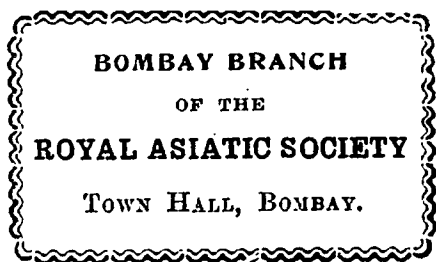


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ALEXANDER THE GREAT,

From a Coin in the collection of John Foy Edgar, Esq.^r

THE
HISTORY
OF
ALEXANDER THE GREAT

BY
QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS

Translated from the Latin

WITH
ORIGINAL NOTES
CRITICAL AND CORROBORATIVE
INCLUDING
ILLUSTRATIONS FROM RECENT TRAVELS
AND FROM
REMAINS EXTANT IN PERSIA AND INDIA
OF THE ANCIENT NATIVE LITERATURE.

BY PETER PRATT

Of the East India House.

“ So precisely does Quintus Curtius's description of the scene of Porus's battle correspond with the part of the Hydaspes where we crossed, that several gentlemen of the mission, who read the passage on the spot, were persuaded that it referred to the very place before their eyes.”—MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE.

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1821.



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QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK V.

THE SUBMISSION OF BABYLON, AND OF SUSA. THE
BURNING OF PERSEPOLIS. THE DEATH OF DARIUS.

CHAP. I.

*Darius flies into Media. Alexander enters
Babylon.*

1. IN the order of time, here to have interposed transactions which meanwhile passed in Greece, in Illyria, and in Thrace, under the guidance and authority of Antipater, — would have broken the narrative of events in Asia; which, up to the death of Darius, I deem it more proper to exhibit with the same connection as they had in their occurrence.

Darius reached the city of Arbela about midnight*, whither a great concourse of his friends and troops fortune had also directed in

* From the mention of the “ approach of night,” and then of “ twilight,” in book IV. chap. xv. sect. 62., we gather, that the retreat had commenced some time before the close of day: as the action happened about five days after the autumnal equinox, allowing for the precession of the equinoxes, this calculation leaves to Darius between six and seven hours to perform the journey in

their flight. Having convened, he addressed them: “ I expect that Alexander will strike
“ at the provinces and cities most celebrated
“ for fertility and riches. The princely spoils,
“ there waiting seizure, are the fixed object of
“ him and his soldiers. Such are our circum-
“ stances, that this is an advantage; for we, a
“ body equipped for expedition, may mean-
“ while retire through desolated tracts. The
“ remote provinces of my dominions are yet
“ untouched; thence I may, without difficulty,
“ bring levies into the field. Let the avaricious
“ invaders rifle my treasures, and glut their long
“ raging appetite for gold, to be, at no distant
“ time, a prey to us; for experience teaches,
“ that gorgeous suits of movables, and trains
“ of concubines and eunuchs, are no other than
“ burdens and clogs. Alexander, dragging
“ these, will sink before those whom he has
“ overcome.” — These seemed to all, the
suggestions of desperation, inasmuch as impe-
rial Babylon was proposed to be abandoned to
the conqueror, with Susa, and the other gems
of the empire, which had been the motives to
invasion.— Darius proceeds: “ In the present
“ exigency, those things, which have dazzling
“ names, should not be our care, but those only
“ which can be of essential service. War strikes
“ with iron, not with gold; by men, and not
“ by the soft nurslings of cities. All things

“ devolve to the armed. Thus my ancestors, “ under reverses, in the infancy of the monarchy, speedily recovered their greatness.” This address inspired the adherents of Darius with confidence, or, unmoved by his counsels, they bowed to his sovereignty. He entered the borders of Media*.

2. To Alexander was soon afterwards surrendered Arbela, replete with regal furniture and treasures; comprising costly wardrobes and four thousand talents. Here the valuables of the whole army had been deposited †.

Alexander suddenly broke up his camp, menaced with contagion, caused by effluvia from the dead bodies lying in all the plains. At the beginning of his march, Arabia, celebrated for its aromatic productions, he kept bearing to the left ‡. His road lay over levels. The pasturage between the Tigris and the Euphrates is represented as so rich and luxuriant, that the inhabitants restrain the cattle feeding, lest they should die by a surfeit. The cause of this fer-

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (A).

† Alexander, as he had formerly done with respect to Damascus, probably took possession of Arbela by a detachment, his main-body remaining encamped near the field of battle.

‡ The bearing of Arabia the Happy, if Curtius meant deliberately to refer to a region at such an immense distance, is relevant so far as it shows, that when Alexander broke up from Gaugamela for Babylon, he moved in a direction nearly retrograde, until he had crossed the Tigris. He went back a little, for the convenience of the ford.— See ADDITIONAL NOTES (B).

tility, is the humidity circulated through the soil by subterranean streams, replenished from the two rivers*. Both the Tigris and Euphrates have their source in the mountains of Armenia; and as they had begun their course with a great divergency, so a long way afterwards they continue it. Their greatest distance, in the vicinity of the Armenian mountains, those who have measured it, specify to be two thousand five hundred stadia. These rivers, *when they begin to intersect the OPEN COUNTRY, and the ridges of the GORDÆANS†*, gradually approximate; and

* The name of Houshung, the second ruler of the Pashdadian dynasty, is perpetuated in Persia, as the first who constructed aqueducts. These aqueducts are made by a succession of small wells at the distance of a few yards from each other, and of such depth as the level and soil require: they are connected with each other at the bottom by a channel, large enough for a man to pass to clear it. These wells commence at a spring, and not only convey its waters, but that of such other springs as are found in the course of the canal: the water they convey is applied to irrigation.—MALCOLM'S *History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 14.

† The seats of the modern Koords. The Translator has rendered *Media* as a Grecism for "the open country;" in which sense it will apply to Mesopotamia. For if "*Media*" be restricted to its ordinary meaning as a proper name, the text will contain several errors.

1. The Euphrates no where touches *MEDIA*; nor does the Tigris, though it may intersect a tract which had belonged to the Median empire. The geography of the text, incorrect in relation to the provincial divisions in the time of Alexander, might have suited the age of Xenophon; because a wall extending, in a remote age, across Mesopotamia, from the two rivers, a little farther from Babylon than the 33d degree of lat. continued to be called the Median wall, after the name of Mesopotamia had been introduced. See Rennell's *Geography of Herodotus*.

the farther they run, the smaller is the space between them : shutting in, on three sides, the

2. Nor do both rivers intersect the ridges of the GORDÆANS, unless the mountain-seats of that tribe be prolonged westward beyond the Euphrates, in opposition to the limited bearing of the Gordæan chain implied in book IV. *supra*, vol. i. p. 412. A note on that passage has already indicated, that, admitting the eastern border of Adiabene to have been the principal seat of the Gordæans, some hordes of that nation occupied Taurus Niphates, and other branches westward. The latest authority on the subject says : “ *Kurdistan*, “ the country of the *Kurds*, comprehends the whole of *Assyria Pro-* “ *per* [Adiabene], part of *Armenia*, and part of *Media*. The *Kurds*, “ under the appellation of *Carduchai*, are mentioned by the earliest “ of the Greek historians ; and they themselves boast of being the “ descendants of Noah. Possessing a wild and inaccessible country, “ they have never been completely subdued, and continue to live “ under a number of independent princes, whose government is abso- “ lute. They may be divided into two classes ; namely, those who “ live in tents, and those who have fixed habitations The former, “ on the approach of winter, quit the more lofty regions, and retire “ gradually toward the warmer climate of the South :—They return “ to their mountains about April or May.”—*Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire*, by John Macdonald Kinneir, Political Assistant to Sir John Malcolm on the Mission to Persia. 4to. London, 1815. pp. 141, 337.”

On the other hand, as far as the text imports, that the Euphrates and Tigris, in the age of Alexander, issued by separate channels to the sea, Curtius is to be allowed credit, which few of the ancients can participate, for a correct memorial. “ The “ Euphrates and the Tigris,” observes Major Rennell, “ in the “ *time of Alexander*, were known to have kept distinct courses “ to the sea ; and the fact has been clearly established from “ the history of Nearchus’ voyage.”

The representation, in the map, of the rivers and canals in Babylonia and the vicinity, is founded on an ANCIENT MAP preserved by Cellarius, which appears to belong to the age of Seleucus. During the short interval between the death of Alex-

country which is called Mesopotamia*, while they are embracing its plains they CONVERGE NEAREST. At length, passing the borders of the province of Babylonia, they fall into the Red Sea†.

Alexander, in four days, reached the walled town Memmium: Near it is a fountain in a cavern, which discharges bitumen in great quantities; so that it is probable, that the wall of Babylon, a prodigious work, was cemented with this material.

3. As Alexander was proceeding toward Babylon, Mazæus, who had fled thither after the battle, came with his adult offspring, and tendered the surrender of himself and the city. His overture was gratifying: the siege of a

ander and the transfer of the seat of government from Babylon to the new city Seleucia,—the canal, marked in the map above Babylon, which carried a derivation from the Euphrates into the Tigris, is stated to have increased to a river: this with other derivations, completely dried the old channel of the Euphrates, which is restored in the map.

At this day, there is no confluence before the rivers reach Korna. Parson's *Travels*, p. 153. The united stream is called the Schut-el-Arab; [*the river of the Arabs*]; separating near the Persian gulf, it discharges its waters by two principal mouths.

* The name *Mesopotamia* [*α μέσος ἔτ ποταμῶς*] expresses its central relation to two rivers. Some Persian historians have called the same country *Juzeerah*, meaning "the island."

† The Persian gulf. The name *Red* or *Erythraean* sea, was, by the ancients, promiscuously given to the Arabian gulf,—the Persian gulf,—and the ocean which washes the southern coast of Asia, of which those gulfs are arms.

place so strong were a tedious operation : his rank was illustrious, and his bravery acknowledged, and he had distinguished himself in the recent action : such an example might induce others to submit. Alexander, therefore, courteously received him with his children. He, nevertheless, leading his army in person, formed it into a square, and cautioned it to enter the city in order of battle. On the walls stood a great proportion of the Babylonians, eager to behold their new sovereign. The majority went out to meet him : Among these, was Bagophanes, governor of the citadel, and keeper of the royal treasure ; unwilling that Mazæus should surpass him in attention, he had strewed the road with flowers and garlands*, and had placed on each side silver altars piled with frankincense, and other costly perfumes. Intended presents followed him : droves of cattle and horses ; lions, in cages, and female leopards. The procession was continued by *Magi* chanting hymns ; and by the Chaldæans, — the Chaldæans make known the motions of the planets, and the revolutions which measure time. Then advanced

* May 1811.—When the Prince of Shiraz went from that provincial capital, to meet a Kalaat (dress of honour) sent from the king; the whole of the road to Poorshan, three miles, was strewn with roses and watered ; both of which are modes of doing honour to persons of distinction. They also break vials of sugar, which they scatter under the horses' feet.—MORIER'S *Second Journey through Persia*.

the musicians with lyric instruments, whose office it was to sing the renown of their monarch. The train was closed by the Babylonian cavalry; the high wrought accoutrements of the men and horses were extravagant rather than magnificent.

Alexander directed the multitude of citizens to follow in the rear of his foot. In a car, surrounded by his guards, he entered the city, and then repaired to the palace. On the following day, he began to take an account of the heirloom-furniture, and of all the treasure of Darius.

4. The beauty and symmetry of the city struck Alexander and all who for the first time beheld it. It was founded by Semiramis, or, as the majority believe, by Belus, whose palace is yet preserved. The wall—of brick, cemented with bitumen—is thirty-two feet broad; chariots careering on it mutually pass in safety. The wall is one hundred feet high; the towers exceed it in altitude ten feet. The ramparts embrace a [quadrangular] line of three hundred and sixty-eight stadia; the work of building, according to tradition, occupied as many days*.

* *Singulorum stadiorum structuram singulis diebus perfectam esse, memoriæ proditum est.* CURTIUS.—Semiramis, who enlarged it, after Belus the original founder, assigned each furlong of the work, with materials and funds, to a confidential adherent, allowing a year for its completion. See Justin, *initio lib. i.* Diod. lib. ii.

From the wall, the houses are detached by a space of about two hundred and forty feet*. Nor is the whole city filled with streets; about ninety square stadia† are seats of habitations, which are not in a connected mass; I apprehend, because, by their dispersion, the danger from conflagration was deemed to be diminished. The area is ploughed and sowed, that, in case of a siege, the place may be fed by its own produce. The Euphrates, intersecting the city, is confined by mounds of mighty solidity; attached to the mounds are immense excavations, sunk deep, to receive the impetuous river, which, when it overflows, would sweep down the houses, were it not diverted by subterranean tunnels into the lakes: These tunnels, the greatest work of the engineers, are lined with brick, cemented with bitumen. The two parts of the city communicate by a bridge of stone; which also ranks among the wonders of the East: for the deep slime which is borne along the bed of the river, is with difficulty dug out, so as to arrive at ground solid enough for a foundation; and the sand heaps, which repeatedly accumulate round the stone piers on which the bridge rests, make the obstructed stream dash through more furiously. The citadel is twenty stadia in circumference; the foundations

* *Ferè spatium unius jugeri.* A JUGUM was 240 feet by 120.

† See PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION, *Testimonies*, No. 3.

of the towers are received thirty feet into the earth, their elevations rise eighty feet above it.

5. On the summit of the citadel are the hanging gardens, a trite theme with the Greek poets; they equal in height the walls of the town, and their numerous lofty trees afford a grateful shade. The trees are twelve feet in circumference, and fifty feet in height: nor, in their native soil, could they be more productive. Supporting these, are twenty dense walls, distant from each other eleven feet, surmounted with ranges of stone piers, over which is extended a quadrangular pavement of stone, strong enough to bear earth amassed high, and water supplied for irrigation. A distant spectator of these groves would suppose them to be woods nodding on their mountains. Notwithstanding time destroys, by insensible corrosion, not only human works, but even nature herself; yet this pile, pressed with the roots, and loaded with the trunks of so gigantic a plantation, still remains entire. Tradition affirms, that a king of Assyria*, reigning in Babylon, executed this work to gratify his queen, who, delighting in forest scenery, persuaded her husband to imitate the beauties of nature by a garden on this imperial scale.

* Nebuchadnezzar. *Josephus*, lib. x. chap. 11.—“Is not this great Babylon that I have built?” Dan. iv. 30. He constructed the decayed buildings, and embellished it with new.

In this capital the Macedonian leader halted longer than anywhere: no place proved more destructive of military discipline. No contamination can surpass the manners of the city; no systematic corruption can offer more stimulations and allurements to debauchery. Here parents and husbands, so as they be paid for the atrocity, can endure their children and wives to prostitute themselves to their guests. Throughout Persia, the chiefs and nobles take pleasure in licentious revels. The Babylonians are grossly addicted to wine, and the consequences of drunkenness. At the beginning of their feasts, the women are decorously habited; after an interval, they throw off their upper garment, and gradually proceed in violating modesty; at length, (to use words the least disgusting,) they lay aside the last veil: Nor is this the infamous practice only of the courtezans, but of the matrons and their daughters, who regard this vile harlotry as an act of complaisance.

6. In such flagitious excesses, the soldiers, who had conquered Asia, wallowed thirty-four days: doubtless, had an enemy presented himself, they would, in subsequent engagements, have betrayed their debility. But that the army might feel its deterioration less sensibly, it was progressively renewed with recruits. For Amyntas, the son of Andromenes, brought from Antipater six thousand infantry and five hundred

cavalry, Macedonians; with three thousand five hundred infantry and six hundred cavalry, Thracians. There came also from the Peloponnesus a stipendiary force amounting to four thousand foot and three hundred and eighty horse. Amyntas had likewise conducted fifty youths, sons of the Macedonian nobility, to guard the royal person. Their office is, further, to serve the king at table; to attend him with horses when he is going to action; to accompany him a-hunting, and to do alternate duty at his chamber door. Their establishment is a seminary to form generals and prefects.

Alexander appointed Agathon governor of the citadel of Babylon, with seven hundred Macedonians and three hundred mercenaries. The territory and city he confided to Menes and Apollodorus, as prefects, with two thousand infantry, and the sum of one thousand talents: he charged both to levy additional soldiers. To the temporising Mazæus he gave the satrapy of Babylon; and Bagophanes, who had surrendered the castle, he ordered to move in his train. Armenia was bestowed on Mithrenes, who formerly betrayed Sardis. Out of the specie taken in Babylon each Macedonian trooper received six hundred denarii; each foreign trooper, five hundred: the donative to the foot-soldier was two hundred.

CHAP. II.

Military rewards and institutions. Alexander enters Susa. His courtesies to Sisygambis.

7. THESE arrangements complete, Alexander advanced to the district called Satrapene: its fertility and accumulated abundance induced him to prolong his stay. That the spirit of the unemployed might not be dissipated by indolence, he proposed prizes to competitors in military reputation*, and appointed judges. Those eight who should be pronounced to have distinguished themselves, were to be created commanders of a thousand men. Officers over divisions of that number, of which this was the first introduction, were denominated *chiliarchæ*: battalions had consisted of five hundred, and, previously, they

* The nature of the rewards induces the translator to consider, that they were to be distributed, by a retrospective decision, among soldiers and minor officers who had, on previous critical occasions, performed brilliant and highly serviceable achievements in the field. By *egregio certamini*, the "illustrious contention," he understands an emulous appeal to the arbitrators, by the candidates, stating their rival pretensions with the freedom, but without the personality, of Ajax and Ulysses contending for the armour of Achilles. It were absurd to propose the command of a thousand men as a stake to stimulate a military game.

had not been given as rewards for bravery. A great number of soldiers assembled to behold the illustrious contention; so many had witnessed the deeds of each candidate, who would also witness the decision of the judges, that the application of a false standard to merit, or the unworthy distribution of honours, could not pass undetected. The first prize was awarded to Atharias, one of the *seniors*, who had been chiefly instrumental in reviving the fight at Halicarnassus, when the young soldiers faltered. The next was conferred on Antigenes. Philotas, the Angean, obtained the third. One Amyntas, the fourth. After these were classed Antigonus, and another Amyntas, a Lyncestean. The seventh rank, and the eighth, was assigned to Theodotus, and Hellanicus.

In points of military economy, handed from his predecessors, Alexander made several judicious changes. Previously the cavalry from different nations formed separate corps: He abolished this distinction, and placed them under commanders selected without regard to their country. The signal for decampment had hitherto been given by sound of trumpet: but, drowned by the clattering bustle of thousands, had frequently failed to be adequately heard; therefore, he caused a staff, conspicuously high, to be erected at head quarters;—whence the

new signal, flame by night, smoke by day, might equally strike all.

8. As the king was proceeding toward Susa, Abulites, satrap of that province, either in obedience to Darius' command, that Alexander might be diverted by the spoil, or from an impulse of his own, sent his son to meet him, declaring his readiness to surrender the city. Alexander courteously received the youth; and was conducted by him to the river Choaspes, of which the water, according to report, is delicious. Here Abulites appeared, with presents of regal magnificence; including dromedaries of superior swiftness, — twelve elephants, sent for by Darius from India, not formidable to the Macedonians, as had been designed, but subservient; fortune transferring the resources of the vanquished to the victor.

Alexander, having entered the town, took out of the treasury — an incredible quantity — fifty thousand talents of silver, not coined, but in bullion. Several kings, in successive ages, had contributed to this accumulated wealth, as they imagined for their descendants in perpetuity: but one hour bestowed it on a foreign prince.

