

HIST 4013 Alexander the Great & the Hellenistic World
Paper 2 / 3200-3600 Words
Due May 3 by 5 pm

One of the most important figures in the wars of the Diadochoi was the Greek Eumenes, who served as Alexander's secretary and fought against Antigonos after Alexander's death. For this paper you will read three accounts of this important figure. Two are biographies. The first was written by the Roman [Cornelius Nepos](#) in the 30s B.C.E. The second was written in Greek by [Plutarch](#) in the early 2nd century C.E. Follow the links to the actual texts. The third is an excerpt from Justin's Epitome of the universal history by Pompeius Trogus, appended below.

For this paper you will compare and contrast these three accounts in order to better understand how these ancient authors select and present their material and how this affects our understanding of Eumenes. Some questions you might want to consider:

- What aspects of Eumenes' character do the authors emphasize differently? What does this show about their aims and concerns?
- What details are in some sources, but not the others? What might these show about what the authors are interested in and want us to take away from Eumenes?
- Do the accounts contradict in any places? What might the preference of the for one version over another show about the purposes of the authors?
- How do the authors present Eumenes's relationship with his troops?
- How are Eumenes's relationships with other major commanders presented?
- How do the authors treat Eumenes's ethnicity?
- Do the authors try to pass moral judgements on Eumenes or other figures?

Using this analysis explain what each author is trying to show with the life of Eumenes and why he was ultimately defeated. You should not attempt to determine which account is more historically accurate. Do not be judgmental, and remember that ancient biographers and historians have different standards than their modern counterparts.

You are to limit your analysis to the ancient texts themselves and the background we covered in class – do not look at modern scholarship or outside sources. I want to read what you have to say, not what someone else has to say. If you have any questions about the historical background, do not hesitate to ask me! Looking at outside sources will result in an automatic F on the assignment.

Use direct quotes sparingly and when they will specifically illustrate the point you are trying to make. Otherwise, paraphrase or summarize. Whenever you are quoting, paraphrasing, or simply referring to something an author says cite the particular passage in you paper parenthetically. Cite by author and chapter numbers, e.g. "as Plutarch says at 12.3" or (Justin 3.2). Don't forget to put a page number at the bottom of the page. Papers should be five pages long, double-spaced, with 1" margins all around. Use Times New Roman or a similar font.

Papers are due on May 3 by 5 pm. Send your paper as a .doc, .docx, or .rtf attachment to cmuntz@uark.edu. Late papers will not be accepted except in cases of documented emergencies.

Justin on Eumenes

(Excerpts from Books 13 & 14 of the *Philippic History* by Pompeius Trogus)

1 Neoptolemus, too, who had been left to support Eumenes, intended not only to desert himself, but also to betray his party's force. **2** Eumenes, understanding his plan, thought it was necessary to engage the traitor in battle. **3** Neoptolemus, being worsted, fled to Antipater and Craterus, and persuaded them to surprise Eumenes by forced marches while he was full of joy for his victory and unconcerned because of Neoptolemus's own flight. **4** But this project did not escape Eumenes; the plot was in consequence turned upon the contrivers of it; and they who expected to attack him unguarded were attacked themselves when they were on their march, and weary from lack of sleep the previous night. **5** In this battle, Craterus was killed. **6** Neoptolemus, too, engaging hand to hand with Eumenes, and maintaining a long struggle with him, in which both were wounded more than once, was at last overpowered and fell. **7** Eumenes, therefore, being victorious in two successive battles, supported in some degree the morale of his party, which had ruined by the desertion of their allies. **8** At last, however, Perdiccas being killed, Eumenes was declared an enemy by the army, together with Pitho, Illyrius, and Alcetas, the brother of Perdiccas; and the conduct of the war against them was committed to Antigonus.

