὲ ναυτηγίους κατεκόμπες τὴν
ὑλὴν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου, τεμνόντων μὲν
αὐτῇ καὶ πριζόντων ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισθιλίων, κατα-
κομβοῦτων δὲ ξευγῶν χιλίων. τὸ δὲ ὠρος τούτῳ
παρῆκε μὲν παρὰ τῇ Ἰρίπολι καὶ Βυβλίων, ἔτι
δὲ Σιδωνίαν, πλῆρες δὲ ἐστὶ ξύλων κεδρίνων καὶ
κυπαρισσίων θαυμαστῶν τὸ τε κάλλος καὶ μέγε-
θος. ναυτηγίαι δὲ ἀπέδειξε τρία μὲν κατὰ τὴν
Φωνίκην, ἐν τῇ Ἰρίπολι καὶ Βυβλίῳ καὶ Σιδωνίᾳ,
Asia of which he was master a system of fire-signals and dispatch-carriers, by means of which he expected to have quick service in all his business.  

58. After attending to these matters, Antigonus set out for Phoenicia, hastening to organize a naval force; for it so happened that his enemies then ruled the sea with many ships, but that he had, altogether, not even a few. Camping at Old Tyre in Phoenicia and intending to besiege Tyre, he called together the kings of the Phoenicians and the viceroy of Syria. He instructed the kings to assist him in building ships, since Ptolemy was holding in Egypt all the ships from Phoenicia with their crews. He ordered the viceroy to prepare quickly four and a half million measures of wheat ... for such was the annual consumption. He himself collected wood cutters, sawyers, and shipwrights from all sides, and carried wood to the sea from Lebanon. There were eight thousand men employed in cutting and sawing the timber and one thousand pair of draught animals in transporting it. This mountain range extends along the territory of Tripolis, Byblus, and Sidon, and is covered with cedar and cypress trees of wonderful beauty and size. He established three shipyards in Phoenicia—at Tripolis, Byblus, and Sidon—and a parts of the empire to Susa and Ecbatana (Aristotle, De Mundo, 398 b 30-35). A different system is described in chap. 17. 7.

2 Old Tyre, the portion of the city situated on the mainland, had been destroyed by Nebuchadrezzar during his long siege of the island citadel. In occupying Old Tyre before attempting the siege of the island, Antigonus was following the example of Alexander (Book 17. 40. 5).

3 About 3,375,000 bushels. It is probable that mention of a quantity of barley, needed for feeding the horses, has been lost from the text.
τέταρτον δὲ περὶ Κιλίκιαν, κομιζομένης τῆς ὥλης δὲ καὶ περὶ Ῥόδου ἄλλος, συγχωρήσαντος τοῦ δήμου κατασκευάζειν ναός ἀπὸ τῆς ὥλης τῆς εἰσκομιζομένης. τοῦ δ' Ἀντιγόνου περὶ ταύτα ὅντος καὶ πλησίον τῆς θαλάσσης κατεστρατοπεδευκότος ἦκεν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου Σέλευκος μετὰ νεῶν ἐκατὸν κεκοσμημένων βασιλικῶς καὶ πλεούσων ἰκανῶς. ποιομένου δ' αὐτοῦ τὸν παράπλοιον παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν στρατοπεδεύσεως καταπεφρονηκότως οἱ τε ἐκ τῶν συμμαχῶν πόλεως καὶ πάντες οἱ κοινοπραγούντες τοῖς περὶ Ἀντίγονον ἀθυμοῖς καθ' ἑκατέρας οἰκείων πρόδηλον γὰρ ἤν ὅτι θαλασσοκρατοῦντες οἱ πολέμωι πορθήσοντο τοὺς τοῖς ἐναντίοις κοινοπραγοφθέντας ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Ἀντίγονον φιλίας. ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος τούτους μὲν παρεκάλει θαρρεῖν, διαβεβαιώμενος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ θερίᾳ ἀναπλευσθῆναι ναυσὶ πεντακοσίαις.

59. "Ὅντος δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ ταύτα παρῆν ἀγησίλαος ὁ περιφέρει ἐλς Κύπρον πρεσβευτῆς, ἀναγγέλλων ἵνα Νικοκρέων μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ κράτιστοι βασιλεῖς πρὸς Πτολεμαίον πεποίηται συμμαχίαν, ὁ δὲ Κιτιές καὶ Λατύδιος, ἔτι δὲ Μαριεύς καὶ Κερνύτης τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν 2 συννέθεθενται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταύτα τρισχίλιον μὲν στρατιώτας καὶ στρατηγὸν Ἀνδρόνικον κατέλυσεν ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναζεύξας τὴν τ' Ἰόππην καὶ Γάζαν ἀπειθούσας κατὰ κράτος ἐλλε καὶ τοὺς μὲν καταληφθέντας

1 ἀπαλλευεῖσθαι Hertlein: ἀπελεύσεσθαι R, πλευσθαῖ X, διελεύσθαι Γ.
2 Μαριεύς Cronovius: Μάριος, cp. chap. 62. 6 (Μανέων R, Μανεών X), 79. 4 (Μανέως).
fourth in Cilicia, the timber for which was brought 315 B.C. from Mount Taurus. There was also another in Rhodes, where the state agreed to make ships from imported timber. While Antigonus was busy with these matters and after he had established his camp near the sea, Seleucus arrived from Egypt with a hundred ships, which were royally equipped and which sailed excellently. As he sailed contemptuously along past the very camp, men from the allied cities and all who were co-operating with Antigonus were downhearted; for it was very clear that, since the enemy dominated the sea, they would plunder the lands of those who aided their opponents out of friendship for Antigonus. Antigonus, however, bade them be of good courage, affirming that in that very summer he would take the sea with five hundred vessels.