Alexander then seated himself in the imperial chair, unsuitably elevated for his person, so that his feet could not touch the step at the

bottom; one of his pages, therefore, placed a table under his feet. The king, perceiving a eunuch that had been a domestic of Darius to be much affected, inquired the cause of his grief. The eunuch said: "From off that, " Darius was used to eat: his consecrated " table I cannot see insultingly trampled on " without tears." The king, therefore, began to be ashamed of this sacrilege against the gods presiding over hospitality; [carved upon the table;] and desired it to be removed—When Philotas: " Suffer me, O king! to deprecate " its removal: rather accept it as an auspice, " that that board on which thy enemy spread " his viands, has become thy footstool."

9. Alexander, preparing to penetrate the frontiers of Persis, committed the government of Susa to Archelaus, and a force of three thousand men. Xenophilus was left in charge of the citadel, garrisoned with aged Macedonian veterans. The custody of the treasures was confided to Callicrates. And Abulites was reinstated in the satrapy of Susiana.

Darius' mother and children were assigned apartments in Susa. The king happened to receive a present from Macedon, consisting of various robes and a quantity of purple, accompanied by those who wrought them. To Sisymbambis, to whom he showed every respect, and

even the duty of a son, he ordered them to be conveyed with a message, ' That if the clothes pleased her, she might let her grand-children learn to work such, for the purpose of making presents.' At these words, her bursting tears sufficiently declared that the gift was unacceptable. Indeed, the Persian ladies hold nothing in more abhorrence, than to let their hands touch wool. Informed by those who had carried the presents, that the spirit of Sisygambis was hurt, he deemed himself obliged to go and remove her dissatisfaction by an apology: " Mother, " the habiliments in which I appear, were not " only presents from my sisters, but also their " work. Our dissimilar customs misled me " What I have ignorantly done, I entreat you " will not construe as an affront. To this hour " I hope, as I could learn your usages, I have " unreservedly honoured them. Understanding " it to be, in Persia, a gross offence for the son " to be seated in the presence of the mother, " unless by her permission, as often as I have " visited you, I have kept standing till authorized by you to sit. You have frequently " offered me the honour of prostration: I never " would suffer it. By that venerated title, " which belongs to my beloved mother Olympias, I uniformly address you."

CHAP. III.

Alexander reduces the city of the Uxians. Is repulsed at the Pylæ Susidæ.

10. SISYGAMBIS soothed, the king advanced in four days to the river, by the natives called the Pasitigris. Its source is in the ridges of the Uxians; through a thousand stadia, between wooded banks, it rushes headlong down a rocky channel. Received on the plains, it assumes a calmer tenor; thence a navigable stream, after gliding six hundred stadia over a bed singularly level, it blends its placid waters with the Persian sea. Having crossed this river with nine thousand infantry, the Agrians, the stipendiary Greeks, and three thousand Thracians, Alexander entered the district of the Uxians: It skirts Susiana, and extends to the frontiers of Persia, leaving between them a narrow pass*. Madates, who held the government of the country, no time-server, determined to encounter the fiercest perils, in a loyal struggle. Individuals, however, of local knowledge, apprised Alexander, that there was a bye-track, through the defiles, leading to the back of the

* *arctum, inter se et Susianos aditum relinquens*,—CURTIUS, —leaving a narrow pass common to the natives and to the Susians.
VARIED TRANSLATION.

city; where a small light-armed detachment might climb an eminence commanding the enemy. This counsel approved, and those who had imparted it selected as guides, the king directed Tauron, with fifteen hundred mercenaries, and about a thousand Agrians, to penetrate in that direction after sun-set.

Alexander, on his part, broke up his camp at the third watch, and at day-break had passed the streits. Having cut materials for hurdles and rolling-frames to cover those who should advance the engines, he began to besiege the town. All around, crags, rocks, and precipices, obstructed access. The soldiers, therefore, wounded in numbers, were repulsed; for they had to conflict not only with the enemy, but with the place*. Again they moved up, rallied by Alexander, who stood among the foremost: “Are you not ashamed, having conquered so many fortified cities, to waver in the siege of a small, obscure castle?” The king was now

* This hill-fort seems to answer to the Kala Sufeed of the present day. Sir John Malcolm obtained the following description of the Kala Sufeed from Lieut. M'Donald, who visited it in 1810. “It was then in possession of an aboriginal tribe, called the Mumasenni. It stands about 76 miles W. by N. of Shiraz, on a high hill almost perpendicular on every side. It is of an oblong form, and encloses a level space at the top of the mountain, covered with delightful verdure, and watered by numerous springs. The ascent is near three miles; for the last six hundred yards, the summit is so difficult of approach, that the slightest opposition, well directed, must render it impregnable.”—MALCOLM'S *History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 27.

attacked with missiles: he could not be induced to withdraw; and the soldiers formed a tortoise with their bucklers to protect him.

11. At length, Tauron appeared with his detachment above the fort. This display caused the enemy to droop, and the Macedonians to fight with augmented vigour. The inhabitants of the town were pressed by two divisions, of which the assault was irresistible: A few braved death; many were solicitous to fly; a great number escaped into the fort. Hence they sent out thirty deputies to Alexander to implore quarter. "There is no room for pardon," was the stern answer. Awed by imminent vengeance, they despatch, by a covert road unknown to the enemy, heralds to Sisygambis, entreating her to intercede for them with the king; for they were not ignorant that he loved and revered her as a parent. Madates having married her sister's daughter, stood in close affinity with Darius. Sisygambis long resisted their application, declaring, 'That interposition for them was not suitable to her condition: as to herself, apprehensive that she might weary the indulgence of the conqueror, she endeavoured rather to remember that she was a captive, than that she had been a queen.' Subdued, ultimately, by their importunities, she wrote to Alexander, beseeching, 'That he would excuse an appeal to his clemency on

‘ behalf of the besieged ; and if he refused to
‘ spare them, that he would at least forgive her
‘ intercession for a friend and kinsman, no
‘ longer his enemy, but a suppliant to him for
‘ life.’ A brilliant instance of the king’s moderation and goodness at that time, — he granted not only amnesty to Madates, but liberty and immunity both to the captives and the inhabitants surrendering : the city he left untouched, and permitted them to cultivate their lands tax-free. Had Darius been their conqueror, what more could his mother have obtained for them ? Alexander then made the district of the Uxians a dependency on the satrapy of Susiana.

Dividing his army, he commanded Parmenio to march through the level country ; while he, with the light-armed forces, traversed the mountains which extend in a continuous chain to Persis.

12. Having ravaged all this tract, he, on the third day, reached Persis ; and on the fifth, entered the streits called Pylæ Susidæ. Ariobarzanes, with twenty-five thousand men, guarded the yawning chasms and craggy precipices of these rocks, posted on eminences out of bow-shot. Here they remained inactive, counterfeiting terror, till the invaders had penetrated into the narrowest part of the defile. Perceiving them to advance in contemptuous security, they rolled masses of stone down the declivities,

which, rebounding from the opposite rocks, fell with aggravated force, crushing not only individuals, but companies. The Barbarians likewise discharged slings and bows in every direction. Nor of this did their brave opponents complain; but to fall unavenged, like beasts entrapped in a pitfall! galled to phrenzy, numbers cling to the jutting crags, and, supporting each other, attempt to climb to the enemy. But the profuberances of rock fell upon them, snapt off by the united weight of many men ascending together. It was as impracticable to proceed as to keep their ground; nor could they, by a tortoise of bucklers, protect themselves from the ponderous stones which the Barbarians propelled*. Alexander was mortified and ashamed of having rashly wedged his army into this defile. Till this day, never frustrated in an enterprise, he had been invincible. He had passed without loss the streits of Cilicia, and he had opened a new road by the sea-shore into Pamphylia. Here his arrested fortune found an obstruction. There was no remedy, but to retrace

* On hill-forts, and heights commanding passes, a battery of stones was a regular means of defence with the rude engineers of antiquity; and the present masters of Kala Sufeed alluded to, p. 19, note, have prepared "a line of large stones ranged in regular order around the edges of the precipice; each stone is wedged in by one of smaller dimensions; when that is removed, the large stone, or rather rock, is hurled down, and sweeps every thing before it with irresistible fury."—MALCOLM'S *History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 27. n.

his steps. Having made the signal for retreat in close order, with bucklers interlocked overhead, he commanded the men to retire from the pass : and they retrograded thirty stadia.

CHAP. IV.

Alexander proceeds by a detour : Craterus passes the streits.

13. **ENCAMPED** in an open place, Alexander not only deliberated with his officers on the course to be pursued, but superstitiously consulted the diviners. But what could Aristander, in whom most confidence was reposed, foretel? Soon checking the unseasonable sacrifices, the king ordered into his presence persons acquainted with the country. These were pointing out a ROAD THROUGH THE LEVEL COUNTRY*, which was safe and open — But he felt it would be a stigma to depart without burying his slain; for there was no custom observed more sacredly by the Macedonian soldiers than this duty to the fallen. He therefore directed that the prisoners recently made should be introduced: among them, was an individual skilled in both the Greek and Persian languages. This man replied: “ It would be

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (C).

“ fruitless to attempt to carry the army over
“ the acclivities of the mountains; the wild
“ paths will scarcely admit passengers one by
“ one; for trees intertwining their branches, and
“ forests wedged together, cover every thing.”

Persis is shut in, on one side, by continuous ridges of mountain, extending in length sixteen hundred stadia, and in breadth one hundred and seventy. This chain, derived from Caucasus*, runs on to the Erythrean sea; and where the mountains terminate, the gulf presents another breastwork. At the base of the hills lies the level country, a fertilized expanse, adorned with multiplied villages and cities. Through the plains, the river Arosis carries the water of many brooks to the Medus: the Medus†, diverted [by dams and canals for irrigation] *from* the SEA and *toward* the south, flows on, a less river than that which it receives. No stream more promotes vegetation; its banks are covered with plane-trees and poplars; and every tract which it laves is dressed in blossoms. To distant spectators the woods upon the banks appear as an elongation of the forest on the mountains; because the river gliding in a depressed channel, is lost in shadow; and the hills which rise near, imbibing its humidity at their

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (D).

† To the united stream Strabo gives the name of the Arosis.—
See PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION, p. xlv.

base, are skirted with groves. There is not, in all Asia, a more salubrious climate; on one side, the refrigerating shade of the ridges alleviates the heat and attempers the air; on the other, the adjoining sea cherishes the earth with moderated warmth.

14. Having heard the account of the captive, the king inquired of him, ‘ Whether he gave it ‘ from the relation of others, or from ocular experience?’ He answered, ‘ That he had been a ‘ shepherd, and had coursed every beaten track; ‘ that he had been twice taken prisoner, once by ‘ the Persians in Lycia, and now by Alexander.’ The king hereupon recollected an oracle which had predicted, that a Lycian should be his guide into Persia. Making him promises, therefore, adapted to the exigency, and to influence one in the prisoner’s condition, he ordered him to be armed in the Macedonian manner. “ Confiding “ in fortune,” said the king, “ show the way; “ which, however steep and difficult, shall be “ practicable by a small band, unless you suppose that Alexander cannot penetrate for “ glory and future renown where you have “ gone for your flock.” The prisoner here described the impediments in the road to men under arms. The king replied: “ I will undertake that none of those whom you are to “ lead will refuse to follow.”

Committing, then, the guard of the camp to

Craterus, with the foot under his ordinary command and the forces under Meleager, and a thousand mounted archers, he gave him these instructions: " Preserve the form of encampment, and display a great number of fires, that the Barbarians may not suspect my absence. But if Ariobarzanes should discover that I am making a detour, and should send detachments to obstruct my passage, then, Craterus! alarm the enemy by demonstrations, which may induce the Barbarian forces to return to oppose the immediate danger. Further, if I should pass unobserved by Ariobarzanes until I have obtained possession of the wood, when you hear the clamour of the amazed enemy pursuing me, enter the streits in which we were yesterday repulsed, certain to find them evacuated and the enemy turned upon me."

15. At the third watch, Alexander, with a division which broke up without sound of trumpet; silently followed the guide toward the narrow ways. Every light-armed soldier had been ordered to take three days' provision. Besides rocky steeps, and loose crags, which suddenly betrayed the feet, drifts of snow impeded them; into these they sunk as into pits, and sometimes pulled down their fellow-soldiers who endeavoured to extricate them. Night, a place unknown, surmises against the fidelity of their guide, increased their apprehensions:

“ Should he elude the guards, they might be surprised in a snare, like wild animals; their safety, and the king’s, depended on the loyalty and life of a single captive.” At length they reached the summit of the ridge; whence the way to Ariobarzanes was on the right. Here Alexander left to the separate conduct of Philotas and Cœnos, Amyntas and Polysperchon, a detachment of light-armed, with instructions, ‘ That on account of the intermixture of horse and foot, they should proceed leisurely wherever a fruitful soil afforded plenty of forage.’ He assigned them some of the prisoners as guides.

He in person, with the body-guard, and one of the flanking divisions denominated *agema*, penetrated with difficulty an avenue, which lay remote from the enemy’s centinels. It was now noon; and his fatigued men required rest, for as much of the way remained to be traversed as had been passed, though it was less rugged and steep. Having therefore refreshed his men with food and sleep, he started at the second watch, advancing with little difficulty as far as where the base of the mountain slopes into the plain: here the track was crossed by a capacious ravine, which had been excavated by the descent of successive land-floods. Added to this, boughs of trees, entwining and meeting, presented an unintermitted hedge. Now the

men's desperation almost drew from them tears; darkness fortified their terrors, for a dense canopy of foliage shut out the glittering of the stars. The man who would cheer his companions could not be heard, for the clashing of the branches mingled with the roar of the blast.

16. At length the welcome dawn reduced to insignificance the dangers which night had aggravated; for the soldiers by a slight detour avoided the ravine; and now every one undertook to be his own guide. They therefore ascend a lofty hill: whence having discovered the outposts of Ariobarzanes, they arm with alacrity, and show themselves at the back of the enemy, who had not apprehended such an attack. Those few who ventured to engage were killed. The groans of the dying, and the dismayed countenances of those who escaped, spread such a panic through the main-body, that they fled without hazarding a battle.

The din was heard or reported in the camp of Craterus; who led the soldiers to occupy the streits in which they had miscarried the preceding day.

All at once,—Philotas, Polysperchon, Amyntas, and Cœnos, who had been ordered to advance by a different road, shook the Barbarians with additional surprise. These, as soon as they were on every side invested, began a memorable fight:—Hence, I conclude, that necessity gives

courage to the fearful, and that frequently desperation creates an opening for hope. The naked Barbarians closed with their armed assailants; and having, by the weight of their bodies, brought them with themselves to the ground, they stabbed them with their own weapons. At length Ariobarzanes, with about forty horse and five thousand foot, forced through the centre of the Macedonian army, sustaining and inflicting a great loss. He, by expedition, strove to occupy Persepolis, the chief city of the country: but, denied entrance by the garrison, and closely followed by the enemy, he renewed the battle, and fell with all his adherents.

And now Craterus, with his division, came up by a rapid march.



CHAP. V.

Alexander marches to Persepolis. A procession of mutilated Greeks.

17. IN the place whence he had swept the enemy, Alexander pitched a fortified camp; for though the non-appearance of an opponent, confessed his consummate victory: yet deep fosses, with perpendicular banks, in many parts intersected the road. He proposed to advance circumspectly; not apprehending an ambuscade, but surmising insidious excavations to have

been made in the ground*. During his progress, he receives a letter from Tiridates, keeper of the regal treasure, notifying, ‘ That, on report of Alexander’s coming, the inhabitants designed to rifle the treasury: and recommending that expedition should be used to secure it: the way was unobstructed, except where the river Arosis ran across.’ No military qualification of Alexander deserves more highly to be extolled than his celerity. Leaving his infantry, he marched all night with his cavalry, previously fatigued, and, having traversed a long interval, came, at day-break, to the Arosis. In the vicinity were several villages; these he pillaged and demolished, and, laying the materials on blocks of stone, promptly formed a bridge.

At his near approach to the city, his eyes were shocked with a spectacle which has few parallels in history. It was a procession of Greek captives, amounting almost to four thousand †, whom the Persians had deplorably mutilated. Some had had their feet cut off; others had been deprived of their hands and ears; and

* It was part of the tactics, not only of the Persians, but of the Scythians, or the tribes which, in modern times, have been called Tartars, to watch for occasions of ensnaring a confident enemy by deep pits and trenches covered with wattles and earth. Here the stratagem was incomplete, for want of time to effect the concealment.—See MALCOLM’S *History of Persia*, pp. 130, 138, note.

† Diodorus enumerates them only at eight hundred.

all their bodies were branded with barbarous characters. Thus they had been reserved for the diversion of their inhuman enemies, who seeing themselves on the eve of foreign subjection, did not oppose their desire to go out and meet Alexander. They resembled uncouth images, distinguishable only as men by their voice. They excited more tears than they shed. In a calamity which capriciously marked every individual, it might be seen at once that they all shared : but their punishments had been so diversified, that it was impossible to pronounce who was most miserable. When they cried out, that Jupiter, the avenger of Greece, had at last awoke, all the auditors sympathized in their sufferings as their own. The king, having dried his tears, said to them : “ Resume courage : you shall again see your native land and your wives.” Then Alexander entrenched his camp two stadia from the city.

18. Meanwhile, the Greeks, having withdrawn, deliberated respecting what great boon they ought to demand of the king. Some were disposed to petition for a settlement in Asia ; others, for restoration to their homes. Euthymon, the Cymeian, is represented to have thus spoke : “ We who but recently blushed to come out of our dark dungeons to implore relief, now desire to expose our sufferings to

“ all Greece, as if they were an agreeable spectacle: while it is uncertain whether, ourselves, we are the more grieved by, or ashamed of them. Those who conceal their afflictions, bear them best. To the incurably wretched, their native land cannot be so congenial as solitude and absolute oblivion of their former state. They who expect much from the commiseration of their friends, are ignorant that tears are soon dried up. None sincerely love those whom they loathe; for calamity is as addicted to moan, as prosperity is disdainful. Every one, when he considers the distresses of another, adverts to his own circumstances; and were we not equally miserable, we had long ago avoided each other. Is it wonderful that the happy delight in the happy? Let us, I entreat, since we are dead to enjoyment, seek the shade of seclusion for our mangled remains, and bury our déformities in exile. Returning, we shall be agreeable objects to those wives whom we married in our youth! Will our children, in the flower of life and prosperity, acknowledge the refuse of jails? How many of us are equal to the journey? From Europe far, in the remote East, old, infirm, despoiled of great part of ourselves, can we surmount fatigues which have oppressed even the victorious army? Further, with re-

“ spect to those wives whom accident and ne-
“ cessity forced us to take, as the only consol-
“ tion of our captivity;—them, and our little chil-
“ dren, shall we drag with us, or leave behind ?
“ If we take them, nobody will acknowlege
“ us. Shall we, then, abandon these pledges,
“ when it is uncertain whether we can see those
“ others, if we seek them ? Let us live seques-
“ tered among those whose acquaintance with us
“ began under infelicity.”