2 **1** When Eumenes learned that Perdiccas was slain, that he himself was declared an enemy by the Macedonians, and that the conduct of the war against him was committed to Antigonus, he at once made known the state of affairs to his troops. **2** He feared that rumor might either exaggerate matters, or alarm the minds of the men with the unexpected nature of the events; **3** wishing at the same time to learn how they felt about him, so that he could make decisions based on the opinion expressed by them as a whole. **4** He boldly gave notice, however, that if anyone of them felt dismayed at the news, he had full liberty to depart. **5** By this declaration he so strongly attached them to his side that they all immediately exhorted him to prosecute the war, and protested that they would annul the decrees of the Macedonians with their swords. **6** Having then led his army into Aetolia, he exacted contributions from the different cities, and plundered, like an enemy, such as refused to pay. **7** Next he went to Sardis, to Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander the Great, that with her influence he might encourage his captains and chief officers, who would think that the royal authority was on that side on which the sister of Alexander stood. **8** Such veneration was there for the greatness of Alexander, that the influence of his sacred name was sought even by means of women.

9 When he returned to his camp, letters were found scattered through it, in which great rewards were offered to any that should bring the head of Eumenes to Antigonus. **10** Learning this, Eumenes, assembling his men, first offered them his congratulations that no one had been found among them who preferred the expectation of a reward stained with blood to the obligation of his military oath. **11** He then craftily added that these letters had been forged by himself to sound their feelings; **12** but that his life was in the hands of them all; and that neither Antigonus nor any other general would be willing to conquer by such means as would afford the worst of examples against himself. **13** By acting thus, he both preserved for the present the attachment of such as were wavering, and made it likely that if anything similar should happen in future, the soldiers would think that they were not tampered with by the enemy, but sounded by their own general. **14** All of them in consequence zealously offered him their services for the guard of his person.

3 **1** In the meantime Antigonus came up with his army, and having pitched his camp, offered battle on the following day. **2** Nor did Eumenes delay to engage with him; but, being defeated, he fled to a fortress. **3** When he saw that he must submit to the hazards of a siege, he dismissed the greater part of his army, lest he should either be surrendered to the enemy by consent of the majority, or the sufferings of the siege should be aggravated by too great a number. **4** He then sent a deputation to Antipater, who was the only general that seemed a match for the power of Antigonus, to entreat his aid; and Antigonus, hearing that help was despatched by him to Eumenes, gave up the siege. **5** Eumenes was thus for a time, indeed, relieved from fear of death; but, as so great a portion of his army was sent away, he had no great hope of ultimately surviving. **6** After taking everything into consideration, therefore, he thought it best to apply to the Silver Shields of Alexander the Great, a body of men that had never yet been conquered, and radiant with the glory of so many victories. **7** But the Silver Shields disdained all leaders in comparison with Alexander, and thought service under other generals dishonourable to the memory of so great a monarch. **8** Eumenes had, therefore, to address them with flattery; he spoke to each of them in the language of a suppliant, calling them his “fellow-soldiers,” his “patrons,” or his “companions in the dangers and exploits of the east;” sometimes styling them “his refuge for protection, and his only security.” **9** He said that they were the only troops by whose valour the east had been subdued; the only troops that had gone beyond the achievements of Bacchus and the monuments of Hercules. **10** By them, he declared, Alexander had become great, by them he had attained divine honours and immortal glory. **11** He begged them to accept him, not so much as a general as a fellow-soldier, and to allow him to be one of their order. **12** Being received on these terms, he gradually succeeded, first by giving them hints individually, and afterwards by gently correcting whatever was done amiss, in gaining the sole command. Nothing could be done in the camp without him; nothing managed without the aid of his judgment.