59. While Antigonus was thus engaged, Agesilaüs, the envoy whom he had sent to Cyprus, arrived with the information that Nicoercon \(^1\) and the most powerful of the other kings had made an alliance with Ptolemy, but that the kings of Cition, Lapithus, Marion, and Ceryneia had concluded a treaty of friendship with himself. On learning this, Antigonus left three thousand soldiers under Andronicus to carry on the siege, but he himself set out with the army and took by storm Joppa and Gaza, cities that had refused obedience. The soldiers of Ptolemy

\(^1\) Nicoercon, king of Cyprian Salamis, had made an alliance with Ptolemy in 321 (Arrian, \textit{FG\it{r}H}, 156. 10. 6), and later governed the whole island for the Egyptian king (chap. 79. 5).
Πτολεμαίου στρατιώτας ἐπιδιείλεν εἰς τὰς ἰδίας τάξεις, εἰς δὲ τὰς πόλεις παρεισήγαγε φρουράν τὴν 2 ἀναγκάσουσαν πειθαρχεῖν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὴν πρὸς Παλαιτύρῳ στρατο- 3 πεδεῖαν παρεσκευάζετο τὰ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν.
        'Επὶ δὲ τῶν καρφῶν τούτων Ἀριστότος ὁ πιστευ- 4 θεὶς ὑπὸ Εὔμενοῦ τῶν ἄστον τῶν Κρατεροῦ παρ- εδωκεν εἰς ταφὴν αὐτὰ Φίλα τῇ πρὸτερον μὲν 5 Κρατερῷ συνοικοῦσθη, τότε δὲ Δημήτριῳ τῷ 'Αντι- 
4 γόνῳ. αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ γυνὴ συνέει δοκεῖ διεννυχέναι 6 τοὺς τε γὰρ παραχώδεις τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ 7 κατέπανεν ἄρμοζόντως πολιτευομένη πρὸς ἐκαστὸν, 8 τάς τε ἀδελφὰς καὶ θυγατέρας τῶν ἀπόρων ἐξ- 9 εἴδου τοὺς ἱδίους δαπανήμασι, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν 10 διαβολαῖς περιπτωτῶν μὴ δικαίως ἀπῆλλασσε 11 τῶν κυριῶν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ καταρρίπτον τῶν 12 πατέρα αὐτῆς, ὅσον ομοίως γεγονέναι φρονεμότατος 13 τῶν ἐν δυναστείαις γεγονότων κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν 14 ἥλικιαν, κόρης οὕτως ἔτι τῆς Φίλαις συμβουλεύσε- 15 εθαν πρὸς ταύτην περὶ τῶν μεγίστων. μηνύσει δὲ 16 ἀκριβεστέρον τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἱδίος πρῳόν ο λόγος 17 καὶ τα πράγματα λαμβάνοντα μεταβολὴν καὶ κρίσιν 18 ἐσχάτην τῆς περὶ Δημήτριον βασιλείας.
19 Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀντίγονον καὶ Φίλαν τὴν Δη- 20 μήτριον γυναῖκα τοιαύτῃ ἦν.
21 Τῶν δὲ πεμφθέντων ὑπὸ Ἀντίγονον στρατη- 22 γῶν Ἀριστόδημος μὲν πλεύσας εἰς τὴν Λακωνίκην 23 καὶ λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἐξουσίαν ξενο- 24 λογεῖν, στρατιώτας ἤθρουσεν ὅκτακαρχίλους ἐκ τῆς 25 Πελοποννήσου. ἐντυχών δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Πολυ- 26
whom he captured he distributed among his own ranks, but he placed in each city a garrison to force the inhabitants to obey him. He himself then went back to the camp at Old Tyre and made preparations for the siege.

At this time Ariston, to whose care the bones of Craterus had been entrusted by Eumenes, gave them for burial to Phila, who had formerly been the wife of Craterus, but now was married to Demetrius, the son of Antigonus. This woman seems to have been of exceptional sagacity; for example, she would quell the trouble-makers in the camp by dealing with each individual in a manner appropriate to his case, she would arrange marriages at her own expense for the sisters and daughters of the poor, and she would free from jeopardy many who had been trapped by false accusations. It is even said that her father Antipater, who is reputed to have been the wisest of the rulers of his own time, used to consult with Phila about the most important matters when she was still a child. But the character of the woman will be more clearly revealed by my narrative as it progresses and by the events that brought change and a final crisis to the reign of Demetrius.²

This was the situation of the affairs of Antigonus and of Phila, the wife of Demetrius.

60. Of the generals who had been sent out by Antigonus, Aristodemus sailed to Laconia and, on receiving permission from the Spartans to recruit mercenaries, enrolled eight thousand soldiers from the Peloponnesus. Meeting Alexander and Poly-

² The portion of the History referred to is lost.
³ Cp. chap. 57. 4-5.
πέρχοντι φιλίαν συνέθετο πρὸς αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ ᾿Αντιγόνου καὶ Πολυπέρχοντα μὲν στρατηγῶν ἀπέδειξε τῆς Πελοποννήσου, τὸν δὲ ᾿Αλέξανδρον ἕπεισεν εἰς τὴν ᾿Ασίαν πλεῦσαι πρὸς ᾿Αντίγονον. ὁ δὲ ἔτερος τῶν στρατηγῶν Πτολεμαῖος πορευθεῖς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Καππαδοκίαν καὶ καταλαβὼν ᾿Αμισσοῦν πολιορκουμένην ὑπ᾿ ᾿Ασκληπιοδότου τοῦ Κασάνδρου στρατηγοῦ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐκ τῶν κυδώνων ἔρρυσαι, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τῶν ᾿Ασκληπιοδότου ὑποσπόνθων ἀφεῖς ἀνεκτήσατο τὴν σαταρπείαν.