19. Thus Euthymon. He was opposed by Theætetus the Athenian : “ No good man values
“ his friends the less on account of bodily de-
“ fects, especially when the inhumanity of an
“ enemy has inflicted the calamity. He deserves
“ every kind of evil, who is ashamed of pure
“ misfortunes. For thinking so hardly of man-
“ kind, and despairing of pity, he can have no
“ motive, but that he would refuse pity to an-
“ other. What we never dared to hope; the
“ gods now offer — — our native land, our
“ wives, our children, and all those goods which
“ give life its value, and which men defend
“ unto death. Why then do we not burst from
“ this prison ? In our native land, the air is
“ sweeter, the light is more grateful. Even the
“ Barbarians revere and cultivate the Grecian
“ manners, religion, and languages; and shall
“ we, whose birth-right they are, wilfully relin-

“ quish them?— — Our greatest unhappiness is
“ exclusion from those blessings. For myself,
“ I am resolved to avail myself of the king’s
“ extraordinary bounty, and return to my coun-
“ try and my home. Attachments to those con-
“ cubines and children whom slavery compelled
“ us to acknowledge, may detain individuals: but
“ let those go to whom nothing is dearer than
“ their native country.”

A few were of this opinion: habit, which is stronger than nature, influenced the remainder. They agreed, ‘To request the king to assign a spot for their residence.’ Then they elected one hundred deputies. Alexander, concluding that they had come to ask the same boon which he was prepared to grant: “ I have appointed,” said he, “ conveyances for you, and to each of you
“ a thousand denarii; and when you shall have
“ reached Greece, I shall make such provision
“ for you, that, setting aside the past severities
“ of fate, no man’s condition shall be happier
“ than yours.” At these words, the deputies wept; and fixed their distressed eyes on the ground, not daring to speak. After an interval, the king inquired why they were dejected. Then Euthymon gave an answer corresponding to his speech at the consultation. Hereupon, the king, commiserating their misfortunes and confirmed melancholy, ordered the distribution

to each of three thousand denarii; he added cattle, teams, and seed-corn, that they might cultivate the land assigned them.

CHAP. VI.

Persepolis plundered. Treasures there and at Pasa-sargada. Alexander conducts an expedition through the wilds of Persia into the country of the Mardians.

20. ON the following day, Alexander addressed his convened officers: "No city has been more
" pernicious to the Greeks than this seat of the
" ancient Persian monarchs. Hence was given
" the impulse to their immense armies. Hence
" Darius first, and afterwards Xerxes, poured
" their impious wars on Europe. It must be
" razed, to appease the manes of our ancestors."

From the evacuated city the terrified Barbarians fled in various directions: whereupon the king led the phalanx into it without delay. Conquest or negotiation had made him master of many capitals imperially opulent: but the riches of this last transcended the others. The resources of Persia, as a state, the personal pro-

perty of the Barbarians, were here deposited: gold and silver in heaps; apparel for princes; furniture—in part ostentatiously superb, in part framed for simple utility. This caused the victorious troops to fight among themselves; and he who had seized the most valuable spoils, was treated by his companions as an enemy. As the soldiers could not bear away all that they found, they grasped at such articles as seemed to deserve a preference. They tore up the royal robes, every one snatching a piece: vases of exquisite workmanship, they split with axes: nothing was left untouched, nor carried off entire. Images were dismembered, as each despoiler could wrench away a limb. Nor avarice alone—cruelty now raged; for the savages, loaded with gold and silver, to avoid the trouble of guarding their prisoners, butchered them; and those who had bought their life by disclosing their riches, were no longer spared. This induced numbers to anticipate the enemy by a voluntary death. Habited in their most gorgeous apparel, with their wives and children, they plunged headlong from the walls. Some, supposing the enemy would ultimately burn the town, fired their houses, and, with their families, perished in the flames. At length the king gave orders, ‘That the persons of the women should be respected, and their apparel preserved to them.’

Of treasures taken here, the amount is almost incredible: but we must doubt respecting all the previous, or believe that in the citadel were deposited one hundred and twenty thousand talents. Destining this to the service of the war, the king caused horses, and camels, to be brought from Susa and Babylon, to transport it. To this sum may be added six thousand talents taken at Persagada, which was surrendered to Alexander by its governor Gobares. Cyrus founded Persagada*.

21. The king nominated Nicarthides governor of the citadel of Persepolis, leaving him a garrison of three thousand Macedonians. To Tyridates, who had delivered up the treasure, he confirmed the honours which he had held under Darius.

Alexander confided the chief part of his army, with the baggage, to Parmenio, and Craterus; while, with a thousand horse, and a division of light-armed infantry, set out, under the constellation of the Pleiades†, to penetrate the inward territory of Persis. He was annoyed by heavy rains, and by a tempest scarcely to be endured; notwithstanding which, he proceeded as he had planned. He had now ad-

* *Persagada*, or *Parsagada*, signifying the "camp of the Persians," is found in most of the Greek authors converted into *Pasargada*, by the transposition of two consonants.

† See ADDITIONAL NOTES (E).

vanced into a pass environed with perpetual snow, and the intensity of the cold had glazed the rugged road with ice. Dreary scenery and impassable wilds terrified the exhausted soldiers, who imagined themselves to be stepping on the confines of the world. They were astonished by solitudes, without a vestige of cultivation, or of man. They insisted on being led back, before the light and heavens failed them. The king forbore to punish them for the effect of horror; but leaped from his horse, and proceeded on foot through the snow and ice*: His friends, his generals, and the soldiers, were ashamed not to follow. The king, with a pickaxe breaking the ice, made himself a passage: the rest imitated his example.

At length, having traversed forests almost impervious, they discovered indications, that the tract was not entirely uncultivated, and a few wandering herds of cattle. The inhabitants dwelt in scattered cottages, deeming the protection of walls unnecessary in an inaccessible country†. At sight of the enemy, killing such

* It was so cold in the table-land of Hobatou in JULY 1810, that the water froze in the tent.—See *Kinneir's Geogr. Memoir of Persia*, p. 144, *text and note*.—Now the time of this expedition along an elevated region, and occasionally over higher ridges, is deduced to be MAY.

† “ The tribes of Louristan trace their origin to the most remote antiquity. They are a savage and fearless race, subject to no law but the will of their chiefs, and would seem to differ only in name

as could not accompany them, they fled to unfrequented mountains, covered with snow. Through conferences with the prisoners, their wildness diminished; they eventually surrendered themselves, and were treated with lenity by the king.

Alexander having ravaged the country of Persis, and reduced very many towns, at length entered the district of the Mardi*, a warlike tribe, whose habits are repugnant to the manners of the Persians. They dig caverns in the mountains, in which they inhume themselves with their wives and children: they feed on flesh, either that of their herds, or of wild animals. The women are not of a softer nature than the men: their hair is shaggy; and their garments do not reach to the knees. They bind the forehead with a sling, making an ornament

“ from the rude inhabitants of the same country in the days of Alexander. They reside in black tents even during the winter; [when some of them emigrate to a warmer climate, p. 143.] and consequently, with the exception of Korumabad, there are no towns, and but few villages to be seen in Louristan.” — *Geogr. Mem.* p. 138. The Illiats pass the months of June, July, and August, upon great table-lands, consisting of progressive clusters of hills heaped upon each other; at which time these highlands are covered with their flocks and tents; but they retire to the neighbourhood of Bagdad in the winter.” p. 143.

“ The soil of the glens is good, and will yield abundance of wheat and barley; but the Kurds, who prefer the pastoral life, content themselves with raising only what is absolutely necessary for their subsistence.” p. 144.

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (F).

of a weapon. This nation, also, was, however, borne down by the same torrent of fortune.

Alexander, on the thirtieth day after his departure from Persepolis, returned thither. Then, in presents to his friends and adherents, according to merit, he distributed almost all that he had taken in that city.

CHAP. VII.

The burning of Persepolis.

22. **BUT** the superior mental endowments of Alexander, that disposition more than kingly, that firmness in meeting danger, that velocity of preparation and of achievement, that good faith to an enemy submitting on terms, that clemency toward prisoners of war; were all sullied by an inordinate propensity to wine. While his antagonist, and competitor for empire, was making every exertion to renew hostilities — while the provinces, recently subdued, winced under his new government — he occupied each succeeding day in banquets; at which were present, fair guests, not such as it would have been a crime to debauch, but venal mistresses, whose licentious society was a disgrace to the brave. One of these, Thais, flushed with undiluted cups, suggested to the king, ‘ That if he burnt the palace of the Persic princes,

‘ it would, above all things, gratify the Greeks,
‘ who expected this reprisal for the destruction
‘ of their cities by the Barbarians.’ While this
bacchante was agitating this serious affair, one
and another inebriated individual expressed
their applauses; and the king, not enduring
merely, with avidity embracing the proposal,
exclaimed: “ Why do we delay to avenge
“ Greece, and apply the torches to the city?”
Inflamed with the spirit of the grape, all rise
together to burn that splendid seat which they
had spared when armed. The king led the
destroyers, and fired the palace: then his guests,
his servants, and his concubines, applied their
active flambeaux. The imperial structure con-
tained a great quantity of cedar, which rapidly
caught, and widely communicated, the flames.
Now the army, encamped not far from the town,
perceiving the conflagration, and considering it
to be casual, hastened to give their services in
extinguishing it; but when they had come to
the portico of the palace, seeing the king hurl-
ing in a profusion of blazing combustibles, they
dropped the water which they had brought,
and augmented the fire with dry materials.

23. This was the end of the court* of all the

* Arrian, lib. iii. p. 66. Plutarch in *Alex.* and Strabo, lib. xv. p. 502, confine the conflagration to the palace. Diodorus says indistinctly, that the environs of the palace were consumed. Pliny, lib. vi. 26, having incidentally to mention Persepolis, subjoins: “ the

East; whence laws had emanated to so many nations; the birth-place of so many kings: formerly, the sole object of terror to Greece, its decrees had equipped a fleet of a thousand sail, and inundated Europe with armies; had constructed bridges over the sea, and cut through mountains a marine canal. Ages have elapsed since its destruction, and a new metropolis has not risen from its ashes; for Alexander and his successors held their courts in other cities; which the Parthians now occupy. Were it not for the river Arosis, the traces of it could hardly be found; that river flowed near its walls; by the neighbouring inhabitants the distance is rather conjectured, than ascertained, to have been twenty stadia. The Macedonians were ashamed, that the destruction of a city so illustrious, should be ascribed to a bacchanalian frolic of their king: they, therefore, gave the affair a severe aspect, and imposed on themselves a belief, that it was expedient that Persepolis should be so consumed. Alexander, on his part, as soon as repose had dispelled the fumes of inebriety, felt and expressed regret: “ More ample atonement had been made to
“ Greece, if the Persians had beheld me sitting
“ on the imperial throne of Xerxes.”

The next day, he gave thirty talents to the

“ capital of the empire, destroyed by Alexander.—See ADDITIONAL NOTES (G).”

Lycian, who had been his guide into Persis. Hence he passed into the country of Media, where he was met by recruits from Cilicia; they consisted of one thousand cavalry and five thousand infantry, the whole commanded by Plato the Athenian. Thus reinforced, he prepared to pursue Darius.

CHAP. VIII.

Darius at Ecbatana. His speech in council.

24. THE fugitive king had reached Ecbatana, the capital of Media. AT THIS DAY in the hands of the Parthians, the city is the royal seat during summer. Darius had designed to go thence into Bactriana: but apprehensive that the expedition of Alexander would anticipate him, he altered his intention. A space of fifteen hundred stadia* separated him from Alexander; but he deemed no space a protection from his

* Le Tellier, in his commentary, enters into a loose calculation of the distance between Persepolis and Ecbatana, on the supposition, that Curtius assumes it to be but fifteen hundred stadia: but the critic, deserted by his usual acumen, has overlooked those passages, which decide the intention of Curtius to have been, merely to mark the interval which divided the two kings — when one began to move from Ecbatana; and the other, having already advanced into Media, began an immediate pursuit. See *supra*, ch. vii. *paragr. ult.* and, *infra*, ch. xiii. 34.

pursuer's celerity. He prepared, therefore, rather for battle than for flight. He was followed by thirty thousand foot, comprising four thousand Greeks, whose fidelity to the king remained to the last invincible. He had also a body of slingers, and archers, amounting to four thousand: besides these, there were three thousand three hundred cavalry, chiefly Bactrians, commanded by Bessus, who was satrap of the city and province of Bactriana. With this army, Darius diverged a little from the high-road, having ordered those charged with the baggage to go on before.

To his convened council—"If fortune," said Darius, "had associated me with cowards, who prefer any manner of life to an honourable death, I would, in silence, forbear to waste the time in fruitless exhortations. But your courage and fidelity have been more severely proved than I could wish; and I ought rather to strive to be worthy of such friends, than doubt whether you are still like yourselves. Out of so many thousands once under my command, you only have adhered to your master, twice conquered, twice a fugitive. Your attachment and constancy make me regard myself still as a king. Traitors, and deserters, indeed, are appointed regents over my cities, not that they are deemed to merit such dignities, but by degrading honours into

“ wages, to tempt you to disloyalty. You have,
“ notwithstanding, chosen to connect yourselves
“ with my fortune, rather than with the con-
“ queror’s : a conduct worthy of reward from
“ the gods, if it should be never in my power
“ to recompense it—And, gods! ye WILL re-
“ ward it. There will be no fame so perverse,
“ no posterity so insensible, as not to bear your
“ memory to the skies. Therefore, although
“ I had, contrary to my own inclination, admit-
“ ted thoughts of flight,—yet, relying on your
“ bravery, I shall meet the enemy. For how
“ long am I to be an exile in my own domi-
“ nions, how long fly through my frontier
“ provinces from a remote-born sovereign,
“ when it is open to me, by trying the fortune
“ of war, either to recover my empire, or to fall
“ gloriously? — Unless it be better to trust
“ to the victor’s clemency, and, after the exam-
“ ple of Mazæus and Mithrenes, accept a pre-
“ carious satrapy over a single nation : admit-
“ ting he would gratify his vanity, rather than
“ his revenge. May the gods never suffer any
“ one, either to take this diadem from my brow,
“ or to replace it there. Living, I will not
“ surrender my sceptre ; my kingdom and my
“ life shall end together. If the same spirit
“ reigns in you, not one of you shall lose his li-
“ berty, not one be forced to crouch to the

“ haughty Macedonians. Your right-hands
“ shall avenge your sufferings, or terminate
“ them. Our present condition proves how
“ fluctuating fortune is ; and it is reasonable to
“ expect a favourable vicissitude. But if just
“ and pious wars be disregarded by the gods,
“ it is yet in the power of the brave to die
“ honourably. By the illustrious deeds of our
“ ancestors, by the renown with which they
“ governed all the kingdoms of the East, by
“ those great men to whom Macedon formerly
“ paid tribute, by the mighty fleets that have
“ been sent against Greece, by the trophies of
“ so many kings, by every sacred invocation,
“ I entreat you to call into exercise a courage
“ suitable to the nobility of your families and
“ nation ; and that with such resolution as you
“ have opposed to the past, you will assay what
“ fortune has to allot. For myself, I am re-
“ solved to be great to future ages—by a battle,
“ perhaps by a remarkable victory.”

CHAP. IX.

*Insolent proposition of Nabarzanes to Darius.
Disorganized state of the Persian army.*

25. WHILE Darius was speaking, the aspect of impending danger had oppressed the hearts and imaginations of all his attendants with horror: none could exert his reason. When Darius ceased, none ventured to speak. At length Artabazus, the oldest of his friends, and who had formerly resided at the court of Philip: "In our richest apparel, and most splendid armour, we will follow our king to the field; nor are we disposed to despair of victory, or to shrink from death." The rest appeared to assent:—But Nabarzanes had leagued with Bessus in a conspiracy of unprecedented atrocity; by the agency of the troops which they commanded, to seize, and bind the king,—meditating, if Alexander pursued them, to deliver him up alive, by which they expected to ingratiate themselves with the victor, who would highly estimate the acquisition: but if they should escape, they intended to kill Darius, seize the chief authority, and renew hostilities.

They had long revolved this treason; Nabarzanes now ventured on a prelude to his villainous plan. “Sire!” said he, “I am sensible that what I am going to propose, will not at first sound gratefully. But physicians expel desperate diseases by violent remedies; and mariners, menaced with shipwreck, throw over-board part of the cargo to keep the remainder afloat. Not that I advise you to submit to any loss, but, by a salutary proceeding, to save yourself and the empire. The gods frown upon us in the war, and fortune with fixed purpose oppresses the Persians. A new foundation must be laid under new auspices. Resign for a while the government and chief dignity to another, who shall continue king only till the enemy withdraw from Asia: then the conqueror will restore to you the sacred deposit. Reason promises that this will be speedily accomplished. Bactriana is yet entire. The Indians, as well as the Sacæ, are at your direction. So many nations, so many armies consisting of innumerable thousands of horse and foot, stand equipped ready to renew hostility, that the mass of force in reserve, is greater than that which has been dispersed. Why then should we as brutes rush on destruction? It is the part of the brave rather to despise death than to hate life. Cowards are fre-

“quently disgusted with their being, through
“impatience under difficulty: but manliness
“leaves nothing unattempted. Beyond all re-
“medies postpone death: it is enough to meet
“it cheerfully. What if we repair to Bactra,
“the most secure retreat, and there inaugurate
“Bessus, the satrap of Bactriana, temporary
“king. At the happy termination of our per-
“plexities, he will retransfer to you, his liege
“sovereign, the chief authority assigned to him
“on trust.”

26. Is it wonderful that Darius was incensed, although yet ignorant what consummate wickedness lurked under the insulting proposal: “Vile slave!” he cried, “hast thou found the
“wished time to disclose thy parricide?” Unsheathing his sword, he seemed in motion to kill him: but Bessus and the Bactrians interposed, with signs of dejection, although they intended to bind the king, had he persisted.

Meanwhile Nabarzanes made his escape. Bessus followed him. The troops, which they respectively commanded, they drew off from the rest of the army, preparatory to holding a secret consultation.

When they had departed, Artabazus endeavoured to appease Darius by a speech suitable to the aspect of affairs: “Bear with the folly or
“error of such adherents as you have: Alexan-

“ der approaches, formidable to us all united :
“ what will he be found, if the companions
“ hitherto of your flight shall be alienated from
“ your interest ?” Darius was persuaded. Although the camp had received orders to break up, yet, in the general agitation, no step was taken to remove. But the king, petrified with grief and despair, shut himself in his tent. The forces having no head, felt various attachments ; and the chiefs no longer met in one council. Patron, commander of the Greeks, ordered his men to take arms, and hold themselves constantly prepared. The Persians had taken separate quarters. Bessus was with the Bactrians, and laboured to gain over the Persians : he descanted on the wealth of Bactriana, yet untouched, and on the perils awaiting them if they remained in that place. The Persians almost to a man replied, “ It were a foul enormity to desert the “ king.” Meanwhile, Artabazus discharged the office of a general ; going round to the Persians in their quarters, exhorting them now individually, now in a body : nor did he quit them till he was sufficiently assured of their obedience. Returned to Darius, he with difficulty prevailed on him to take food, and to exert fortitude becoming a sovereign.

CHAP. X.

Nabarzanes and Bessus counterfeit submission.

Darius, reconciled, proceeds on his march.