4 **1** At length, when it was announced that Antigonus was approaching with his army, Eumenes convinced them to march into the field; **2** where, ignoring the orders of their general, they were defeated by the bravery of the enemy. **3** In this battle they lost, with their wives and children, not only their glory from so many wars, but also the booty obtained in their long service. **4** But Eumenes, who was the cause of their disaster, and had no other hope of safety remaining, encouraged them after their defeat. **5** He assured them that they had superiority in courage, since they had slain 5000 of the enemy; and that if they persevered in the war, their enemies would gladly sue for peace. **6** He added that the losses, by which they estimated their defeat, were two thousand women, a few children, and some slaves, which they would better recover by winning, than by letting victory slip away. **7** The Silver Shields, on the other hand, declared that they would neither attempt a retreat, after the loss of their property and wives, nor would they do battle against their own children. **8** They reproached him for having involved them, when they were returning home after so many years of completed service, and with the fruits of so many enterprises, and when on the point of being disbanded, in fresh efforts and vast struggles in the field. **9** He had deluded them, when they were recalled, as it were, from their own homes and from the very threshold of their country, with vain promises; **10** and for not allowing them, after having lost all the gains of their fortunate service, to quietly endure their defeat and the burden of a poor and unhappy old age. **11** Immediately after, without the knowledge of their leaders, they sent deputies to Antigonus, requesting that he would order what was theirs to be restored to them. Antigonus promised that he would restore what they asked, if they would deliver up Eumenes to him. **12** Hearing of this reply, Eumenes, with a few others, attempted to

flee, but being brought back, and finding his condition desperate, he requested, as a great crowd gathered around him, to be allowed to address the army for the last time.

5 **1** Being desired by them all to speak, silence fell over the crowd, and his chains loosened. Eumenes held out his hand, fettered as he was, and said, **2** “Soldiers, you behold the dress and equipment of your general, which no one of the enemy that has put upon me, for even that would be a consolation to me, **3** but rather it is you that have made turned me from victor to vanquished, and from a general to a prisoner. Three times, within the present year have you bound yourselves by oath to obey me; **4** but on that point I shall say nothing, for reproaches do not become the unfortunate. **5** One favour only I entreat, that, if Antigonus intends to kill me, you would allow me to die among yourselves. **6** To him it signifies nothing how or where I fall, and I shall be delivered from an ignominious end. **7** If I obtain this request, I release you from the oath by which you have so often devoted yourselves to me. **8** Or if you are ashamed to offer violence to me at my entreaty, give me a sword, and permit your general to do for you, without the obligation of an oath, that which you have taken an oath to do for your general.”

9 Not being able, however, to obtain his request, he changed his tone of entreaty to that of anger, and exclaimed, **10** “May the gods, then, the avengers of perjury, look down in judgment upon you, you accursed wretches, and bring upon you such deaths as you have brought upon your leaders. **11** It was you, the same who now stand before me, that were lately sprinkled with the blood of Perdiccas, and that planned a similar end for Antipater. **12** You would even have killed Alexander himself, if it had been possible for him to fall by a mortal hand: instead you harassed him with your mutinies. **13** I, the last victim of your perfidy, now pronounce on you these curses and imprecations: may you live your whole lives in poverty, far from your country, in this camp where you are exiled; and may your own arms, by which you have killed more generals of your own than of your enemies, sink you in utter destruction.”

15 Then, full of indignation, he began to walk before his guards towards the camp of Antigonus. **16** The army followed, surrendering their general, and being themselves made prisoners; and, leading a triumphal procession for a victory over themselves to the camp of their conqueror, **17** and assigned to him, together with their own persons, all their honour gained under king Alexander, and the palms and laurels of so many wars. **18** And, that nothing might be wanting for the procession, the elephants and auxiliaries from the east brought up the rear. **19** This single victory was far more glorious for Antigonus than so many other victories had been to Alexander, for although Alexander subdued the east, Antigonus had defeated those by whom the east had been subdued. **20** These conquerors of the world, then, Antigonus distributed among his army, restoring to them what he had taken in the victory. **21** He directed that Eumenes, whom, out of regard for their former friendship, not be allowed to come into his presence, but should be committed to the care of a guard.