3 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πορευθεῖς διὰ Βίβλωνας καὶ Ζηβύτην τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Βιβλώνων καταλαβὼν πολιορκοῦντα τὴν τε τῶν ᾿Αστακηνῶν καὶ Χαλκηδονίων πόλιν συνιστάκασε λύσαι τὴν πολιορκίαν. ποιησάμενος δὲ συμμαχίαν πρὸς τὰς πόλεις ταῦτας καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ζηβύτην ἔτι δὲ λαβὼν ὀμήρους, προῆγεν ἕπι ᾿Ιωνίας καὶ Λυδίας· ἐγεγράφει γὰρ ᾿Αντίγονος αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν τῇ παραλίῳ κατὰ τάχος, ὡς τοῦ 4 Σελεύκου τὸν πλοῖν ἐνταῦθα ποιησομένου. ὥς δὲ ποθὸν ἦκε πλησίον τῶν προειρημένων τόπων, Σελευκος ἔτυχε μὲν πολιορκῶν ᾿Ερυθρᾶς, πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν πλησίον ὀδηγαν ἀπέπλευσεν ἀπρακτος.

61. ᾿Αντίγονος δὲ παραγεγομένου πρὸς αὐτὸν ᾿Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πολυπέρχοντος πρὸς μὲν τοῦτον συνέθετο φιλίαν, αὐτός δὲ συναγάγων τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν παρεπιδημόντων κοινὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατηγόρησε Κασάνδρου, προφερόμενος τὴν τὲ ῾Ολυμπιάδος ἀναίρεσιν καὶ τὰ συμβάντα περὶ 2 ῾Ρωξάνην καὶ τὸν βασιλέα. πρὸς δὲ τούτου ἐλεγεν

Cp. chap. 57. 4.
perchon, he established friendship between them and 315 B.C. Antigonus. He appointed Polycperchon general of the Peloponnesus, and he persuaded Alexander to sail to Antigonus in Asia. The other general, Ptolemy, proceeded with his army to Cappadocia where he found Amisus under siege by Aselepiodorus, a general of Cassander. He delivered the city from danger and recovered the satrapy after dismissing Aselepiodorus and his men under a truce. Thereafter advancing through Bithynia and finding Zibytes, the king of the Bithynians, laying siege to the city of the Astaeonians¹ and the Chalcedonians, he forced him to abandon the siege. After making alliances with these cities and with Zibytes and also taking hostages from them, he proceeded toward Ionia and Lydia; for Antigonus had written ordering him to go quickly to the support of the coast, since Seleucus was about to make a naval expedition into that region. It so happened that, as he finally drew near to this area, Seleucus was laying siege to Erythrae,² but when he heard that the hostile force was near, he sailed away with nothing accomplished.

61. Antigonus, after Polycperchon’s son Alexander had come to him, made a pact of friendship with him, and then, calling a general assembly of the soldiers and of the aliens who were dwelling there,³ laid charges against Cassander, bringing forward the murder of Olympias and the treatment of Roxanë and the king.⁴ Moreover, he said that Cassander had

¹ The city called Astacus on the bay of the same name is about 30 miles south-east of Chalcedon.
² An Ionian city on the peninsula opposite Chios.
³ i.e. Macedonians not in the army. In chap. 62. 1 the decree passed by this assembly is described as the “decrees of the Macedonians.”
⁴ Cp. chaps 51. 6, 52. 4.
3 συναγαγακτούντων δὲ τῶν ὄχλων ἔγραψε δόγμα καθ’ ὅ τὸν Κάσανδρον ἐφηφίσατο πολέμιον εἶναι, ἐὰν μὴ τὰς πόλεις καθέλῃ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Ὀιδίπυν προαγαγὼν ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς ἀποδῷ τοῖς Μακεδόνιοι καὶ τὸ σύνολον εἶναι μὴ πειθαρχῇ τῷ καθεσταμένῳ στρατηγῷ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας παρειληφότεν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν Ἀντιγόνην.

4 εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἐλλήνωσ ἀπανταίς ἐλευθέρους, ἀφρονητοὺς, αὐτονόμους. ἐπισηματικῶν δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰ ῥηθέντα διαπέστειλε πανταχῦ τοὺς κομιοῦντας τὸ δόγμα· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Ἐλλήνως ὑπελάμβανε διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ἐλευθερίας προθύμους ἔξω συναγωνιστὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀνώ στραταπεσίαις στρατηγοὺς καὶ σατράπας, ὑπόπτως ἔχοντας ὡς Ἀντιγόνου καταλύσαι διεγνωκότος τοὺς ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλεῖς, αὐτοῦ ψευδερῶς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πόλεμον ἀναδεχομένου πάντας μεταπεσεῖσθαι ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ τοῖς παρ- 
5 ἀγγελλόμενοι ἐτούμισι ὑπακούσεσθαι. ἀπὸ δὲ τοὺ- 