27. **BESSUS** and Nabarzanes determined to pursue their infamous machinations, inflamed with the lust of reigning. They could not, however, hope to be supported by the auxiliary forces, while Darius remained undegraded; for the people of those nations regard the sovereign majesty with extreme veneration. At the name of their king they assemble, serving him under adversity with no less devotion than in prosperity. The region which the execrable Bessus and Nabarzanes governed, inflated their ambition; for in arms, and men, and extent, it was second to none of the provinces, — it influenced the third part of Asia, — its mass of young men was adequate to replace the armies which Darius had lost. Hence they despised not their sovereign only, but Alexander as well; expecting, if they could direct the resources of Bactriana, to re-establish the empire.

After much distraction, they resolved — To employ the servile devotedness of the Bactrian soldiers, in arresting the king: and, then, by a

messenger to Alexander, to announce that they had him in custody alive: If, as they feared, Alexander should spurn abhorrent at their perfidy, they designed to kill Darius, and retire with their forces to Bactriana. They durst not, however, openly deprive Darius of liberty, while so many thousand Persians were ready to support him; they were restrained also by the known fidelity of the Greeks. Postponing coercion, they employ deceit, counterfeiting penitence for their secession, and pleading their late consternation as an apology to the king.

28. Meanwhile their emissaries assail the constancy of the Persians, by addresses to their hopes and fears: 'To place their shoulders under the ruined empire, were certain destruction; while Bactriana offered them prosperity and wealth surpassing their desires.'

Pending these practices, Artabazus, by the king's order, or from his own impulse, came to Bessus and Nabarzanes, and assured them, that Darius, appeased, was ready to admit them to their former rank in his friendship. They excuse themselves with tears; entreating Artabazus, as a mediator, to bear their supplications to the king.

At day-break, Nabarzanes conducted the Bactrian soldiers to the entry of the royal tent, masking his criminal designs under the exterior

of a solemn duty. Darius, having given him the signal to march, ascended his chariot in the usual manner. Nabarzanes, with the other paricides, prostrating themselves, affected to adore him whom they intended soon to oppress with chains; shedding profusely the symbols of penitence: so deeply rooted in some hearts is dissimulation. Darius, naturally sincere and mild, was induced not only to believe their professions, but to weep himself. They, nevertheless, felt no remorse on account of their premeditated villany, while witnessing how worthy a man and king they were proceeding to betray. He, insensible to danger at hand, hastened to escape beyond the reach of Alexander, the sole object of his apprehension.

CHAP. XI.

Patron's offer to protect Darius.

29. PATRON, commander of the Greeks, ordered them to assume their armour, which was carried with the baggage, and to be uniformly ready to act. He followed the royal carriage, awaiting an opportunity to speak to the king; for he had penetrated the plot of Bessus. The

traitor dreading this, kept close to the chariot, more like a guard over a prisoner, than an attendant. Patron, therefore, having often suppressed the salutation quivering on his lips, under hesitation between fidelity and fear, attentively fixed his eyes on the king, who, at length perceiving it, sent Bubaces, one of his eunuchs, to inquire, 'If he had any thing to impart?' Patron answered, 'Yes, but he wished to speak to the king without a witness.' Directed to approach, he, without an interpreter, for Darius understood Greek, said, "Of your fifty thousand Greeks, we, a small band, only survive ; we have been your adherents through every variety of fortune, and our affection towards you now is the same as when you were on the summit of felicity. Whatever retreat you choose, we shall embrace as a country and a home. Your prosperity and adversity have connected us with you. By our invincible fidelity, I solemnly conjure you, to station your tent among us, and to permit us to undertake the duty of guarding your sacred person. We have relinquished Greece ; and have no Bactriana. Our whole reliance is on you. Would that we were not obliged to distrust others. It does not become me to say more, than that I, a foreigner, a stranger-born, would not entreat to have the protection of

“ your person, if I could deem it safe in the
“ keeping of another.”

30. Although Bessus was uninstructed in Greek, conscious of guilt, he believed that Patron had discovered him ; his surmise was confirmed, when an interpreter repeated to him the discourse which had been overheard.

Darius, without any symptom of fear in his countenance, demanded from Patron the cause of his suggestion. The latter conceived it were improper to refrain longer from speaking out :
“ Bessus and Nabarzanes have conspired against
“ you ; your fortune and life lie in extreme
“ hazard. If this be not the last day of the
“ parricides, it will, sire ! be your last.” Thus Patron strove to obtain the high glory of saving the king’s life. It is the notion of some, that human affairs have no controller superior to blind chance : Let those scoff : For my part, I believe, that events depend on an eternal arrangement, connecting a chain of hidden causes, and that every man performs a race prescribed long before by an immutable decree. The reply of Darius was :
“ Although I well know the fidelity of my
“ Greek soldiers, I will never detach myself from
“ my native subjects. It more pains me to dis-
“ trust than to be deceived. Whatever the un-
“ certain future may inflict, I would rather en-
“ counter among my own people, than desert

“ them. I shall fall too late, if my own soldiers
 “ will not protect me.” Patron, despairing of
 the king’s safety, returned to his division, pre-
 pared, at any hazard, to prove his loyalty.



CHAP. XII.

Darius a captive in his own army.

31. BESSUS felt a violent propensity to kill the king immediately: but apprehensive that unless he delivered him up alive, he might not ingratiate himself with Alexander, he postponed the accomplishment of his treason till the approaching night. Addressing Darius, he ‘ congratulated him on having circumspectly avoided the snare of a perfidious man, now attracted by the wealth of Alexander. That man had fixed on the king’s head as an offering to the enemy. Nor was it surprising that every thing should have its price with a mercenary, without family-tie or home, an exile from the world, whom the beck of a higher bidder could transform into a foe to either party.’ Then exculpating himself, Bessus invoked the guardian deities of Persia to witness his fidelity. Darius

appeared, by his countenance, to credit Bessus, though he doubted not that the Greek had justly impeached him : but, at that conjuncture, to show distrust of his subjects, was not less dangerous than to bear with strong symptoms of duplicity : They who were suspected of disloyalty amounted to thirty thousand : Patron's band was but four thousand : Should he, by confiding to these the guard of his person, seal the accusation of the national army, he perceived that the conspirators might draw from it a plea for their parricide, which he was desirous not to afford. In answer to Bessus, he however said :
“ Alexander's justice is not less established than
“ his valour. They will be deceived who expect from him the reward of treason ; for there
“ cannot be a more rigid chastiser of perfidy.”

Night drawing on, the Persians, as they were accustomed, piled their arms, and went to the next village for provisions : but the Bactrians, by Bessus' order, continued under arms.

32. Meanwhile Darius summoned Artabazus to an interview. The disclosure of Patron imparted to Artabazus, the latter, without hesitation, advised the king to pass into the camp of the Greeks : “ The Persians will follow as soon
“ as you shall proclaim your danger.” But, doomed to his lot, Darius could no longer be influenced by salutary counsel. Artabazus, his

only friend in that extremity, he embraced as never to see him more. While tears stole from both, and Artabazus still clung to him, he ordered him to be forced away. Darius having covered his head, that he might not see the solemn grief of Artabazus, who departed as from a sepulchral chamber, flung himself on the ground. His guards, whose duty it had been to hazard their lives in protecting the king, gradually withdrew, not deeming themselves a match for the armed ruffians momentarily expected. In all the apartments of the tent was a dreary vacancy, there remaining only a few eunuchs, who did not know whither to retire. The king, having no companion of his distraction, revolved varying purposes, till he was disgusted with the ruminations to which he had had recourse for relief. Then he ordered Bubaces to be called in. Looking stedfastly at him, "Go, all!" said he, "and take care of yourselves, having preserved to the last a becoming duty to your prince: Here I shall wait my destiny. Perhaps you are surprised, that I do not terminate my life: I would that my death be the crime of another, rather than my own." At these words, the eunuch's mournful shrieks filled not only the tent, but that division of the camp. Then others rushed in, rending their clothes, and with savage howlings lamenting the king.

33. The Persians, to whom the outcry reached, durst neither return to resume their arms, lest they should fall in with the Bactrians; nor remain quiet, lest they should appear shamefully to desert their sovereign.

A various jarring din prevailed in the camp, destitute of a leader, and in want of a signal. The soldiers of Bessus and Nabarzanes, mistaking the cause of the wailing, reported, that the king had killed himself. Whereupon Bessus and Nabarzanes galloped to the royal station, followed by select agents of iniquity. At the entrance of the tent, informed by the eunuchs that the king was still living, they ordered him to be seized and bound.

Thus he who had been recently borne in a splendid chariot, and worshipped with celestial honours, was now, without the coöperation of the enemy, made a prisoner by his own slaves, and laid in a sordid waggon covered with hides. The royal treasure and furniture is plundered, as under the laws of war. The pillagers separately fled, loaded with spoil acquired by the last atrocity.

Artabazus, with those under his command, and the Greek troops, turned towards Parthia, deeming any place safer than the society of paricides. The Persians, having received great promises from Bessus, yet principally because

they were without a leader, joined the Bactrians. That, however, they might maintain the honours due to majesty, they confined Darius with golden fetters : fortune inventing for him insults. That he might not be known by his habiliments, they had put on the tilt of skins : now, lest he should be pointed out to inquirers among the troops, they caused the waggon to be driven by persons of no note, while the guards marched far in the rear.

CHAP. XIII.

Death of Darius.

54. ALEXANDER, having been informed of the departure of Darius from Ecbatana, had quitted the road leading through Media, diligent to urge the pursuit. At Tabas, a town at the extremity of Parætacene, deserters represent Darius to be flying precipitately towards Bactra. Bagisthanes, the Babylonian, afterwards procured the more definite intelligence, that the king, at present undegraded, was in danger of death, or of chains.

Alexander, in a council of his generals: "The

“ essential operation remains to be executed,” said he, “ but the labour will be very short. “ Not far hence is Darius, abandoned or murdered by his men. The consummation of “ success depends on the possession of his person; and the latter, on expedition.” With acclamations the officers declared themselves ‘ ready to follow Alexander, and desirous to be ‘ spared neither fatigue nor peril.’ He then conducted the army with the rapidity of a race, rather than a march; nor were their exertions intermitted by repose at night. Having proceeded five hundred stadia, he arrived at the village where Bessus had seized Darius. Melon, the Persian monarch’s interpreter, is here taken prisoner: illness had disabled him from following the army: overtaken by the celerity of Alexander, he feigned himself a deserter. By this man every incident was related. But rest was necessary to the exhausted: Alexander therefore selected from his cavalry six thousand; to which he joined three hundred *dimachæ*, troops armed more heavily than the other horse, and trained to fight on foot when circumstances demanded.

During this pause, Orsillos and Mithracenes, who abhorred the parricide of Bessus, coming over to Alexander, announced, ‘ That the Persians were distant five hundred stadia: they ‘ would show him the nearer way.’ Their sub-

mission was gratifying to the king. In the dusk of the evening, with these guides, Alexander proceeded with his light horsemen, directing the phalanx to follow as promptly as should be practicable. He marched in order of battle, with such regulated speed, that the van and rear might co-operate.

35. He had advanced three hundred stadia, when Brocubelus, Mazæus' son, heretofore satrap of Syria, now also a deserter to Alexander, informed him, 'That Bessus was but two hundred furlongs thence; his army, as in security, marched without order, apparently stretching toward Hyrcania: Alexander, by an accelerated pursuit, might surprise them in a dispersed state. Darius was still living.'

This account inflamed Alexander's avidity to overtake them, before sufficiently eager. The squadrons sprung into an uncurbed gallop. And now the pursuers could hear the trampling of the enemy: but clouds of dust excluded them from view. Alexander therefore reined in his career, till the dust had settled. Presently they were discovered by the Barbarians, whose retiring army they could now see. They had plunged into a conflict altogether unequal, had Bessus shown as fierce a resolution to fight as he had to perpetrate parricide; for the Barbarians were superior in number and in personal strength;

besides, men refreshed would have contended with men fatigued. But a name, which produces great effects in war, made them fly.

Bessus and his accomplices repaired to the waggon conveying Darius, and urged him to mount a horse, in order to save himself from the enemy: but he refused, saying: "The vengeance of the gods is at hand: I rely on the good faith of Alexander. I will not associate with parricides." This so incensed them, that they discharged their darts at him, and, having given him several wounds, abandon him. They also wounded the horses, to disable them from proceeding, and killed the two slaves that attended the king.

36. Having perpetrated this enormity, that they might embarrass pursuit by scattering in various directions vestiges of flight, Nabarzanes turned toward Hyrcania; while Bessus, accompanied by a few horse, took the road to Bactra. Deserted by their leaders, the Barbarians dispersed as fear or hope directed. Only five hundred cavalry had formed in a body, still undetermined whether to engage or to fly.

Having ascertained the disorder of the enemy, Alexander sent forward Nicanor, with part of the cavalry, to arrest their flight; and followed in person with the remainder. Nearly three thousand of those who attempted opposition,

were slain. The rest were driven like sheep unhurt, the king having prohibited further slaughter. None of the prisoners could afford a clue to Darius. Each pursuer examined whatever he could overtake, without finding a trace of the waggon's course. Alexander moved with such rapidity, that scarcely three thousand horse kept up with him. But those who prosecuted the chase with least celerity, fell in with fugitives in masses. The captives—the fact is scarcely credible—exceeded those employed in taking them. Consternation had so dissipated their senses, that they could not perceive the small number of the enemy, and that themselves were a comparative multitude.

Meanwhile the horses which drew Darius, destitute of a driver, bolted out of the highway, and having wandered nearly four furlongs, stopped in a vale, faint as well from heat as from their wounds. Contiguous was a spring, which some natives had shown to Polystratus, a Macedonian, almost perishing under thirst. While drinking out of his helmet, he observed the darts fixed in the bodies of the beasts, and wondered that they should have been wounded rather than carried off. Hearing a groan as from a man in mortal agony, a humane* curiosity prompted

* Supplementum Freinsheimii.

him to examine what lay concealed in the waggon: removing the covering of hides, he found Darius pierced with multiplied wounds. Darius, who spoke Greek, thanked the gods, after the infliction of so many weighty evils, that they had indulged him with this alleviation: he should not expire without a human being nigh. Then addressing Polystratus: “Whoever thou art —
“ By the common lot of men, from which this
“ spectacle shows the greatest kings are not
“ exempt, I conjure you to bear my last com-
“ mand to Alexander. None of those calamities
“ which long since overtook me, nor the man-
“ ner of my death, an unparalleled woe, presses
“ so heavily on me as this one: after that most
“ clement of conquerors has deserved so much
“ from me and mine, I have been forced to live
“ as his enemy, and I die without making him
“ a return. But if the last vows of the unhappy
“ can influence the gods, if the Deity more com-
“ passionately listen to prayers poured out with
“ the vital spirit,—Alexander will live in invio-
“ lable safety, seated far above the contagion
“ of my lot and the envy of fortune: in the
“ country of Cyrus, his shall be a more illus-
“ trious reign: Constant to his own virtues, he
“ will permit my mother and children to live
“ near him, which they shall deserve by their
“ fidelity and obedience. But he will pursue to

“ speedy death the parricides, if not from sym-
 “ pathy with an unfortunate enemy, at least
 “ from detestation of an heinous crime, and
 “ lest such unpunished enormities should cause
 “ the murder of other sovereigns, and even of
 “ himself.” Thirst here choking his words,
 Polystratus fetched him some water. Refreshed,
 he said: “ It adds to my misfortunes, that I
 “ cannot repay thy kindness, but Alexander
 “ will repay thee, and may the gods reward
 “ him.” Then he stretched out his right-hand,
 and desired that Polystratus would lay it in
 Alexander’s, as a pledge of his sincere friendship.
 Pressing the hand of Polystratus, he expired.

Olymp. cxii. 3. Whether Alexander reached the
A. C. 330. place while Darius yet breathed, is
Alex. Ætat. 27. uncertain*. Witnessing how deplora-
Reg. 7. bly a dispenser of imperial affluence had died,
 through ingratitude and cruelty, in return for
 princely confidence and bounty, he dissolved in
 copious tears, and, taking off his mantle, spread
 it over the corpse. He caused the body to be
 conveyed in state to Sisygambis, that it might
 be deposited, according to the Persian rites,
 among the tombs of Cyrus and his successors.

ADDITIONAL SUPPLEMENT.

Afterwards Alexander proceeded to Ecbatana; and took an ac-
 count of such treasures as Darius had not removed. While in Media,
 he constituted Parmenio governor of the province.—*Deduced from,*
Curt. lib. VI. cap. ii. 4. and lib. VII. cap. ii. 5.

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (II).

QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK VI.

ANTIPATER'S VICTORY IN ARCADIA. COURSE OF
ALEXANDER THROUGH PARTHIA AND HYRCANIA.
SUBJUGATION OF THE MARDIANS. REVOLT OF
THE ARIANS. CONSPIRACY OF PHILOTAS AND PAR-
MENIO.

CHAP. I.

*Hostilities in Crete, Thrace, and the Peloponnesus.
Battle between the Spartans and Macedonians,
Death of Agis.*

1. * DURING these proceedings in Asia, some commotions were felt in Greece and Macedon. Of Archidamus, who had been slain on the very day of the battle of Chæronea, in an engagement between the Lucanians and Tarentines, in which he fought as an ally of the latter, Agis the son then reigned over the Lacedæmonians.

* We are again obliged to Freinshemius as far as this mark, § in p. 71.

He, emulous of Alexander's military fame, exhorted his free subjects, 'Not to suffer Greece to remain oppressed and enslaved under the Macedonians. Unless they providently rescued her, the yoke would be extended to their own necks; and the struggle ought to be made while the Persians retained ability to resist; for, those subjugated, it would be fruitless to assert their ancient liberty against the great absorbing power.' Thus stimulated, they postponed war only till an inviting opportunity, and the successes of Memnon induced them to act in concert with him. When the prosperously opening career of that able commander was suddenly interrupted by his death, they betrayed no relaxation of vigour. Agis, visiting Pharnabazus and Autophradates, obtained from them thirty talents and ten triremes; which, conveyed to his brother Agesilaus, enabled him to pass into Crete, where the inhabitants were divided by attachment to Sparta and Macedon. Negotiators were also sent to Darius, soliciting augmented aid in money and ships. The defeat of the Persians at Issus, which had intervened, so far from deranging, rather promoted these measures:—The consequent pursuit of Darius, drew Alexander farther and farther from the scene of minor warfare:—Severed from the Persians by that battle, a multitude of fugitive mercenaries

returned into Greece, of whom Agis enlisted eight thousand with the Persian Darics; and by this reinforcement retook the majority of the Cretan towns.

Directly afterwards, that Memnon whom Alexander sent into Thrace, irritated the Barbarians into a revolt; and when Antipater led an army from Macedon to suppress it, the Lacedæmonians seizing the opportunity, brought over to their cause the Peloponnesus, a few cities excepted. Having embodied a force of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, they gave the chief command to Agis. Antipater, apprised of these proceedings, accommodated the affairs of Thrace, returned with celerity into Greece, collected levies from the cities in friendship and alliance with Alexander, and formed an armament which altogether amounted to forty thousand men. There also repaired to his standard a strong body from the Peloponnesus: but, with dissembled distrust, 'He thanked them
' for their readiness to maintain Alexander's so-
' vereignty against the Lacedæmonians, which
' he would report to the king, that they might
' receive his acknowledgments. At present, he
' was not in want of reinforcements; they might,
' therefore, return home, having fulfilled the
' stipulations of their treaty.' Then he dispatched messengers with an account of the con-

vulsions in Greece, which did not however reach Alexander till he was at Bactra, and till Antipater had terminated the crisis by his own decision.