1 αὐτοῦ Rhodoman: τοῦ.
married Thessalonice by force,¹ and was clearly trying to establish his own claim to the Macedonian throne; and also that, although the Olythians were very bitter enemies of the Macedonians, Cassander had re-established them in a city called by his own name and had rebuilt Thebes, which had been razed by the Macedonians.² When the crowd showed that it shared his wrath, he introduced a decree according to the terms of which it was voted that Cassander was to be an enemy unless he destroyed these cities again, released the king and his mother Roxanë from imprisonment and restored them to the Macedonians, and, in general, yielded obedience to Antigonus the duly established general who had succeeded to the guardianship of the throne. It was also stated that all the Greeks were free, not subject to foreign garrisons, and autonomous. When the soldiers had voted in favour of these measures, Antigonus sent men in every direction to carry the decree, for he believed that through their hope of freedom he would gain the Greeks as eager participants with him in the war, and that the generals and satraps in the upper satrapies, who had suspected that he was determined to depose the kings who inherited from Alexander, would, if he publicly took upon himself the war in their behalf, all change their minds and promptly obey his orders. Having finished these matters, he gave Alexander five hundred talents and, after leading him to hope for great things to come, sent him back to the Peloponnesus. He himself, after summoning ships from Rhodes and equipping most of those that had been built, sailed against Tyre. Although he pressed the siege with vigour for a year and three months, con-

¹ Cp. chap. 52. 1. ² Cp. chaps. 52. 2, 53. 2.
κωλύων σίτον εἰςάγεσθαι προσεκαρτέρησε μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ τρεῖς μῆνας, εἰς ἕνδειαν δὲ δευτήρ
ἀγαγών τοὺς ἐγκατακεκλεισμένους τοῖς μὲν παρὰ Πτολεμαίου στρατιώταις συνεχώρησεν ἀπελθεῖν
ἔχουσι τὰ ἑαυτῶν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν δὲ ὀμολογίας παρα-
λαβῶν φρούραν τὴν διαφυλάξουσιν εἰς αὐτὴν
εἰσήγαγεν.

62. Ἀρμὴ δὲ τούτως πραττομένως Πτολεμαῖος
μὲν ἀκούσας τὰ δεδογμένα τοῖς μετὶ Ἀντιγόνου
Μακεδόνι περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας ἐγγέ
ψει καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ παραπλήσια, βουλόμενος εἰδύναι
τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ὅτι φροντίζει τῆς αὐτονομίας αὐτῶν
2 οὖν ἦττον Ἀντιγόνου· οὐ γὰρ μικρὰν ῥοπὴν ἀρόιν-
τες οὐσαν ἐκάτεροι προσλαβέσθαι τῷ τῶν Ἑλλή-
νων εὔνοιαν διημιλλόντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τῆς
eἰς τούτους εὐφρενίας. προσελάβετο δὲ εἰς τὴν
συμμαχίαν καὶ τὸν τῆς Καρίως σατράπην Ἀσαν-
δρον, εἰς χύσωντα καὶ πόλεις ἔχοντα τεταγμένας ύπ’
3 ἑαυτόν οὐκ ὀλίγας. προαπεσταλκὸς δὲ τοῖς ἐν
Κύπρῳ βασιλέως στρατιώτας τρισχιλίων ἐξετεμεῖ
τὸτε δύναμιν ἄδραν, σπεύδων συναναγκάσαι τοὺς
ἐναντιοπραγοῦντας ποιεῖν τὸ προστασσόμενον.
4 Μυρμῶνα μὲν οὖν τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἀπέστειλε μετὰ
στρατιωτῶν μυρῶν, Πολύκλειτον δὲ μετὰ νεῶν
ἐκατόν, τῶν δὲ πάντων στρατηγὸν Μενέλαιον τὸν
ἀδελφὸν. οὗτοι δὲ πλεύσαντες εἰς Κύπρον κἀκεῖ
καταλαβόντες Σέλευκον μετὰ τοῦ στόλου συνήδρευ-
5 σαν βουλευόμενοι τῇ χρῆ πράττειν. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐ-
τοῖς Πολύκλειτον μετὰ πεντήκοντα νεῶν πλεῖς εἰς
Πελοπόννησον καὶ διαπολεμεῖν τοῖς περὶ Ἀριστό-

1 Ἀσανδρον Wesseling, op. Books 18.3.1, 39.6; 19.57.1: Κάσανθρον.

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trolling the sea and preventing food from being brought in, yet after he had reduced the besieged to extreme want, he permitted the soldiers who had come from Ptolemy to depart each with his own possessions; but when the city capitulated, he introduced into it a garrison to watch it closely.¹

62. While these things were going on, Ptolemy, who had heard what had been decreed by the Macedonians with Antigonus in regard to the freedom of the Greeks, published a similar decree himself, since he wished the Greeks to know that he was no less interested in their autonomy than was Antigonus. Each of them, indeed, perceiving that it was a matter of no little moment to gain the goodwill of the Greeks, rivalled the other in conferring favours upon this people. Ptolemy also brought into his alliance Asander, satrap of Caria, who was strong and had a considerable number of cities subject to him. To the kings on Cyprus, to whom he had previously sent three thousand soldiers, he now dispatched a strong army, for he was anxious to force those who were opposing him to carry out his commands. Myrmidon the Athenian, therefore, was sent with ten thousand men, and Polycleitus with a hundred ships, while Menelaüs, his own brother, was made commander of the whole force. When these had sailed to Cyprus and there had found Seleucus and his fleet, they met together and considered what they ought to do. They decided that Polycleitus with fifty ships should sail to the Peloponnesus and carry on the war against Tyre capitulated in 314.
δημον καί Ἀλέξανδρον, ἔτι δὲ Πολυπέρχοντα, Μυριμόνα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἕξενοις εἰς Καρίαν βοηθήσοντας τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀσανδρόν1 πολεμούμενοι ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου2 τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Σέλευκον καὶ Μενέλαον ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν Κύπρῳ μετὰ Νικοκρέοντος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συμμαχοῦντων διαπολεμεῖ τοῖς ἑναντιούμενοις.