Alexander, however, who had previous intelligence of the Spartan movements, had made such provisions to counteract them, as could be arranged in a remote station. He had ordered Amphoterus, with the Cyprian and Phœnician fleets, to the coast of the Peloponnesus,—and Menes, with three thousand talents, to attend at sea as near as he could approach Antipater, that he might supply him with money as he should discover it to be necessary. For Alexander was well aware, that the result of these disturbances might essentially affect all his plans : nevertheless, when he had read the dispatch announcing Antipater's victory, comparing the conflict with his own achievements, he sarcastically exclaimed : “ The battle of the mice ! ” Yet in the first stages of the war, the Lacedæmonians were not unsuccessful. In an engagement with forces of Antipater's near Corrhagus, a Macedonian castle, they had the advantage ; the reputation attending this action, attracted to their side such as had preserved a temporizing neutrality. Of the Elean and Achæan cities, Pellene alone rejected their alliance. In Arcadia, Megalopolis adhered to the Macedonians, out of respect to the me-

mory of Philip, who had done them good offices. But pressed by a close siege, it must shortly have surrendered, had not Antipater arrived. He encamped almost in contact with the enemy, and perceiving his army to be superior both in amount and equipment, he determined to bring on a battle as soon as possible: nor were the Spartans reluctant to engage, for they considered that the streitness of the field would exclude the enemy from deriving any advantage from his numbers. They intrepidly began the attack: the Macedonians received them with determination: blood flowed profusely. But after Antipater had relieved repeatedly, by fresh troops, such parts of his line as were most distressed, the Lacedæmonians, feeling the constant brunt, retired a few paces. Agis, as he observed this, threw himself, with the royal regiment, into § the centre of the hottest battle. Having slain the more firmly resisting, he drove before him a great division of the enemy. They who had entered on victory, falling in numbers, fled till they had drawn their too eager pursuers into the plain: but at the moment of arriving at a place which permitted them to rally, the renewed fight once more hung in balance. Among all the Spartans, the king towered in distinction, not

by his arms and exterior merely, but by heroism which has never been excelled. He was attacked on all sides, both in close fight and by missiles. Receiving some darts on his shield, and eluding others by agility, he long exerted his weapons upon the enemy, till transfixed through both thighs with a spear, and having lost much blood, he sunk on the ground. Then his attendants bore him on his shield hastily to the camp.

2. Yet the Spartans did not relinquish the contest: but recovering, as promptly as they could, ground more favourable to them than to the enemy, with deepened ranks they present a dam to a flood of assault. A more spirited struggle there is not on record: two armies belonging to nations the most warlike gave shocks in equipoise. The Spartans think of glory past; the Macedonians glow in defence of living laurels; Those contend for liberty; these for empire. The Spartans are destitute of a leader; the Macedonians want space to act. By the incidents with which the day teemed, exciting in both parties alternate expectation and apprehension, fortune appeared to have no partialities among the equally brave. But the narrow place would not admit all the forces: more numerous than the combatants, the spectators out of bow-shot, could only assist their comrades by encouraging acclamations.

At length the Laconians drooping, and bathed in sweat, could scarcely hold their weapons : they stepped backwards : then turned, and their flight was undisguised. The victor chased them scattering, and having passed over the space which they had defended, was advancing in pursuit of Agis himself. Agis, as he saw this, having desired his attendants to set him down, tried whether his limbs could obey the impulse of his courage : Feeling his inability to stand, he planted himself on his knees, resumed his helmet and shield, shook his spear at the enemy, and challenged them to come and take the spoils of a prostrate foe. None was so daring as to engage him hand to hand : many discharged darts at him, which he returned on the assailants, till a javelin was lodged in his naked breast. The weapon is extracted : oppressed by stealing languors, he gently rests his head upon his shield, and resigns his spirit with his blood.

3. There fell of the Lacedæmonians five thousand three hundred and sixty : the Macedonians lost in slain three thousand : and few returned to camp without having received a wound. This victory humiliated the Spartans and their confederates, and repressed those who had waited the event to declare themselves. Antipater was not insensible that the inclinations of the congratulating did not coincide with their expres-

sions : but, anxious to terminate hostilities, he connived at their dissimulation.

Although his success gave him satisfaction, he felt apprehensions of disgrace, because he had performed higher things than had been customary for a lieutenant. And indeed it afterwards proved, by words which escaped Alexander, that however desirous he might be to have his opponents reduced, he was not pleased that Antipater had been the conqueror : regarding the honours won by another, as a derogation from his own. With this presentiment, Antipater, who knew his disposition, did not dare to arbitrate as a victor, but convened the council of Greece. The Lacedæmonians obtained leave from the council to send ambassadors to Alexander, who excluded from amnesty only the movers of the revolt. The Achæans and Ætoliens were sentenced to pay one hundred and twenty talents to the Megalopolitans, whose city the confederates had besieged. This was the result of the war, which flaming unexpectedly, was nevertheless extinguished before Alexander had gained the battle of Arbela.

CHAP. II.

Alexander sinks into voluptuousness. His generous behaviour to the wife of Hystaspes. Oxathres received into the band of friends. A rumour, that Alexander intends to return, agitates the camp.

4. ALEXANDER, whose genius was more vigorous in war than in peace, as soon as he obtained a respite from military cares, devoted himself to voluptuousness; and he whom the arms of the Persians could not keep in check, was conquered by their vices. Unseasonable banquets, whole nights consumed in drinking and revelling, a retinue of concubines, declared him to have fallen into all the obliquities of the Barbarian manners. By an assiduous adoption of these, as though he preferred them to the customs of his own country, he offended the eyes and understandings of his people, so that the majority of them contemplated him as an enemy. On the Macedonians, tenacious of their discipline, and accustomed to satisfy the appetites of nature with a temperate and simple diet, his conduct tended to impose the strange and

Olymp. cxii. 3.

A. C. 330.

Ætat. Alex. 27.

Reg. 7.

Imper. 1.

pernicious habits of the vanquished nations. Hence frequent conspiracies against him, and mutinies among the soldiers, who with asperity recounted their common grievances : these produced in Alexander irritation and distrust, gratuitous fears, and evils of a similar kind, which will be related as they occurred.

Of these convivial excesses, carried on equally in nocturnal darkness and the face of day, Alexander relieved the satiety by various interludes. A train of performers procured from Greece, were insufficient; and various female captives received his commands to sing before him in the Persian manner; their unintelligible strains were grating to their foreign auditors. Among these women, he observed one particularly dejected in her air, and reluctant to be introduced. Her form, transcendant, was dignified by modesty. Her down-cast eyes, and a veil as far as was permitted over her face, raised a surmise in the king, that she was of too high distinction to be exposed at these entertainments. To his inquiry, she replied, ' That she was ' grand-daughter of Ochus, not long ago king of ' Persia; HER *father* was HIS *son*: she had been ' married to Hystaspes, a kinsman of Darius, ' and commander of a considerable army.' The king yet supported his manners on the ruins of his former virtue: venerating the adversity of

a princess, and a name so illustrious as Ochus, he liberated her, restored her possessions, and instituted a search for her husband, that he might be conducted to her.

The next day, he caused all the captives to be assembled in the palace: having ascertained every one's rank, he separated ten who were of royal descent. Among them was Oxathres, Darius' brother, not more distinguished by his birth than by the temperament of his soul. Alexander reinstated him in all the eminence of his former splendour, and admitted him into the band of friends.

Oxydates, a Persian noble, whom Darius had doomed to capital punishment, Alexander discharged from prison, and appointed him satrap of Media.

The treasures last taken amounted to twenty-six thousand talents: of which, twelve thousand were distributed as a donative to the soldiers, and an equal sum was embezzled by those who had charge of it.

5. Hence he moved into Parthia, then an obscure nation: now, the most powerful of those which lie beyond the Euphrates and Tigris, its dominions extend to the Red Sea. This fertile level was anciently seized* by a colony of Scy-

* Scythian tribes, it would appear, have at two separate invasions settled in Parthia. The horde who first made an irruption into the

thians. The Scythians are still troublesome neighbours: they occupy divisions both of Europe and Asia: those who are seated above the [Cimmerian] Bosphorus belong to Asia. The European Scythians are diffused over a space reaching from the left of Thrace to the Borysthenes, and from that river to the Tanais. The Tanais flows between Europe and Asia: nor is it doubted that the Scythians, who founded the nation of Parthians, migrated, not from the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, but out of Europe.

At that time was subsisting the famous city Hecatompylos, which had been founded by Greeks. Here the king established his camp, drawing supplies from the surrounding country. Hence busy rumour, the bane of an idle army, asserted, without authority, 'That the king, satisfied with what he had achieved, designed to return immediately to Macedon:' This was the more readily credited because he had ordered home some Grecian troopers with a boon to each of six thousand denarii. At this false rumour, the end of military fatigues deemed to have

country, gave the name to it, according to Justin; lib. 14: *Parthi*, in the Scythian language, signifies *exiles*. The time of that irruption, very remote, is uncertain. The second invasion, we are informed by Strabo, lib. 11, took place under Arsaces, who conducted into Parthia, from the neighbourhood of the river Ochus, a body of *Daxæ*, bearing also the tribuary names of *Parni* and *Nomades*.

arrived, the soldiers flew like maniacs to their tents, and prepare their baggage: a spectator might suppose them to be packing up by signal. Through the camp, all tumult, some hunt for their tent-fellows; groups are loading waggons. The situation of things is reported to Alexander. Alexander, who had determined to explore India and the remote confines of the East, heard it with proportionate alarm. He summoned the leading officers to his tent. “ In the midst of “ a glorious career,” said he, while tears of passion started, “ I am checked, I am to be forced “ back to Pella, rather foiled than victorious. “ Not that I am obstructed by cowardice in my “ soldiers, but by the envious gods, who have “ infused into the bravest men a fit of longing “ to revisit their country, whither they would “ otherwise shortly have been led with augmented approbation and glory.” Hereupon his generals tendered individually their services, each soliciting the most arduous charge. ‘ For ‘ the compliance of the men in the ranks, they ‘ would engage, were he to touch their minds ‘ with a soothing, cheering speech: they never ‘ withdrew dissatisfied or despondent, when they ‘ had been permitted to drink the emanating ‘ fire of his spirit.’ Alexander desired the officers to prepare the men to listen. Having revolved the proper topics, he thus addressed the assembled army.

C H A P. III.

Alexander's speech, urging the troops to proceed.

6. “ **IT** is not greatly surprising, soldiers! that
 “ when you review our multiplied achievements
 “ you feel a desire for repose and a satiety of
 “ renown. Not to mention the Illyrians, the
 “ Triballi, Bœotia, Thrace, nor Sparta, the
 “ Achæans, the entire Peloponnesus*, all subju-
 “ gated either by me in person, or by my lieu-
 “ tenants:—Look at the war which we entered
 “ upon at the Hellespont: the Ionians and
 “ Æolians are delivered from servitude to capri-
 “ cious savages; Caria and Lydia, Phrygia, too,
 “ Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, Pamphilia, Pi-
 “ sidia, and Cilicia, Syria with Phœnicia, Ar-
 “ menia, as well as Persis, Media and Parthia,
 “ are in our power: this hasty summary enu-
 “ merates more provinces than others have taken
 “ towns, and yet I am not positive that it em-
 “ braces all. If, therefore, I could be satisfied

* This appears to allude to the victory over Agis. Curtius, indeed, tells us, book VII. chap. iv. sect. 16, that the messengers, sent by Antipater did not overtake Alexander till he was at Bactra: but he at the same time states, that Alexander had information of the transactions in Greece through other channels.

“ of the firmness of our dominion over the
“ countries which we have so rapidly reduced,
“ I would then, soldiers! even against your
“ wishes, strike back to my household gods,
“ my mother, my sisters, my people at home,
“ chiefly that I might there enjoy with you,
“ the plaudits and celebrity which we have
“ won; the affluent rewards of all our victories;
“ the delightful society of our children, wives,
“ and parents; profound peace and repose, se-
“ cure hold of all the territory which our valour
“ has grasped. But at present our empire is
“ new, and (to avow the truth) precarious; the
“ Barbarians yet bear the yoke with an uncon-
“ senting neck; time is necessary, soldiers! for
“ them to grow better affected, that their latent
“ irritation may lose itself in habits of subjec-
“ tion. The fruits of the earth are not mature,
“ till they have vegetated their appointed time;
“ thus, even the kingdom of inanimate nature
“ is not established, nor crowned with fruit, at
“ once. What! do you imagine that so many
“ nations, accustomed to the government and
“ title of another, differing from us in religion,
“ in manners, in language, are inspired with
“ allegiance the same day in which they are
“ conquered? No; soldiers! your arms curb
“ them, not their inclinations. Your presence
“ awes them: your departure would trans-

“ form them into enemies. We have to manage
“ animals of a nature not to be tamed but by
“ long confinement. I have been speaking as
“ though all that acknowledged Darius’ sceptre
“ had submitted to our arms : but Nabarzanes
“ occupies Hyrcania ; the parricide Bessus not
“ only holds Bactriana, but assumes a menacing
“ attitude : the Sogdians, the Dahæ, the Mas-
“ sagetæ, the Sacæ, the Indians, retain their
“ independence. All these, as we retire, will
“ pursue us : for they are of one family ; we are
“ strangers, born in another continent. A
“ native sovereign is more cordially obeyed,
“ though he were the more severe master.
“ Either what we have acquired must be relin-
“ quished, or all beyond must be secured. As
“ physicians guard against the patient’s relapse ;
“ so we must expel whatever might subvert our
“ dominion. Sparks have caused conflagrations.
“ No enemy is safely despised : he whom you
“ neglect is meanwhile growing stronger. Da-
“ rius did not assume the royal tiara by here-
“ ditary right, but through the influence of the
“ eunuch Bagoas : not more difficult will it be
“ for Bessus to seize the vacant throne. Surely,
“ soldiers ! we shall have acted criminally, if
“ we have defeated Darius, that we might trans-
“ fer his dominions to a slave, who was so inso-
“ lently wicked toward his master in the last

“ stage of his distress, as to confine him in chains,
“ when we, his conquerors, would have treated
“ him with clemency ; and at length, by a foul
“ murder, robbed us of the glory of preserving
“ him. Will you suffer this wretch to reign ?
“ whom I am impatient to see suspended on a
“ cross, that, by deserved sufferings, he may
“ make satisfaction to all kings and people, who
“ cultivate the good faith which he violated.
“ But, O Hercules ! just as we gain home, what
“ if it be announced, that Bessus is wasting the
“ Hellespont, or burning the Grecian cities !
“ how acutely you will regret that the Bactrian
“ should have snatched away all the rewards of
“ your victories ! Hastily arming, you will fly
“ to recover them. But is it not far better to
“ overwhelm him, now terror renders him al-
“ most insane ? Four days’ march remains—
“ to us who have trodden so many drifts of
“ snow, transcended so many rivers, climbed
“ so many mountains. No usurping sea foams
“ over the road ; no Cilician defile shuts the
“ passenger between walls of rock ; all is level
“ or descent ; we are halting at the porch of
“ victory, when only a few fugitives and parri-
“ cides survive unreduced. It is an illustrious
“ consummation ; it will be transmitted to pos-
“ terity among your brightest achievements,
“ that, as Darius died, you forgot that he had
“ been an enemy, and pursued his murderers,

“ suffering no purpled traitor to elude your ven-
“ geance. This accomplished, how increasingly
“ sincere will be the submission of the Persians,
“ convinced that we engage in pious wars, tender
“ to their reputation, while we abhor Bessus.”

CHAP. IV.

Alexander enters Hyrcania. He gives Nabarzanes his parole of protection.

7. THE troops received this address with the most cordial eagerness, shouting, “ Lead us
“ where you think fit.” The king did not let their animation expire. Piercing through Parthia, he on the third day touched the frontiers of Hyrcania: Here he left Craterus, with that officer’s own division, the corps of Amyntas, six hundred cavalry, and as many archers, to cover Parthia from the incursions of the Barbarians.

Alexander directed Erigyus to proceed with the baggage, under a small escort, through the level country.

He conducted in person the phalanx and cavalry, and having marched one hundred and fifty stadia, encamped in a valley which leads into Hyrcania.

A thick grove of very lofty trees affords a

retreat from the heat. The rich soil of the valley is nurtured by streams from contiguous rocks. At the base of the heights rises the river Zibetes, which, after a course of three stadia, dashing back from intercepting crags, dispenses its waters in two channels. The re-united torrent's fury is aggravated by the ruggedness of its stony bed: It suddenly enters the ground, and remains subterranean three hundred stadia: Emerging as from a separate source, it occupies a channel more capacious than the former, expanding to the breadth of thirteen stadia: Afterwards, it once more labours between confined banks, and falls into the river Rhidagus. The inhabitants affirmed, that whatever is cast into the cavern into which the river descends, reappears with the river. Alexander therefore caused two bulls to be plunged in where the Zibetes buries itself; and those who were sent to watch, saw their bodies discharged by the resurgent stream.

8. Alexander had allowed his army to rest four days, when he received from Nabarzanes, a conspirator with Bessus, a letter to this effect: ' That he had never been inimical to Darius; on ' the contrary, he had advised him to measures ' which he believed beneficial; and because he ' had given faithful counsel, he had nearly re- ' ceived death from the king's own hand. That ' Darius meditated such a breach of propriety ' and law, as to commit the guard of his person

‘ to a foreign corps : rejecting his subjects as
‘ destitute of that loyalty which they had pre-
‘ served inviolate toward their sovereigns for
‘ two hundred and thirty years. That finding
‘ his situation perilously critical, he had been
‘ governed by present emergency. That Darius
‘ assigned to the people no other excuse for
‘ having killed Bagoas, than that Bagoas was
‘ plotting against him. That to wretched mor-
‘ tals nothing is dearer than life ; by love to
‘ which, he, Nabarzanes, had been driven to the
‘ last expedient, consulting necessity rather than
‘ inclination. In circumstances of general cala-
‘ mity, every one is anxious for his own welfare.
‘ Were Alexander to command his attendance,
‘ he would obey without fear ; persuaded, that
‘ so great a king would not break his promise,
‘ as the gods do not deceive each other. Should
‘ not Alexander deem him worthy of his royal
‘ word, many foreign places were ready to afford
‘ him refuge ; and that where a brave man chose
‘ to settle, that spot was his country.’

Alexander did not hesitate to pledge his
faith in the Persian manner*, ‘ That if Nabar-
‘ zanes came, he should not be hurt.’

Alexander, notwithstanding, proceeded with
his army in order of battle, sending forward
scouts to explore. The light-armed formed the

* The right hand is given to the party surrendering, or to the
herald or mediator, when the party is not personally present.

van; then advanced the phalanx; the baggage moved in the rear of the foot. A warlike nation, in a country difficult of access, exercised the circumspection of the king.

The elongated vale extends to the Caspian sea. Two promontories shoot from the mainland like arms: the intervening coast, gently curved, forms a bay: altogether, not unlike the Crescent moon. To the left, are the *Cercitæ**, the *Mosyni*, and the *Chalybes*; on another point, are the *Leucosyri*, and the plains of the Amazons: those have a bearing northward; these lie westward.