6 τούτων δὲ τῶν τρόπων τῆς δυνάμεως διαμερισθείσης οἱ περὶ Σέλευκον Κερύνειαν3 μὲν καὶ Λάπιδον ἐξ-επολιόρκησαν, Στασίουκον δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Μαριέων4 προσαγαγόμενοι τὸν Ἀμαθούσιον δυνάστην ἡνάγκασαν ὁμηρα δοῦναι, τὴν δὲ τῶν Κιτίων πόλιν, οὐ δυνάμενοι προσαγαγώσαυς, συνεχῶς ἐπο-7 λιόρκον πάση τῇ δυνάμει. κατὰ τούτων δὲ τῶν καιρὸν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον κατέπλευσαν εἶς Ἐλλησ-πόντου ναῦς τεσσαράκοντα Θεμίστωνος ναυαρ-χοῦντος· ὁμοίως δὲ εἶς Ἐλλησπόντου καὶ Ῥώδου

8 κατήγαγε σκάφη Διοσκορίδης ὑγδούκοντα. προ-ὐπήρχον δ' αὐτῶν κατηρτισμέναι ναῦς τῶν ἐν Φοι-νίκῃ ναυπηγηθείσοις αἱ πρῶται συντελεσθῶσιν· αὐτὴ δ' ἦσαν σὺν τοῖς ἐν Τύρῳ καταληφθεῖσις ἐκατόν καὶ ἐκκόσι, ὡστε τὰς πάσας περὶ αὐτῶν ἠθροίσας ναῦς μακρὰς ἐξηρτυμένας διακοσίας τεσ-σαράκοντα· τούτων δ' ἦσαν τετρήρεις μὲν ἑνενή-κοντα πεντήρεις δὲ δέκα, ἐννύρεις δὲ τρεῖς, δεκτέρεις 9 δὲ δέκα,5 ἀφρακτοὶ δὲ τρίακοντα. διελόμενος δὲ τῶν στόλων πεντήκοντα μὲν ναῦς ἐξητευμένες εἰς Πελοπόννησον, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ναυαρχοῦ καταστήσας

1 Ἀσανδρόν Wesseling, cp. § 2 above: Κασάνδρον.
2 Cp. chap. 57. 4.
3 Κερύνειαν Dindorf: Κερυνίαν RX, Κυρηνίαν F.
Aristodemus, Alexander, and Polyperchon; that 315 B.C. Myrmidon and the mercenaries should go to Caria to aid Asander, who was being attacked by Ptolemy the general; and that Seleucus and Menelaüs, left in Cyprus with King Nicocreon and the other allies, should carry on the war against those who opposed them. After the forces had been divided in this way, Seleucus took Ceryneia and Lapithus, secured the support of Stasioceus, king of the Marienses, forced the ruler of the Amathusii to give a guaranty, and laid unremitting siege with all his forces to the city of the Citienses, which he had not been able to induce to join him. At about this time forty ships under the command of Themison came to Antigonus from the Hellespont, and likewise Dioscorides put in with eighty vessels from the Hellespont and Rhodes. The first to be finished of the ships that had been made in Phoenicia were also at hand fully equipped; including those captured at Tyre, they were one hundred and twenty, so that in all there were gathered together about Antigonus two hundred and forty fully equipped ships of war. Of these there were ninety with four orders of oarsmen, ten with five, three with nine, ten with ten, and thirty undecked boats. Dividing this naval force, he sent fifty ships to the Peloponnesus, and ordered his nephew, Dioscorides,

1 He had been sent to the Peloponnesus by Antigonus (chap. 57. 5).

2 Cp. chap. 59. 1.

3 A total of only 143 ships. Perhaps the triremes have been omitted.

4 Μαρκάντος Rhodoman, cp. chaps. 59. 1, 79. 4: Μαρκάντος R, Μαρκάντος X.

5 Tarn (Journal of Hellenic Studies, 49 (1939), 127) suggests ἐπτήρεις δὲ τρεῖς, ἐξήρεις δὲ δέκα; but more drastic changes are needed.
Διοσκορίδης τον ἀδελφὸν προσέταξε περιπλέων τοὺς τε συμμάχους παρεχόμενον τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τῶν νῆσων τὰς μῆποι μετεχούσας τῆς συμμαχίας προσαγόμενον.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐν τούτοις ἦν.
63. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπεὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πραχθέντα δυνάμθημεν, ἐν μέρει πάλιν τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάττην διέξειμεν. Ἀπολλωνίδης γὰρ ὁ ταχθεῖς ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀργείων πόλεως ἐξοδεύσας εἰς 'Ἀρκαδίων νυκτὸς ἐκυρίευσε τῆς τῶν 2 Στυμφαλῶν πόλεως περὶ ταύτα δὲ αὐτὸι διατρίβοντο τῶν Ἀργείων οἱ πρὸς Κάσανδρον ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντες ἐπεκαλέσαντο τὸν Πολυπέρχοντος Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι παραδώσεις τῆς πόλεως τοῦ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος βραδύνοντος Ἀπολλωνίδης φθάσας κατάντησε εἰς Ἀργος. τῶν δὲ ἐναντιομένων καταλαβὼν εἰς πεντακοσίους συνηδρεύκοτας ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ τούτοις μὲν ἀποκλείοτας τῆς ἔξοδου ζῶντας κατέκαυσε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν πλείους ἐφυγάδευσεν, ὥλγους δὲ συλλαβὼν 3 ἀπέκτεινε. Κάσανδρος δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν Ἀριστοδήμου κατάπλουν εἰς Πελοπόννησον καὶ τὸ συνηθροισμένον πλῆθος τῶν ἔξοδον τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεχείρησεν ἀφιστάναι τοὺς περὶ Πολυπέρχοντα τῆς Ἀντιγόνου φιλίας· οὐχ ὑπακούόντων δὲ αὐτῶν συναγαγὼν δύναμιν ἤκε διὰ τῆς Θεσσαλίας 4 εἰς Βοιωτίαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ συνεπιλαβόμενοι τοῦς Θηβαίους τῆς τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίας παρῆλθεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Κεγχρεᾶς ἐκπολιορκήσας ἔδησε τὴν χώραν τῶν Κορινθίων, μετὰ δὲ ταύτα δύο φρούρια κατὰ κράτος ἔλθον τοὺς ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καθεσταμένους φρουροὺς ὑποσπὸ 404
whom he had made commander of the rest, to make a circuit of the sea, guaranteeing the safety of the allies and winning the support of the islands that had not yet joined the alliance.