9. The water of the Caspian is less brackish

* As to the relative position of these tribes, all the previous is sufficient to prove, that Curtius knew that *Media Minor* was immediately to the left of *Hyrkania Proper*; and that with *Armenia*, it intervened between the places whose bearings are mentioned in the text. The *Hyrkania* of Curtius does not uniformly mean *Hyrkania Proper*, but occasionally that indefinable region, which, according to Ptolemy, included *Margiana* and old *Parthia*; and, according to Strabo, in the accounts of the Macedonians, frequently expressed the Persian dominions, embracing a large portion of the Caspian coast. The *Cercitæ* were situated to the left of the Caspian, but distant from it, on the northern shore of the *Euxine*; not far from these, the *Mosyni* occupied the extreme ridges of the *Scydissis*; the *Chalybes* [very anciently called *Chaldæi*, a distinct race from the *Chaldæans*,] dwelt near *Colchis*, on the southern shore of the *Euxine*, and possessed *Trapezus* and *Pharnacia*, as their chief cities. The *Leucosyri*, or *White Syrians*, held part of *Cappadocia*, near the river *Thermodon*: the seat of the Amazons is more definitely mentioned in the text, sect. 13, *infra*. If we extend *Hyrkania* to the river *Araxes* by *mount Ararat*, the bearings given in the text will be freed from all objection.

than other sea-water: it cherishes serpents of a vast magnitude, and fish of a peculiar colour. Some call it the Caspian, and some the Hyrcanian, sea. There are persons of opinion, that the lake Mæotis falls into it; they allege, as an argument, the comparative sweetness of the Caspian, which they ascribe to infusions from the lake. In a north-wind, a heavy swell breaks over the low beach, and converts a great extent of deluged country into a fen*. When the storm blows from the contrary quarter†, the sea, with equal impetuosity driven back to its bed, leaves the land to recover itself. Some have supposed that the floods do not come from the Caspian, but descend from India into the continuous vale, which stretches between the sloping ridges of Hyrcania.

Hence the king advanced twenty stadia by a road scarcely passable, commanded by a wood, and interrupted by torrents and inundations: but he penetrated, unobstructed by the enemy.

* The inroads of the Caspian, and the torrents from the mountains, had formed many rivers and channels of water, some of which were hardly passable. The north wind also made so great a surge on the shore where we were obliged to pass, that many horses belonging to our company were thrown down by its violence, and their riders in danger of being drowned. The village was situated in a wood, very marshy.—*Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea*, by JONAS HANWAY, cap. xxxii. p. 217.

† *Alio cali statu*. CURTIUS. Literally, "In a different state of the atmosphere."

At length he enters a country, which, amid a general abundance of provisions, produces great store of fruit, and possesses a rich soil, highly congenial to the grape*. Common here is a tree resembling the oak, whose leaves during the night are thickly suffused with honey: but it can be collected only before sun-rise, for a slight tepidity causes it to evaporate †.

Thirty stadia further, Phrataphernes, and his adherents, who had fled after Darius' death, met the king, and, surrendering, were handsomely received. Alexander proceeded to the city Arvæ. Here he was joined by Craterus and Erigyus, bringing with them Phradates, satrap of the Tapurians. This chief, admitted also to fealty, was an example influencing many to assay the king's clemency. Alexander re-established Phradates over the tribe of Tapurians. Menapis, who in Ochus' reign had repaired to the court of Philip, he nominated satrap of Hyrcania.

* [Between Balfrosh and Langarood] the roads through the woods were very marshy, whilst the sand on the shore, and the trees which the sea had washed down, rendered travelling very disagreeable; but the temperate quality of the air was extremely refreshing. I now first observed the delightful situation of many recesses in the mountains, where they have plenty of delicious running water, with a profusion of vines, orange and lemon trees.—HANWAY *ut supra*, p. 118.

† See ADDITIONAL NOTES (I).

CHAP. V.

Submission of Artabazus, with the Greeks. Reduction of the Mardi. Nabarzanes surrenders. Visit from Thalestris, queen of the Amazons.

10. ALEXANDER had now entered the chief district of Hyrcania, when Artabazus, whose entire fidelity to Darius has adorned the narrative, met him, with Darius' relations, his own children, and a body of armed Greeks. The king impulsively gave him his right hand. Artabazus, when an exile from the court of Ochus, had been entertained by Philip : but the marked friendship of Alexander had been chiefly won by his persevering constancy to his prince. To the king's cordial welcome he replied : " Mayst thou reign in uninterrupted felicity. My full satisfaction has but one alloy ; my extreme old age will not permit me to enjoy thy goodness long." He had entered his ninety-fifth year. Nine sons, all by the same mother, accompanied him : these he presented to the king, wishing they might live so long as they could be serviceable to his majesty.

Alexander had performed the greater part of the march on foot ; but then he ordered horses to be brought for himself and Artabazus, lest, if he walked, the old man should be ashamed to ride.

Afterwards, having encamped, he summoned the Greeks who had followed Artabazus : but

they answered, ' That unless the plighted inviolability comprehended the Lacedæmonians, they should deliberate respecting the disposition of themselves.' These Lacedæmonians were ambassadors to Darius, and, on his overthrow, had recourse, for protection, to the Greeks in the Persian service. But Alexander, refusing a pledge or engagement, commanded them all to come, and receive their lot from him. Divided in opinion, they demurred a considerable time: at length they promised to come. But Democrates, the Athenian, who had principally obstructed the prosperity of Macedon, despairing of pardon, transfixed himself with a sword. The rest, as they had undertaken, surrendered. There were fifteen hundred soldiers, besides deputies from various states to Darius. The military, distributed, recruited the army: the rest were sent home, except the Lacedæmonians, who were committed to custody.

11. The Mardi are a tribe on the borders of Hyrcania, of rugged habits, and accustomed to pillage*. They alone, neither sent ambassadors, nor manifested an inclination to submit. The king was incensed, that a single tribe should prevent him from being esteemed invincible. Leaving his baggage under a guard, he advanced with a light-armed division; and marched all night: at dawn, the enemy were

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (K).

descried. A tumultuous rout ensued, rather than a battle. Dislodged from their eminences, the Barbarians fled; and the neighbouring villages, deserted, were entered by the Macedonians. The army, nevertheless, had a vexatious task to penetrate the interior of the country. The ridge of mountains is hedged in at the base by lofty woods, or barred up by impervious crags: and the inhabitants, by singular fortifications, had obstructed the entrances to the plain. They plant trees purposely thick: while their branches are tender, they bend them downwards, twist them together, and insert them in the ground. Taking root, the new stems vegetate luxuriantly; and the Barbarians so interweave the young shoots, that when they are clothed with foliage, they cover the ground. These snares of net-work, in a continued maze of thicket, obstructed the Macedonians. One remedy was, to open an avenue with the axe: but felling the trees was an arduous labour; for the knotty trunks resisted the stroke, and the implicated boughs eluded it, like a suspended hoop, while the fury of the blow was lost on a weak tendril. The natives, meanwhile, accustomed to nestle through these coverts like beasts of prey, had entered the wood, and, from latent stations, were galling the invaders with darts.

12. Alexander, in the manner of a hunts-

man; tracked these to their haunts, and killed the greater part. At length he ordered his troops to surround the wood, and, if they discovered any opening, to rush in. Having no local knowledge, the Macedonian parties wandered lost: a company was taken, with the horse Bucephalus; which was not prized by Alexander at a rate common to favourite chargers; for Bucephalus would not suffer any other person to cross his back: when the king was stepping to mount, he would kneel to receive him, as conscious whom he carried. Alexander, transported unbecomingly with rage and grief, instituted a search for his horse; and, by an interpreter, signified to the Barbarians, that if they did not restore it, not one of them should remain alive. Intimidated by this menace, they restore the horse, accompanied with presents. The king, not thus appeased, gave directions to have the woods cut down, and earth from the mountains piled upon the intricate covert. The terrace conspicuously rises: the Mardi, despairing of being able to defend the country, surrender in a body. The king, having taken hostages from them, annexed them to the jurisdiction of Phradates. Thence, on the fifth day, he returned to his camp.

Having conferred on Artabazus double the dignity which he had supported under Darius, he dismissed him to his home.

He proceeded to the city of Hyrcania, in which the Persian kings had a palace. Here Nabarzanes met him, and surrendered on parole, bringing him immense presents: Among them, was Bagoas, an eunuch, in the flower of youth; this lower than slave had been a favourite of Darius, and became a favourite of Alexander, who was chiefly moved by his depraving influence to pardon Nabarzanes.

13. The nation of Amazons, as above noticed, bordered upon Hyrcania*. They inhabited the plains of Themiscyra, near the banks of the Thermodon. Their queen, Thalestris, extended her sway over all the region between mount Caucasus and the river Phasis. She undertook an excursion from her kingdom, inflamed with a desire to see Alexander: arrived in the vicinity of his station, by messengers she announced, 'That a queen was coming, impatient to see and converse with him.' Invited to approach, she commanded the others to halt, while, accompanied by three hundred female warriors, she advanced. As she came in view of the king, she leaped from her horse, poisoning

* See the note, ante, p. 87.—Klaproth endeavours, with great plausibility, to show, that the Kabarduh must have been the country of the Amazons, and of their husbands, the male and female communities being separated by the Torck. He identifies the Amazons with the ancient Marmadales, deriving these from the Lesgian tribes, or the *Aiyai*.

two javelins in her right hand. The robe of the Amazons exposes the left side of the body as far as the chest; the lower drapery, gathered up in a knot, does not fall below the knee. The Amazons sear away the right breast, that they may with increased freedom draw the bow, and launch the spear: but they preserve the left perfect, that they may suckle their female offspring. Thalestris looked at the king with an undaunted countenance, perusing his person — nowise correspondent to the magnitude of his achievements; for the veneration of Barbarians is excited by a majestic exterior, and they expect such only to act greatly as nature has favoured with a transcendent figure. Interrogated, “Whether she had any favour to demand?” she did not scruple to avow, ‘That she made that visit to the king, in order to become a mother: she was worthy to bear him heirs. If the child proved a female, she would retain it: if a male, she would deliver it to the father.’ Alexander inquired, “If she was inclined to accompany him in his wars?” She alleged, ‘That her dominions were left without a regent.’ But repeated her desire, entreating that she might not be suffered to depart disappointed. As the temperament of her passion was higher than the king’s, he was obliged to suspend his progress

a short interval: thirteen days he entertained her: after which, she departed for her kingdom, and he marched toward Parthia.

CHAP. VI.

Alexander affects the Persian manners. Bessus assumes royalty. Alexander, to restore discipline, fires his baggage. Satibarzanes revolts. Alexander forces an inaccessible rock; pardons the Artacranans; advances into Drangiana.

14. **HERE** he unbridled his appetites; and moderation and continence, illustrious qualities in the most elevated station, were supplanted by pride and voluptuousness. Renouncing, as beneath his dignity, the manners of his country, the exemplary self-controul and popular carriage of a Macedonian sovereign, he would sit throned in that pomp of despotism, by which the Persian princes had ill emulated the sublime majesty of gods. He began to suffer his courtiers to prostrate themselves; and, gradually to mould to servile offices, the conquerors of so many nations; at length, he required them to stoop to a level with their captives. He assumed a turban, such as Darius had worn, of intercoloured purple and white; and, then, the entire Persian

costume; regardless of the omen, raised upon a victor's adopting the dress and ensigns of the conquered*. He affirmed, that he merely carried the spoils of the Persians: but with them he also put on their manners; and the proud gorgeousness of his exterior was associated with insolence of heart. While he sealed letters dispatched to Europe, with his own ring, he impressed such as he circulated in Asia with the signet of Darius. Thus it would appear, that one mind could not sustain the fortune of two sovereigns. His friends, his generals, and his chief officers, not daring to refuse what they despised, were decked by him in Persian habits. The royal apartments were filled by three hundred and sixty concubines, the same number that Darius had; and these were attended by herds of eunuchs, themselves accustomed to effeminate employments.

15. To these taints from luxury and exotic fashions the veterans, who had served under Philip, men, unschooled, in voluptuousness, showed their open aversion. The common sense of the camp spoke aloud: ' More was lost by their victories, than had been gained. ' They were essentially conquered, enslaved ' to foreign manners. For so long an absence

* It appears from the speech of Clitus, as reported in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, that the king wore the Persian girdle, and a white robe.

‘ from home, their reward would be, to return
‘ in the guise of captives. Shame was the
‘ suitable feeling, now that their leader, looking
‘ more like one of the subjugated than a victor,
‘ from the sovereign of Macedon was trans-
‘ formed into a satrap of Darius.’ Alexander,
not insensible that he had disgusted the better
part of his friends, and the troops generally, en-
deavoured to regain their affection by largesses
and presents: but to the free, the hire for sla-
very is offensive. To prevent a sedition, it be-
came necessary to terminate the inactivity of
the army; and an object of hostility seasonably
offered.

“ Bessus has assumed the name of Arta-
“ xerxes, with the mantle of royalty, and is as-
“ sembling the Scythians inhabiting the banks
“ of the Jaxartes.” This intelligence was con-
veyed by Satibarzanes, whom Alexander had
received to allegiance, and reinstated in the
government of Aria. Encumbered with a heavy
train of spoils and of furniture for luxury, the
army could with difficulty be moved. The son
of Philip causes his own private equipments
and booty, first to be conducted to a central
part; then, the baggage of the army, reserving
only things indispensable. Now the freighted
waggons stand ranged on a spacious plain; all
eyes wait the result. Alexander directed the
teams to be led away; and, lighting his own

piles with a brand, directed the rest to fire theirs. All reluctantly burnt effects which, in several instances, had been rescued from cities left in flames by the enemy: no one dared to mourn the price of his blood, seeing what sumptuous treasures the king was devoting. Alexander, by a short address, dissipated their mortification: as soldiers, better equipped, better prepared to meet emergencies, they rejoiced that by the sacrifice of their spoils, they had preserved their discipline.

16. They stretch toward Bactriana. Bereaved of Nicanor, Parmenio's son, by sudden death, the army is filled with mourning. The king, eminent in sorrow, was anxious to halt, that he might attend the funeral: but want of provisions obliged him to hasten on. He therefore left Philotas, with two thousand six hundred men, to perform the last duties to his brother, while he proceeded against Bessus. By letters from bordering satraps he learns, on the march, that Bessus is approaching him hostilely with an army; and that Satibarzanes had revolted.

Intent on Bessus, yet deeming it advisable to crush Satibarzanes first, he took the light-armed foot and the cavalry, marched rapidly all night, and came unlooked-for upon him. Satibarzanes, on news of his arrival, with two thousand horse, all that he could suddenly assemble, fled to Bactra. The other Arians gained the

contiguous lofty ridges. There stood a rock, rising a precipice up from the East: but its western side sloped with temperate acclivity. It was covered with trees, and copiously watered by an unfailing stream. The mount, two and thirty stadia in circumference, has, at the summit, a verdant level*. On this refuge, the Barbarians lodged an unarmed multitude; fortifying it, wherever the crags failed, with trunks of trees and blocks of stone. Their army amounted to thirteen thousand.

17. Committing the siege of these to Craterus, Alexander revived the strenuous pursuit of Satibarzanes: but ascertaining that the fugitive was too distant to be overtaken, he turned back to reduce those who were posted on the towering peaks. [At his arrival, he detached Craterus to besiege Artacrana, the capital of Aria.] He directed his men to begin the approaches to the rock, by clearing whatever [woody ground]

* The description and locality seem to identify this with Kelât, a natural fortress, which Nadir Shâh sometimes made his residence, but which since his death has been neglected. Kelât comprises two pieces of table-land seated on a very lofty hill, accessible only by narrow paths. After an ascent of seven miles, you reach a fine plain nearly twelve miles in circuit, watered by a multitude of little streams, and covered with herbage, or cultivated with corn and rice. A second track of fifteen miles leads to the summit of the rock, on which is a smaller plain of equal richness. The rock of Kelât stands in a mountainous country called *Ashdar Koh*, or the Mountains of the Dragon; about 30 miles N.E. of Mushid.—KINNEIR'S *Geogr. Mem. of Persia*, p. 176.

they could enter — — Turned successively, by impassable crags and steeps, they found nature opposed to their fruitless labour. It was distressing so to proceed, and perilous to retire. Alexander, who had a genius to combat difficulties, revolved various projects, till fortune was subservient to him, in a point over which study had no power: a strong wind arose from the West. As the soldiers had cut down much timber, which a torrid sun had dried, he caused the trees to be heaped in a mass, till they equalled in height the mountain; the pile, then, fired on every side, was involved in one vast blaze. The gale blows the flames into the enemies' faces, while the groves ring with the crackling roar, and a cloud of smoke obscures the skies. The flames catch the trees growing nearest. The Barbarians fled from the fiercest of torments to such parts of the wood as the fire had not invaded: but where the combustient element left an avenue to shelter, the enemy intercepted them. Their deaths varied in shocking forms: some plunged into the midst of the flames; others precipitated themselves on the shelving rocks; others trusted to the fury of the soldiers. A few, severely scorched, were taken prisoners.

18. Alexander now rejoined Craterus, who was besieging Artacrana. That commander had prepared every thing against the king's arrival,

decorously reserving him the compliment of taking the city. Alexander orders the battering turrets to advance. The enemy, in consternation at the sight of these engines, extended their clasped hands over the walls; entreating the king to turn his anger on Satibarzanes, the author of the revolt, and to spare them, now surrendering and suppliant. Declaring an amnesty, he not only raised the siege, but restored all the property of the inhabitants.

Moving hence, he was met by a reinforcement of fresh troops. Zoilus had led from Greece five hundred horse; Antipater had sent three thousand foot from Illyria; from Lydia, had come two thousand six hundred foot and three hundred horse. Accompanying these recruits, were one hundred and thirty Thessalian horse, who had remained with Philip.

Alexander now entered the country of the Drangæ, a warlike nation. Their satrap, Barzaentes, an accomplice of Bessus, to avoid the punishment due to his treason, had fled to India.

CHAP. VII.

Information of a conspiracy against Alexander, suppressed by Philotas.

19. **H**ERE the army remained encamped nine days. The king, when not only invincible by

à foreign force, but in conscious security, was assailed by domestic treason.

Among the lowest in estimation or favour at court, was Dymnus. Infected with atrocious degeneracy, he was subdued by dotage on a Cinædopolite named Nicomachus. Having retired into a temple, where no one was nigh to overhear, with an aghast expression of countenance, he prepared the wretched youth to be a confidant of important secrets; conjuring him by their mutual obligations, and requiring him by the engagement of an oath, inviolably to keep the communication which he was going to confide. Nicomachus, not expecting that any thing would be imparted, which it would be his duty, at the expense of perjury, to make known, swore, by the gods there present, that he would never make it known. Dymnus then disclosed to him a conspiracy against the king, intended to be carried into execution in three days; adding, that he himself, and several brave and distinguished men, were concerned in it. As soon as this was uttered, Nicomachus, starting, exclaimed, ‘ That he had not plighted his faith to be a party in the plot, and that no sanction could oblige him to conceal treason.’ Dymnus, distracted by abominable infatuation and dread of punishment, seized the Cinædopolite’s hand, and, with grotesque tears, pressed him, ‘ To combine

‘ in the enterprize.’ If he shrunk from that undertaking, he entreated, ‘ That he would not betray him, of whose regard he had received, among others, this strong proof, that he had committed his life to his discretion, before he had ascertained his fidelity.’

Nicomachus persisted in abjuring the design. Dymnus menaced him with death: ‘ The conspirators would begin the glorious work by striking off his head:’—then he called him “ Effeminate coward;” “ Betrayer of his friend;” —then strove to sap his repugnance, by promises, swelling to the offer of a kingdom; then passed the blade of his sword alternately to the other’s throat, and to his own. Threats and entreaties at length extorted a promise from Nicomachus, ‘ Not only to conceal, but to take a part in the plot.’ This, however, adhered to his first intention, with firmness worthy of a better man.

He feigned himself so concerned for the interest of Dymnus, that he could refuse him nothing. He then inquired, ‘ Who were the parties to the conspiracy, chiefly as it respected what *kind* of men they were who had engaged in so important an affair.’

Dymnus thanked him for himself, and congratulated him, ‘ That he had not been afraid to associate himself with some of the bravest

‘ young men, Demetrius, of the body-guard, and Peucolaus, and Nicanor.’ To these, he added Alphæbetus, Loceus, Dioxenus, Arche-polis, and Amyntas.

20. Dismissed after this speech, Nicomachus repaired to his brother Cebalinus, and rehearsed what had been imparted to him. It was agreed that Nicomachus should remain in his tent, lest if he should be seen in the palace, not being accustomed to wait on the king, the conspirators should conclude that they were betrayed.

Cebalinus, not permitted to proceed beyond the palace porch, waited for some individual belonging to the first band of friends, by whom he might be introduced to the presence. It happened, that Philotas, Parmenio's son, came out last from the king. Cebalinus, with strong symptoms of emotion in voice and countenance, stated what he had learned from his brother, and required him to apprise the king of it without delay. Philotas commended his fidelity, and returned to Alexander, with whom he conversed on several subjects, but mentioned nothing of the information of Cebalinus. Toward evening, the young man intercepted Philotas descending from the portico, and inquired, whether the royal command for him was not coming out? Philotas alleged, that the king had not then leisure to hear him. Cebalinus attending the

next day, as Philotas was going in, reminded him of the affair, who answered, that he would take care of it. Nor then, however, did he disclose what he had heard to the king.

Cebalinus began to distrust him ; and deeming it fruitless to trouble him further, opened the conspiracy to Metron, a young nobleman, master of the armoury. Metron secluded Cebalinus in the armoury-chamber, repaired to the king, who happened to be bathing, and announced what the informant had disclosed.

21. Alexander, having dispatched guards to seize Dymnus, came into the armoury. Cebalinus, transported with joy, exclaimed : “ I behold my sovereign timely snatched from the hands of impious assassins ! ” Alexander inquired into all the circumstances known to Cebalinus, and minuted the information. He then asked, ‘ How long it had been received from Nicomachus ? ’ When Cebalinus replied, “ Three days, ”—the king, concluding that some disloyal motive had occasioned the delay, ordered him to be put in irons. The informant declared loudly, ‘ That the moment he heard it, he ran to convey it to Philotas, who could attest that fact. ’ The king reëxamined him, ‘ Had he been to Philotas ; had he pressed for admission to an audience ? ’ Cebalinus persisted to affirm that he had. Alexander lifting his hands toward

heaven, with tears, arraigned the ingratitude of a man honoured with the first place in his friendship.

Meanwhile, Dymnus, conscious why he was summoned to the royal presence, wounded himself deeply with a sword: the guards stopped him from killing himself, and brought him to the palace. The king turned on him a searching eye, "What ill, Dymnus, didst thou imagine
" I designed thee, that Philotas should seem to
" thee more worthy of the kingdom of Macedon
" than myself?" Dymnus' voice failed, he gave a groan, turned his face from the look of the king, and fell lifeless.

22. Philotas was commanded to attend; and the monarch thus addressed him:—"Cebalinus,
" who had deserved supreme punishment, had
" he suppressed during two days information
" of a conspiracy against my life, transfers that
" crime to Philotas, to whom, he affirms, he
" communicated it instantly. The easier access which, as a friend, you had to me, aggravates the guilt of keeping it back; and I
" must declare, that such concealment had been
" less inexcusable in Cebalinus than Philotas.
" You have an indulgent judge, if that which
" should not have occurred can be extenuated." Philotas, without any trace of fear in his countenance, thus replied:—"Cebalinus,

“ it is true, reported to me the allegation of a
“ miserable Cinædopolite: but the meanness
“ of the author made me discredit it. I, in fact,
“ considered, that I should expose myself to
“ derision, by rehearsing an absurd story found-
“ ed on a disgusting quarrel. Since Dymnus
“ has killed himself, it strikes me in an altered
“ light; and how improbable soever the account
“ seemed, it should not have been suppressed.”

Philotas, then embracing the king, entreated him to have regard rather to his past life, than to a single instance of blamable silence, without any criminal motive. It is not easy to decide, whether the king believed this, or but embosomed deeper anger. He gave Philotas his hand, as a pledge of restored favour, telling him, ‘ That he looked upon him rather to have
‘ despised, than to have kept back, the infor-
‘ mation.’

CHAP. VIII.

Speeches in council against Philotas. Philotas is arrested.

THE king, nevertheless, convened a council of his friends, excluding Philotas. Nicomachus, conducted in, detailed a disclosure agreeing with that which he had transmitted to the king.

23. Craterus, one of a few in select favour with Alexander, envied the distinguished confidence enjoyed by Philotas. He was not ignorant, that the latter was ever filling the king's ear with vaunting exaggerations of his own bravery and services; which was ascribed either to a design to depress others, or to gross arrogance. Persuaded that a more available opportunity to crush his rival could not occur, masking hatred of a brother officer under attachment to his prince: "Sire!" said he, "I regret that you did not call us to deliberate on the first intelligence of this affair. Our advice had been; — *If it be your will to pardon Philotas, keep him ignorant how much he is indebted to you; and do not, by bringing him under apprehensions of death, force him to meditate more on his own danger, than on your goodness: For he will always have the power of conspiring against you: you cannot always connect oblivion with pardon.* Nor suppose that a disposition to embark in such an enormity can be changed by forgiveness. He well knows, that those who have exhausted clemency, cannot hope for favour. Admitting that penitence or gratitude may allay his restless spirit: yet his father, Parmenio, who is at the head of so powerful an army, whose established ascendancy over your soldiers invests him with little

“ less than sovereignty, will not, with complacency, stand indebted to you for his son’s life. Some kindnesses we abhor : ashamed to confess that he has deserved death, a man will rather have it believed, that he has received an injury than mercy. It follows, that you will have to contend with THOSE TWO, for your safety. Enemies enough, we are going to encounter in the field. But secure your person by removing domestic foes ; and I do not dread foreign violence.” Thus Craterus.

24. The rest were confident, ‘ That Philotas would not have stifled information of the plot, unless he were principal in it, or a party. What good and loyal man, belonging to the band of friends, or even to the plebeian class, entrusted with such a disclosure, would not have hastened with it to the king ? But the example of Cebalinus, in promptly reporting what he had discovered, was not to be imitated by Parmenio’s son, master of the horse, the favoured confidant of the king. He pretended that the king was merely not at leisure to hear the detail, lest the informant should seek to convey it by some other channel. Nicomachus broke an oath taken in a temple, to disburden his conscience : Philotas having consumed hours in mirth and raillery, disdained to relieve his inexhaustible wit, by a few words.

‘ involving the safety of his sovereign. Ha!
‘ but he did not credit a disclosure from infor-
‘ mers of a juvenile age. Why, then, keep
‘ them in suspense for two days, dissembling
‘ with them? He should have dismissed Ceba-
‘ linus, if he disbelieved his narrative. If the
‘ hazard be his own, every man may rely on his
‘ own discretion: but where the king’s safety
‘ is affected, it is our duty to be credulous, and
‘ to transmit the slightest intimation to the royal
‘ ear, to be weighed by the royal judgment.’

It was unanimously agreed, that Philotas should be forced by torture to expose his confederates. Dismissing the council, the king enjoined on all inviolable secrecy. He gave public orders for the army to decamp the next day, as though that had been the subject of deliberation. He invited Philotas to the last banquet of which he was to partake, and had the heart not only to sup, but converse familiarly with the man whom he had condemned.

At the second watch, Hephæstion, Craterus, Cœnos, and Erigyius, *friends*, with Perdicas and Leonnatus, *lancebearers*, and a few others, proceeded, without torches, to the palace, and ordered the king’s guards to keep watch under arms.

25. Soldiers are planted at all the avenues, and horsemen patrol the roads, lest any one

should go off to Parmenio, commanding a great army in Media.

Attaras now, with three hundred armed men, entered the palace; he had also the direction of ten pursuivants, to each of whom were attached ten lancebearers,—These were dispersed to apprehend the other conspirators. Attaras, leading the three hundred to take Philotas, with fifty the most active forced his door, while the rest were stationed round the house to prevent his escape. Philotas was wrapt in profound sleep, and, when Attaras seized him, was unconscious of the violence. Awakened, as they were putting him in chains, he cried out: “The bitterness of my enemies, O king! has overcome thy goodness.” They covered his head, and conveyed him to the palace.

The next day, the king summoned the Macedonians to attend armed. Six thousand attended*; a crowd of camp-followers filled up the palace-court. The lancebearers enclosed Philotas, that he might not be seen by the multitude, till the king had harangued the soldiers. By an ancient custom, the Macedonian army was the tribunal to decide on capital offences during

* Possibly some management of the officers prevented a greater number from attending; the custom, dangerous for Alexander to abolish, he would prevent from being more than a form. Or, the right of voting might be confined to MACEDONIANS by birth.

war, and the common people in time of peace ; so that the king's power, as a sovereign, was inefficient, unless his influence previously prevailed. Therefore the body of Dymnus was first exhibited ; the major part being ignorant what he had done, or under what circumstances he had been killed.

CHAP. IX.

Alexander addresses the army, and, retiring, leaves Philotas to reply.

26. THE king now appeared in the assembly : the anguish perceptible in his countenance, and the sorrowful air of his friends, excited expectations of no small interest. He stood, as lost in astonishment, looking on the ground : At length recovering himself, he said : “ I had nearly, “ soldiers ! been snatched from you by the wickedness of a small confederacy. By the providence and mercy of the gods I am alive. “ Your venerable presence renders my anger “ hotter against the parricides : for the grand, “ the only enjoyment of my life is, That, of so “ many gallant men who from me have deserved “ so much, I possess means to requite the ser-

“ vices.”——A burst of grief through the army interrupted his speech, while down every cheek rilled a tear.—He resumed: “ If this simple
“ opening raises these emotions, how will you
“ feel when I disclose the principals in the hor-
“ rible plot! I tremble to mention them: as
“ though they might be yet saved, I spare their
“ names. It is necessary, however, to overcome
“ my former friendship for them, and to unveil
“ a small knot of impious men. Indeed, how
“ could I prevent their villany from becoming
“ manifest? Know, then, soldiers! that Par-
“ menio, in his advanced age, loaded with my
“ father’s favours, with my favours, the oldest
“ of all our friends, is the leader in this criminal
“ enterprize; and Philotas has been his instru-
“ ment to hire Peucolaus, Demetrius, and Dym-
“ nus, whose corpse you behold, and other
“ madly-wicked men, to execute a design against
“ my life.”

A din of indignation, mingled with sorrow, ran through the whole assembly.

Then Nicomachus, Metron, and Cebalinus, were produced, who each repeated their respective informations. But by the evidence of no one of these, was Philotas designated as a party to the conspiracy; so that, the indignation of the assembly subsiding, the depositions of the informants are received with silence.—Appealing

to the soldiers; "In your judgment," exclaims the king, "what motive could a man have for keeping back information of this conspiracy? That it was not unfounded, Dymnus' suicide proves. Cebalinus brought it at the risk of torture, had it not proved true: Metron did not delay a moment to deliver the deposit, but burst into the place where I was bathing. Philotas alone, unconcerned, believed nothing. Serene hero! Had his sovereign's danger affected him, would he have heard of it with a countenance of apathy? would he not have examined the person disclosing it? Without doubt, a criminal design lay couched under this silence; and the greedy hope of a kingdom precipitated him into the darkest enormity. His father governs the Median army; and he himself, above most of my general-officers, preferred to a distinguished command, aspires to things exceeding his capacity. He despises me as destitute of offspring: Philotas errs: you are my children, my parents, my kindred: while you are safe, I have a family and heirs."

27. Alexander then read an intercepted letter of Parmenio, to his sons Nicanor and Philotas: certainly not express evidence of treasonable intention; for the material part of it was: *'First take care of yourselves; then, of those under you:*

for so we may effect what we have designed.
“ And,” added Alexander, “ he wrote thus, that
“ it might elude notice, if it were intercepted
“ by those who were not in the secret, while it
“ was sufficiently intelligible, if it reached his
“ sons.— But Dymnus, when he specified the
“ other conspirators, did not name Philotas !
“ This is, in fact, less a mark of his innocency,
“ than of his power ; because those who could
“ impeach, might stand so much in awe of him,
“ that while confessing their own guilt, they
“ concealed his*.—But the past life of Philotas
“ declares him. When Amyntas, my kinsman,
“ formed a plot against me in Macedon, this
“ man was privy to it, a party to it. This man
“ had affianced his sister to Attalus, than whom
“ I had not a more inveterate enemy. When I
“ had written to this man, with the intimacy
“ of friendship, mentioning the oracle vouch-
“ safed to me by Jupiter Hammon, he had the
“ insolence to write back, *‘ That he congratulated*
“ *me on being received into the number of the gods,*
“ *although he pitied those who lived under a prince*
“ *exalted above the condition of man.’* These,
“ soldiers ! are symptoms, that his affections
“ have been long alienated from me, and that

* It would have been a better argument, to say, that all the subordinate parties to the conspiracy, might not themselves know the mover.

“ he envies my glory : But I suppressed resent-
“ ment as long as possible : It appeared like
“ rending part of my vitals to disgrace those
“ on whom I had heaped benefits. But now
“ they are not mere words that require chastise-
“ ment. The revolt of the tongue is succeeded
“ by the preparation of daggers. Such instru-
“ ments, if I am to be credited, Philotas has
“ sharpened against me. If HE has harboured
“ treason, with whom, soldiers ! shall I asso-
“ ciate ? to whom entrust my life ? I con-
“ stituted him general of my cavalry, the chosen
“ part of the army, and dignified him by a com-
“ mand over our noblest youth. To his fidelity
“ I committed my safety, my hopes, and all the
“ fruits of victory. His father I have elevated
“ to greatness, almost rivalling that to which
“ you have raised myself : investing him with
“ dominion over Media, than which there is not
“ a richer country, and with the command of
“ so many thousands of our countrymen and
“ allies. From that on which I relied, has
“ arisen my danger. How much nobler to have
“ fallen in the field, a prey to the enemy, than
“ to die the victim of a fellow-citizen ! Perils
“ to which only I was awake I have escaped ;
“ involved in those which I ought not to have
“ expected. You have repeatedly exhorted
“ me, soldiers ! to consult my safety : It is in

“ your powers to secure it. Whatever you advise, I shall do. To your swords I appeal. I would not be safe unless you will it: if you will it, I cannot be safe, unless I am avenged.”

28. By order, Philotas was then brought forth, with his hands pinioned at his back, and an old veil over his face. The soldiers were perceptibly moved at his deplorable appearance, though they had recently beheld him with envy. The preceding day, they had seen him general of the horse, and they knew that he had supped with the king: suddenly he is exposed to view, impeached, condemned, and degraded with fetters. They sympathized with the adversities of so masterly a general, so illustrious a citizen as Parmenio, who had lately been bereaved of two sons, Hector and Nicanor, and was now, under the disadvantage of absence, arraigned, with his remaining son, on a charge affecting life.

Amyntas, marshal of the king's tent, seeing the multitude inclined to pity, stimulated them by an inflammatory sally: ‘ They were betrayed to the Barbarians. Not one of them would return to his wife: not one reach his country, or his friends. They would be as a headless trunk, without motion, without name, the sport of their enemies in a strange country.’ Far from what Amyntas proposed, this speech was unacceptable to Alexander; because, by

reminding the troops of their wives and native land, it might indispose them to proceed with their leader. Then Cœnos, although he had married Philotas' sister, inveighed against him more acrimoniously than any one, terming him "paricide of the king, country, and army." Having seized a weighty stone, he was going to discharge it at his head, designing, as the major part supposed, to withdraw him from impending torture. But the king, arresting his hand, declared, that the accused ought to have liberty to plead, nor otherwise would he suffer him to be judged.

Philotas, summoned now to speak, was, either from conscious guilt, or overwhelming danger, possessed with wild stupefaction: unable to lift up his eyes, or articulate a word, he burst into tears, and swooned in the arms of the guard who held him. Afterwards recovering, he wiped away his tears with his veil, and seemed preparing to speak. The king, turning to him, said: "The Macedonians are to be your judges. I ask, whether you intend to use their native language?" Philotas answered: "Besides the Macedonians, there are great numbers present, who I believe will understand me more readily, if I use the same language in which yourself spoke*, for no other reason,

* Greek, probably.

“ I apprehend, than that it was more intelligi-
 “ ble to the majority.” ‘ Mark,’ cries the king,
 ‘ how Philotas rejects his country’s dialect, dis-
 ‘ dained only by himself. But let him adopt
 ‘ what tongue he pleases, so you remember that
 ‘ he equally abhors our manners and our speech.’
 And thus Alexander retired.

CHAP. X.

The defence of Philotas.

29. PHILOTAS began: “ Words readily occur
 “ to the innocent: but it is difficult for the
 “ wronged to speak in a temperate tone; I am
 “ ignorant how to adapt my discourse to my
 “ feelings and circumstances, to a pure con-
 “ science and a state of suffering. The best
 “ judge of my case has withdrawn. Why he
 “ refuses to hear me, I cannot divine, since a
 “ consideration of my plea would leave him the
 “ power as well to condemn as to acquit me:
 “ as nothing of it will reach him, I cannot be
 “ cleared by him absēnt, who condemned me
 “ while present.

“ But although the defence of a man already
 “ in chains, not merely superfluous, is in danger

“ of being offensive, as tending to criminate the
“ magistrate who has punished him,—Yet as far
“ as I am allowed to speak, I shall not desert
“ my own cause, nor act like a man convicted
“ in his own breast. I do not perceive for what
“ crime I am arraigned. No one includes my
“ name among the conspirators: Nicomachus
“ mentions nothing of me; nor, more than he
“ had heard, could Cebalinus know. The king,
“ notwithstanding, believes me to be the leader
“ in the plot! Could Dymnus forget the chief
“ by whom he was directed; especially when
“ asked of what class the confederates were?
“ He was more likely to have employed my
“ name, falsely, to stimulate an irresolute individual.
“ Disclosing the treason, he would not
“ omit my name out of tenderness to an accom-
“ plice: but while entrusting secrets affecting
“ himself to Nicomachus, under an oath to si-
“ lence, he musters up the others, and with-
“ holds me. I demand, fellow soldiers! whether,
“ if Cebalinus had not accidentally addressed
“ me, any thing would have been heard of ME
“ among the conspirators; whether I should
“ have had to day, to plead, unimpeached? Were
“ Dymnus living and disposed to save me, would
“ the rest skreen me? confess their own guilt,
“ and conceal mine! Calamity is malevolent,
“ and a tortured criminal is commonly willing

“ enough to implicate a comrade. Of the many
“ privy to my guilt, will not one, on the rack,
“ confess the truth? But, I am persuaded, no-
“ body spares him that is to die; nor will he
“ that is to die spare any one.