Such was the state of Antigonus’ affairs.¹

63. Now that we have related the events that took place in Asia, we shall in turn discuss the affairs of Europe.² Apollonides, who had been appointed general over Argos by Cassander, made a raid into Arcadia by night and captured the city of the Stymphalians. But while he was engaged in this, those of the Argives who were hostile to Cassander sent for Alexander, Polyperchon’s son, promising to hand the city over to him. Alexander, however, delayed, and Apollonides arrived back in Argos before him. Finding about five hundred of his antagonists gathered in the prytaneion, he prevented them from leaving the building and burned them alive. He exiled most of the others, but arrested and killed a few. When Cassander learned of Aristodemus’ arrival in the Peloponnesus and of the multitude of mercenaries that he had collected there,³ his first effort was to turn Polyperchon from his alliance with Antigonus. When Polyperchon, however, would not listen to him, he brought his army through Thessaly into Bocotia. After aiding the Thebans in building their walls, he went on into the Peloponnesus. First he took Cenchreae ⁴ and plundered the fields of the Corinthians. Then, after taking two fortresses by storm, he dismissed under a truce the garrisons that had been

¹ Continued in chap. 69.
² Continued from chap. 54. 4. ³ Cp. chap. 60. 1.
⁴ The port of Corinth on the Saronic Gulf.

¹ τῶν περὶ Hertlein: τὰν.
5 δοὺς ἀφήκεν. ἐξῆς δὲ τῇ τῶν ὸρχομενίων πόλει προσβολάς ποιησάμενος καὶ παρεισαχθεῖς ύπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίως ἐχώντων πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς μὲν πόλεως φυλακῆς ἀπέλυσε, τῶν δὲ φίλων τῶν Ἀλέξανδρου καταφυγόντων εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἐδώκε τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοὺς πολίτας δ' βούλοντο πράξαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ὸρχομενίοι τοὺς ἴκτας βιαίως ἀναστησάντες ἀπάντας ἀνέίλιον παρὰ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμιμα.

64. Ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν καὶ καταλαβὼν φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Πολυπέρχοντος τὴν πόλιν τὸ μὲν πολυρκεῖν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀπέγνω, παρελθὼν δ' εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν Δάμων μὲν ἐπιμελητὴν τῆς Μεγάλης1 πόλεως ἀπελυσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν Ἀργείαν καὶ θεῖς τῶν τῶν Νεμέων ἀγώνα τὴν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐπάνοδον ἐποίησατο. τούτῳ δὲ χωρισθέντος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιών τὰς ἐν Πελοπονήσῳ πόλεις μετ' Ἀριστοδήμου τὰς μὲν ὑπὸ Κάσανδρου καθεσταμένας φρουράς ἐκβαλεὶ ἐπειρᾶτο, ταῖς δὲ 3 πόλεσιν ἀποκαβιστὰν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. ὁ δὲ πυθόμενος ὁ Κάσανδρος ἐπέμει πρὸς αὐτὸν Πρεπέλαιον, ἄξιων Ἀντιγόνου μὲν ἀποστήναι, συμμαχεῖν δ' αὐτῷ γνησίως. τούτῳ δ' αὐτοῦ πράξαντος στρατηγιῶν δώσειν ἐφῄσε πάσης Πελοπονήσου καὶ δυνάμεως ἀποδείξειν κύριον, ἐτὶ δὲ κατ' ἀξίαν 4 τιμήσειν. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ὅρων αὐτῷ συγχωρούμενον οὐ χαρίν εἰς ἀρχής ἐπολέμει πρὸς Κάσανδρον, συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενος ἀπεδείχθη στρατηγὸς Πελοπονήσου.

"Ἀμα δὲ τούτους πραττομένους Πολύκλειτος ὁ

1 Μεγάλης added by Niese.
placed in them by Alexander. Next he attacked the city of Orchomenus.\(^1\) Being admitted by the faction hostile to Alexander, he installed a garrison in the city, and when the friends of Alexander took refuge in the shrine of Artemis, he permitted the citizens to treat them as they wished. The people of Orchomenus, accordingly, dragged the suppliants away by force and slew them all, contrary to the universal custom of the Greeks.

64. Cassander passed on into Messenia, but finding the city garrisoned by Polyperchon, he temporarily relinquished his plan of laying siege to it. Passing over into Arcadia, he left Damis as governor of Megalopolis, while he himself, after going into Argolis and presiding at the Nemean Games,\(^3\) returned to Macedonia. After he had gone, Alexander visited the cities of the Peloponnesus accompanied by Aristodemus and tried to drive out the garrisons that had been established by Cassander and to restore freedom to the cities. As soon as Cassander learned this, he sent Prepelaüs to Alexander, asking him to desert Antigonus and conclude with himself an alliance in due form. He said that if he did this, he would give him the command of all the Peloponnesus, make him general of an army, and honour him according to his deserts. Alexander, since he saw that the thing for which he had originally made war against Cassander was being granted to him, made the alliance and was appointed general of the Peloponnesus.

While all this was taking place, Polycleitus, who

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\(^1\) In Arcadia.
\(^2\) \textit{i.e.} Messenê on the west side of Mount Ithomê. Cp. chap. 54, 3.
\(^3\) In the summer of 315.

\(^2\) Πρέπελαυον Rhodoman, cp. chap. 68. 5: Πρέπελλον.
πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Σέλευκου ἐκ Κύπρου πλεῦσας κατήρεν εἰς Κεγχρεάς, ἀκούσας δὲ τὴν Ἀλέξανδρον μετάθεσιν καὶ θεωρῶν μηδὲν ὕπαρχον πολέμιον σύστημα τὸν πλοῦν ἐπὶ Παμφυλίας ἐποιήσατο. ἐπετεύθεν δὲ παρακομισθεὶς εἰς Ἀφροδισιάδα τῆς Κυλικίας, ὡς ἦκουσί τινὶ Θεόδωτος μὲν ὁ Ἀντωγόνον ναύαρχος ἐκ Πατάρων τῆς Λυκίας παραπλεῖ ταῖς ἀπὸ Ῥόδου ναυσίν, ἱκουσίας ἀπὸ Καρίας πληρώματα, καὶ διότι Περίλαος μετὰ στρατιώτων παράγει πέζη, παρεχόμενος τῷ στόλῳ τῆς ἀγωγῆς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἀμφοτέρως κατεστράτηγησε. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ στρατιῶτας ἀποβιβασάς ἔκρυψεν εἰς εὐθέτω τόπῳ, καὶ ὃν ἄναγκασαν ἥν τοὺς πολεμοὺς τὴν πάροδον πονησάσας, αὐτὸς δὲ πᾶσας ταῖς ναυσίν ἐπιπλεύσας καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ λαβὼν ἀκρωτήριον ἐπετῆρε τῆν τῶν πολεμίων παρουσίαν. ἐμπεσόντων δὲ πρῶτον τῶν πεζῶν εἰς τὴν ἐνέδραν συνέβη τὸν τε Περίλαον ἁλώναι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν πεσεῖν μαχομένους, οἷς δὲ 7 ζωγρηθήσας. ἐπιχειροῦντων δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥόδου νεῶν παραβοθεῖν τοῖς ἴδιοις ἐπιπλεύσας ὁ Πολύκλειτος ἄφνων συντεταγμένω τῷ στόλῳ ῥαδίως ἐτρέψατο τεταραγμένους τοὺς πολεμίους. διότι συνέβη τός τε ναῦς ἁλώναι πάσας καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγους, ἐν οἷς καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Θεόδωτον τραυματιὰν γενόμενον μετ’ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τελευτήσας. 8 Πολύκλειτος μὲν οὖν χωρὶς κινδύνων τηλικαίτα πλεονεκτήσας ἀπεπλεύσεν εἰς Κύπρον, ἐπετεύθεν δ’ εἰς Πηλούσιον· ὃ δὲ Πολεμαῖος τοῦτον μὲν ἑπαινέσας διωρεῖς μεγάλοις ἐτύμησε καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον προῆγεν ὡς ἀρχηγὸν γεγονότα μεγάλοι προτερηματικοῖς, τὸν δ’ Περίλαον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμαλώτων 408
BOOK XIX. 64. 4–8

had been sent by Seleucus from Cyprus, sailed into 315 B.C. Cenchreae, but when he heard of Alexander’s change in allegiance and saw that there was no hostile force in existence, he sailed for Pamphylia. He sailed along the coast from Pamphylia to Aphrodisias in Cilicia; and, hearing that Theodotus, the admiral of Antigonus, was sailing from Patara in Lycia in Rhodian ships with Carian crews, and that Perilaüs was accompanying him with an army on land, thus securing the safety of the fleet in its voyage, he outmanoeuvred both of them. Disembarking his soldiers, he concealed them in a suitable place where it was necessary for the enemy to pass, and he himself sailed near with all his ships, taking cover behind a promontory while awaiting the coming of the enemy. The army was first to fall into the ambush; Perilaüs was captured, some of the rest fell while fighting, and others were taken prisoners. When the Rhodian ships tried to go to the aid of their own forces, Polycleitus sailed up suddenly with his fleet drawn up for battle and easily routed the disorganized enemy. The result was that all the ships were captured and a considerable number of the men also, among them Theodotus himself, who was wounded and a few days later died. After Polycleitus had gained so great an advantage without danger, he sailed away to Cyprus and thence to Pelusium. Ptolemy praised him, honoured him with great gifts, and gave him much greater preferment as having been the author of an important victory. He released Perilaüs and some

1 ὦς added by Reiske.
Diodorus of Sicily

twás àpélusen, ἐλθοῦσας περὶ τούτων πρεσβεῖας
παρ' Ἀπρίγόνου. αὐτὸς δὲ παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ καλοῦ-
μενον Ἐκρηγμα κάκει συνελθὼν εἰς λόγους Ἀντι-
γόνω πάλιν ἀπῆλθεν, οὐ συνχωροῦντος Ἀντιγόνου
τὰ αξιούμενα.

65. Ἡμεῖς δὲ διεληλυθότες τὰ πραξθέντα τῶν
Ἐλλήνων τῆς Ἑλερώτης περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Μα-
κεδονίαν ἐν μέρει διέξιμεν περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέραν
νεόντων μερών. Ἀγαθοκλῆς γὰρ ὁ τῶν Ὀιρα-
κοσίων δυνάστης κατέχων φρούριον τῶν Μεσση-
νίων ἔπηγγειλατο λαβῶν παρ’ αὐτῶν τριάκοντα
2 τάλαντα παραδώσεων τῶν τόπων. δόντων δὲ τῶν
Μεσσηνίων τάργυριον¹ οὐ μόνον διεμείσατο τοὺς
πιστεύσαντας τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Μεσ-
σήνην αὐτὴν ἐπεχείρησε καταλαβέσθαι. πυθόμενος
γὰρ μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους ἐν αὐτῇ πεπτωκέναι πεζῷ
μὲν τοὺς ἰππεῖς ἀπέστειλεν ἐκ Συρακουσῶν, αὐτὸς
δὲ ἀναλαμβάνων ναῦς ἱμιολίας νυκτὸς κατέπλευσε
3 πλησίον τῆς πόλεως. προαισθομένων δὲ τῶν ἐπι-
βουλευμένων² ταύτης μὲν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἀπέτυχεν,
ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς Μύλας πλεύσας καὶ πολυρκήσας τὸ
φρούριον δὲ ὀμολογίας παρέλαβε. καὶ τότε μὲν εἰς
Συρακούσας ἐξωρίσθη, κατὰ δὲ τὰς τῶν καρπῶν
συγκομιδὰς πάλιν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην.
4 πλησίον δὲ τῆς πόλεως στρατοπεδεύσας καὶ προσ-
βολὼς συνεχεῖς πουοῦμενος οὐδὲν αξιόλογον ὀσχυο
βλάψαι τοὺς πολέμιοι, καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐκ Συρακούσ-

¹ τάργυριον Reiske: αργύρων.
² ἐπιβουλευμένων Reiske: προεπιβουλευμένων.

1 The "Outbreak" between Lake Sirbonis and the sea
east of the Delta of the Nile.
2 Continued in chap. 66.
of the other captives when an envoy in their behalf came from Antigonus. He himself went to Ecregma, as it is called, where he conferred with Antigonus, returning again since Antigonus would not agree to his demands.

65. Now that we have related the deeds of the European Greeks in Greece and Macedonia, we shall consider in due order the history of the western regions. Agathocles, the dynast of Syracuse, who was holding a fort of the Messenians, promised to surrender the position on receiving from them thirty talents; but when the Messenians gave him the money, he not only failed to keep his promise to those who had put faith in him, but he also undertook to capture Messenê itself. On learning that a certain section of the wall of the city was in ruins, he sent his cavalry by land from Syracuse while he himself sailed close to the city by night with light vessels. Since, however, the intended victims of the plot learned of it beforehand, this attack failed; but he sailed to Mylae and besieged the fort, which surrendered by capitulation. He then departed for Syracuse, but at the time of the harvest he made another expedition against Messenê. He camped near the city and made repeated attacks, but he was not able to inflict any considerable damage upon his enemies, for many of the exiles from Syracuse had

3 Continued from chap. 10.
4 i.e. the people of Messenê (or Messana) in north-eastern Sicily.
5 The ναῦς ἱμολία, however it may have received its name (literally, a ship of one and a half), was a light swift vessel, found useful by Alexander on the rivers of India (Arrian, Anabasis, 6. 1. 1, 18. 3), but apparently used in the Mediterranean chiefly by pirates (Book 16. 61. 4; Arrian, Anabasis, 3. 2. 4).
σών φυγάδων πολλοί συνεδραμήκεισαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οί καὶ διὰ τὴν ἱδίαν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸν τύραννον μᾶσσα ἐκθύμως ἡγούμενοι. 5 καθ’ ὄν ὁ μὲν Ἡρώδης Ἐρίκης πρέσβεις, οἱ τῶν μὲν Ἄγαθοκλῆς περὶ τῶν πρακτικῶν ἐπιτύμπαι ὡς παραβαίνοντο τὰς συνθήκας, τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις εἰρήνην παρεσκεύασαν καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἀναγκάζοντες ἀποκαταστήσας τὸν τύραννον ἀπέ- 6 πλευσαν εἰς τὴν Λιβύην. ὁ δὲ Ἄγαθοκλῆς παρελθὼν εἰς Ἀθήναν πόλιν συμμαχοῦν, τους δοκοῦντας ἀλλοτριῶς ἔχειν τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέσφαξεν, ἀντασ σπείρεις τῶν τεσσαράκοντα.

7 Ἁμα δὲ τούτους πραττομένους Ἡρωίδων μὲν δια- πολεμοῦντες Σαμνίταις Φερεντην, πόλιν τῆς Ἀπο- λίας, κατὰ κράτος ἔλλοι. οἱ δὲ τῆς Νοκερίων τῆς Ἀλφατέρην καλομένην οἰκοῦντες πεισθέντες ύπὸ τινῶν τῆς μὲν Ἡρωίδων φιλίας ἀπέστησαν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Σαμνίτας συμμαχίαν ἐπουήσαντο.

1 A town about 30 miles south-west of Messenē.
taken refuge in the city, and these fought furiously 815 B.C. both for the sake of their own safety and because of their hatred for the tyrant. At this time there came envoys from Carthage, who censured Agathocles for what he had done on the ground that he had violated the treaty. They also secured peace for the people of Messenē, and then, when they had forced the tyrant to restore the fort, they sailed back to Libya. Agathocles, however, went on to Abacaenon, an allied city, where he put to death those who appeared to be hostile to him, being more than forty in number.²

While these things were taking place, the Romans ³ in their war with the Samnites took Ferentum, a city of Apulia, by storm. The inhabitants of Nuceria, which is called Alfaterna, yielding to the persuasion of certain persons, abandoned their friendship for Rome and made an alliance with the Samnites.⁴

² Continued in chap. 70.
³ Continued from chap. 10. 2.
⁴ Continued in chap. 72. 3.
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In most cases references to a people are included with references to the city or state. An effort, not always successful, has been made to distinguish the several bearers of a common name.

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