“ To come to the true, the' only, charge
“ against me: *Why did you in silence pass over*
“ *this secret information? why did you hear it*
“ *without alarm?* Whatever kind of offence this
“ be—where are you, Alexander?—you pardon-
“ ed it upon my confession, gave me your right
“ hand as a pledge of reconciliation, and after-
“ wards entertained me at a banquet. If you,
“ thus, expressed belief of my representation,
“ I am acquitted; if forgiveness of my error,
“ I am discharged: At least, be constant to
“ your own intention. What have I perpetr-
“ ed since I, last night, left your table? What
“ newly discovered treason has caused this
“ change in your mind? I had sunk in confi-
“ dence to sleep; and my enemies awakened
“ me, reposing over unexpected woes, by the
“ clang of fetters. Could a parricide, whose
“ plot was betrayed, enjoy the balm of sleep?
“ The clamorous conscience of the wicked will
“ not let them sleep; the furies toss them,
“ whether they have perpetrated treason, or are
“ brooding it in thought.—My security, Alex-
“ ander! rested, first, upon my innocence, and,

“ next, upon your right-hand. I had no apprehension that the cruelty of individuals could sway you more than your own clemency. Not to repent that you credited my apology, reflect that this affair was transmitted to me by a youth, who had been able to bring no witness, nor proof, to establish his private information : yet to have opened it, had filled the palace with terrors and suspicions. Ill-fated ! I imagined that my ears had been abused by a jarring between two viler than wretches. I suspected, alternately, that Nicomachus had fabricated the accusation, because, instead of announcing it himself, he whispered it by his brother : or, that he might wholly disown the intervention of Cebalinus ; in which case, vital peril to several of the king’s friends, would appear to have been created by me. While I strove not to injure any one, I have met with those who would not regret to see me perish. What rancorous burnings had I excited, had I stigmatized guiltless individuals !

“ It is an argument against me, that Dymnus committed suicide. Could I divine that he would do so ? Impossible ! Thus the circumstance which corroborates the information, is one which, when I was spoken to by Cebalinus, could not impress me.

“ In common sense, had I been concerned
“ in such a momentous plot with Dymnus,
“ should I have concealed from him for two
“ days, that we were discovered? I could with-
“ out difficulty have taken off Cebalinus. Be-
“ sides, after having been made the depository
“ of a disclosure which entailed my own ruin,
“ I entered the king’s chamber alone, wearing
“ a sword : Why defer the murder? could I not
“ venture on villany without Dymnus? HE,
“ therefore, must have been the chief conspira-
“ tor : while Philotas, lurking under his wing,
“ aspired to the kingdom of Macedon.

“ Which of you have I corrupted with bribes?
“ What commander, or lieutenant, have I assi-
“ duously courted? It is alleged against me,
“ that I despise the language, and the manners,
“ of the Macedonians : a singular method of
“ grasping at the crown ! Intercourse with fo-
“ reigners, we know, has rendered our vernacular
“ tongue almost obsolete ; and the conquerors,
“ as well as the conquered, have acquired a new
“ language.

“ As little does it blemish me, that Amyntas,
“ the son of Perdiccas, practised treasonably
“ against the king, at his accession. For a pre-
“ vious friendship with Amyntas, I am content
“ to suffer, if it be a crime to have loved Philip’s
“ nephew : But if it becomes us to pay honour

“ to a man of such princely birth; I ask, then,
“ am I impeached because I had not the gift of
“ prophecy? Ought the innocent friends of par-
“ ricides to be also cut off? If that be justice;
“ why have I lived so long? If injustice, why
“ doom me to death now?

“ But it is stated, *That I expressed, in a letter,*
“ *pity for such as should live under him who BE-*
“ *LIEVED himself Jupiter's son.* O! the fidelity
“ of friendship! the dangerous freedom of honest
“ communication! You, Alexander! deceived
“ me; you urged me not to disguise my senti-
“ ments. I wrote thus, I confess, TO THE
“ KING; never thus OF the king: excited to
“ that, not by envy, but by friendly concern.
“ It seemed to me more worthy of Alexander,
“ tacitly to be satisfied of being Jupiter's son,
“ than to vaunt of it by proclamation. And
“ because the oracle is infallible, let Hammon
“ attest my plea. Let me remain in custody,
“ till the Egyptian Jupiter can be consulted re-
“ specting this mysterious, impenetrable treason.
“ Meanwhile, he who has acknowledged a son
“ in our king, will not suffer any conspirator
“ against his offspring to remain undetected.—
“ Or if you believe that the rack gives more
“ certain responses than the oracle, I do not
“ desire to be spared from so establishing the
“ truth.

“ Persons capitally accused, usually place
“ before you their nearest relatives. Two
“ brothers dead, I have recently mourned. My
“ father, far hence, I cannot produce; nor dare
“ invoke him, recollecting that he is charged
“ with the same high crime. It were too mild
“ a calamity, to have been bereaved of so many
“ children, might he lean supported on his only
“ remaining son: he must survive his last child
“ —unless his corse and mine be laid together
“ on the pile. Must you, then, dearest father!
“ die for me, and with me? I deprive you of
“ life; I crush you in your old age. Why did
“ you become my parent, when the gods were
“ adverse? Was it to reap those fruits from me
“ which await you? I cannot tell whether my
“ ripened spring or your decline is more unhap-
“ py. The executioner snatches me off in the
“ vigour of life: your spirit, nature would soon
“ require, were fortune to forbear this violence.

“ The mention of my father impresses on
“ me, how tremblingly and deliberately it
“ behoved me to weigh Cebalinus’ whispered
“ tale; before I imparted it. For Parmenio,
“ informed that the physician Philip had pre-
“ pared to poison the king, dispatched a letter
“ to dissuade him from taking the medicine.
“ Was my father credited? had his communi-
“ cation any authority? How repeatedly, when

“ I represented what I had heard, have I been
“ repulsed with ridicule ! Now, if we meet with
“ scorn, when we transmit a report, and incur
“ suspicion when we silently pass it over ; what
“ ought we to do ? ” — — One of the surround-
ing multitude cried out : ‘ Not plot against those
‘ who have deserved well of us. ’ — “ Thou speak-
“ est rightly,” rejoined Philotas, “ whoever
“ thou art. If, therefore, I have conspired, I
“ am content to suffer. I say no more, since
“ my last words appear to be ill received.” The
guards then conducted him away.

CHAP. XI.

*Belon's invective. Philotas is tortured : his con-
fession. Those accused by Nicomachus are
stoned.*

30. AMONG the captains was one Belon, brave, but wholly uncultivated ; long in the service, he had risen from the ranks. Perceiving the assembly stand mute, he, with the daring of insensibility, ferociously began : “ How often
“ have we been thrust out of our quarters, to
“ make room for the scum of Philotas' slaves !
“ The streets are filled with his waggons laden

“ with gold and silver. He will not suffer any
“ of his fellow soldiers to lodge near his quar-
“ ters : but, by ministers to his sleep planted
“ round, keeps them aloof, lest the repose of
“ that lady-officer should be disturbed by the
“ stillness, rather than sound, of men murmur-
“ ing in conversation. The plain in manners
“ he calls, in derision, Sapiient Phrygians—
“ Eloquent Paphlagonians : a Macedonian-born,
“ he does not blush to hear his own country-
“ men by an interpreter.

“ Why would he have Hammon consulted
“ he who, when Jove pronounced Alexander
“ his son, charged the oracle with lying. He,
“ forsooth, feared that what the gods had con-
“ ferred might excite envy. When he plotted
“ against the life of his sovereign and friend,
“ he did not consult Jove : now he would in-
“ quire of the oracle, that meanwhile his father,
“ the viceroy of Media, may be instructed, and,
“ with the money in his custody, may draw des-
“ perate men into their combination. We shall
“ ourselves send to the oracle, not to inquire
“ respecting that which we know from the king,
“ but to thank the gods, and offer up vows for
“ the safety of the best of sovereigns.”

Then the whole assembly became inflamed,
the body-guards crying out : “ It belongs to us
“ to tear the parricide in pieces.” Philotas,

who was afraid of greater torments, heard this without uneasiness.

Alexander, returning into the council of the army, adjourned it to the next day, either that Philotas might be racked in prison, or that all the circumstances might be otherwise penetrated. Although night was approaching, the king convened his friends. Most of them proposed, that Philotas should be stoned to death, according to the Macedonian custom: but Hephæstion, Craterus, and Cœnos, contended, that the truth ought to be wrung from him by torture; and the others came over to their opinion.

31. The council dissolved, Hephæstion, Craterus, and Cœnos, rose together; to go and press the question on Philotas. The king sent for Craterus, had a conversation with him, of which the tenor is unknown, and then retired to his closet, where in solitude great part of the night, he waited the result of the inquisition.

The executioners displayed before Philotas all the instruments of cruelty. "Why do you delay," he exclaimed impulsively, "to kill the king's enemy and murderer, now confessing? What need for torture? I contrived, I willed the mischief." Craterus required, that he should repeat that avowal on the rack. Philotas, as they were haling him, stripping him, and filleting his eyes, appealed to remorseless ears,

by the gods of his country, and the laws of nations. As though he were condemned, made to suffer the last resources of excruciation, he is deplorably lacerated by his persecuting enemies, affecting zeal for the king. Notwithstanding they employed, alternately, fire and the scourge, less for the purpose of examination than punishment, he forbore to utter either a cry or a groan. But, afterwards, his body swelling with ulcers, while lashing whips furrowed him to the bone; unable to support the agony, he promised, 'If the torments were discontinued, to communicate what they should demand to know.' But he required them, 'To swear, by the safety of Alexander, that they would no more apply the torture; and to dismiss the executioners.' When both were obtained, he said to Craterus: "Tell me what you would have me say." Craterus, incensed at being mocked, called back the executioners. Then Philotas requested time till he should recover his spirits, when he would reveal all that he knew.

32. Meanwhile, the superior officers of the cavalry, who were chiefly near relatives of Parmenio, heard the circulating rumour, that Philotas was on the rack. Of these—terrified because the Macedonian law involved in punishment the kindred of conspirators against the monarch,—some committed suicide, some fled

to mountains and solitudes. An aghast tumult agitated the camp, till the king proclaimed that he remitted the law, affecting the kindred of traitors.

Philotas was impatient to liberate himself from torture, by a disclosure, or by a fabrication: either may be supposed; because those who confess the truth, and those who lie circumstantially, equally propose to escape from the horrible machinery. ‘ You are not ignorant,’ he said, ‘ how intimate my father was with Hegelochus, that Hegelochus who fell in battle. ‘ He was the source of all our ills. For when ‘ the king began to require the salutation, SON ‘ OF JOVE! this man, resenting it heinously, ‘ deposited his sentiments with us: *Then we ‘ acknowledge this our sovereign, who disowns Philip ‘ his father? We are lost, if we submit to it. The ‘ man who desires to be thought a deity, insults not ‘ mankind merely, but the gods themselves. We ‘ have forfeited Alexander, we have forfeited our ‘ king, by giving into a pride, intolerably odious to ‘ the celestials whom he affects to rival, and to ‘ men whom he renounces. Have we spilt our ‘ blood to deify him, who will disdain us, who will ‘ be shocked to preside over a council of mortals? ‘ Believe me, if we are not less than men, we likewise may be adopted by the gods. Who avenged*

‘ Alexander*, great-grandfather of our Alexander? who, Archelaus slain afterwards? who took vengeance for Perdiccas? Nay, has not our divinity pardoned the homicides of his father? This, Hegelochus uttered at supper. Next morning, at day-break, my father required my attendance: Melancholy, he saw that I was deeply so, for we had heard things not to be recollected without anxiety. In order to know

* It is not easy to ascertain to which Alexander, or Archelaus, or Perdiccas, the passage applies.

Alexander I. properly *great-great-grandfather* of Alexander the conqueror of Persia, is not represented by any historian to have fallen by domestic treason: no more is Perdiccas I. his predecessor, nor Perdiccas II. his son, nor Perdiccas III. his great-grandson, and uncle of the last Alexander.

PERDICCAS, then, might have been some prince cut-off before he came to the crown.

ARCHELAUS, an illegitimate son of Perdiccas II. was killed at a chase by his favourite Craterus, according to Aristotle, [Polit. lib. v. sect. 19.] with design. But the murderer, contrary to the abominable argument above, was, a few days after ascending the throne, himself assassinated.

But as ALEXANDER II. *uncle* of Alexander, conqueror of Persia, was, in the ascending series of kings, four removes higher, some sciolist supposing him to be, therefore, his great-grandfather, might intrude into the MS. *proavum* instead of *patruum*. Alexander II. after reigning a year, fell a victim to the treasonable practices of his queen and Ptolemy.

But by thus bending the allusion to Alexander II. we exclude the Archelaus who had previously reigned. The second Archelaus, whom some historians admit during a turbulent interval, lived also previously.

‘ whether Hegelochus had poured out the suggestions of wine, or the purpose of deliberation, we sent for him. He came, and, of his own impulse, repeated the same suggestions; adding, *That if we dared to act as leaders, he claimed the next station to us; if our resolution failed, he would shroud our consultations in secrecy.*’ Parmenio deemed the enterprsie “ premature; for, while Darius was living, not we, but the enemy, would be benefitted by removing Alexander: but when Darius should have fallen, Asia, and all the East, must devolve as a prize to those who should kill the king.” ‘ This modification was approved, and the parties pledged themselves to mutual fidelity. Respecting Dymnus, I know nothing. But after the preceding confession, I am convinced that total innocence of his plot will not avail me.’

33. They again applied to him the instruments of torture, themselves also striking his face and eyes with their lances, in order to extort a confession of this crime likewise. Required to disclose the train of the contrivance, he at length answered: “ As it seemed probable, that the king would be long detained at Bactra, I feared that my father, seventy years of age, who commands a great army, and had the custody of vast treasures, might die

“ meanwhile. Deprived of such powerful aids,
“ I should have no object in causing the king’s
“ death. I therefore hastened to effect it,
“ while the reward for it was in my power. If
“ you do not believe that my father was unac-
“ quainted with this plot, I shall not shrink
“ from further tortures, though too weak to
“ bear them.” Having, in a conference, agreed,
that there had been a sufficient investigation,
they returned to the king.

The next day, Philotas’ confession was, by order of Alexander, publickly read; and Philotas, unable to walk, was carried into the assembly. He acknowledged the whole confession.

Demetrius, impeached as a party to the recent conspiracy, is now produced. With solemn protestations, delivered with steady boldness and an undaunted countenance, he denied, that he had meditated any thing against the king, and he demanded the application to himself of torture. Then Philotas, rolling round his eyes, recognised a person named Calis standing near, and desired him to approach closer. As Calis, in confusion, refused to move towards him, Philotas cried: “ Will you suffer Demetrius to lie, “ that I may be tortured again?” Calis was speechless, and the retreating blood left him pale.

The Macedonians began to suspect, that

Philotas implicated the innocent, because Nicomachus had not, nor had Philotas, while on the rack, named the youth. When, however, Calis found himself surrounded by the king's officers, he confessed that both himself and Demetrius were involved in the treason. Hereupon all who had been named by Nicomachus, were, according to the Macedonian usage, at a given signal, stoned to death.

Alexander here escaped a two-fold danger; that which had menaced his life, and the danger of making himself odious to the troops; for unless the guilt of Philotas and Parmenio, his leading friends, had been made apparent, he could not have condemned them, without incurring the indignation of the whole army. The affair appeared under two aspects; while Philotas denied the fact, he was looked upon to be persecuted inhumanly; after his confession, not from his friends even did he deserve pity.

QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK VII.

CATASTROPHE OF PARMENIO. COURSE OF ALEXANDER FROM DRANGIANA TO SCYTHIA, INCLUDING EXPEDITIONS AGAINST REVOLTING PROVINCES.

CHAP. I.

Alexander, the Lyncestean, killed. Accusation and defence of Amyntas.

1. AS Philotas, while the proofs of his crime were recent, was deemed by the soldiers justly punished; so, when he had disappeared, the mingled feelings of envy and resentment were succeeded by pity. They now were touched with his youth and distinction, and sympathized with the old age and filial bereavements of his father—who had been the first friend of Philip! who had opened the passage to Asia! whose fidelity had so proved itself to Alexander, that he would employ no other agent to remove Atalus! who had shared in all the dangers of the king, uniformly leading one of the wings of the

army! Such were the reflections which agitated the soldiers. The king heard the report of their seditious expressions, unmoved; sufficiently expert to dissipate the vices of idleness by action. He directed that the army should assemble before his palace. Then, Apharias, doubtless by concerted instruction, demanded that Alexander Lyncestes, who, long prior to Philotas, had designed to assassinate the king, might be brought to trial. It was now the third year* of his imprisonment, since he had been apprehended on the testimony of two informants. That he had been accessory to Pausanias' murder of Philip, was known: but having been the first to salute Alexander, "King!" the latter, from this circumstance, and his deference to the intercession of Antipater, Lyncestes' father-in-law, had rather suspended his punishment, than declared him exculpated. The resentment so long dormant now revived, the present necessary conservative measures calling to remembrance past dangers.

Lyncestes, therefore, conveyed from prison, is commanded to deliver the defence which, during three years, he had been preparing. With faltering terror, he pronounced a few studied

* The arrest of Lyncestes [narrated, *ante*, b. ii. c. 11.] commenced about mid-winter, Olymp. cxi. 4. But the death of Darius happened cxii. 3. in the Attic month Hecatombæon, commencing on the 23d of the modern July; since which event, the operations of Alexander must have consumed not less than three months. The confinement of Lyncestes, therefore, exceeded three years.

sentences : at length, his faculties wholly failed him. The auditors imputed his confusion, not to defect of memory, but to the compunctions of conscience ; and while he was struggling for recollection, those who stood nearest pierced him through with their lances.

2. His body removed, the king commanded that Amyntas* and Simmias should be arraigned. Polemon, the youngest of the three brothers, had fled during the examination of Philotas by the torture. These had been Philotas' most intimate friends, promoted, through his interest, to offices of dignity. Alexander, beginning to denounce them to the assembly, mentioned the zeal with which Philotas had recommended them to his favour : “ Nor, that they were privy
“ to the late conspiracy, can I entertain a
“ doubt. I had indeed been warned, in a letter,
“ by my mother, not to risk my safety with
“ these men ; but I was averse from believing
“ an unfavourable representation. On irresist-
“ ible proof, I have now consigned them to
“ chains. It is ascertained, that they had a
“ secret conference with Philotas on the day
“ before his treason was detected. One of the
“ brothers absconded while Philotas was under
“ torture, and, in flying, betrayed the motive.
“ Very recently, under colour of their office,

* Amyntas, the son of Andromenes, a distinct person from the Amyntas impeached by Nicomachus.

“ but contrary to established usage, they re-
 “ moved my other attendants without cause, and
 “ planted themselves at my elbow. Surprised
 “ to see them wait out of their turn in such an
 “ office; alarmed by their agitation, I promptly
 “ withdrew to my lancebearers*. Add to this,
 “ that when Antiphanes, clerk of the cavalry,
 “ required Amyntas, on the day before the dis-
 “ covery of the plot, to supply with some of
 “ his horses such persons as had lost theirs, he
 “ received the haughty answer, *That if he did*
 “ *not desist, he should shortly know to whom he*
 “ *was speaking.* The intemperate and rash ex-
 “ pressions which burst from them respecting
 “ their sovereign himself, can be evidence only
 “ of a treasonable propensity. If these charges
 “ are true, they deserve punishment no less than
 “ Philotas; if false, let them disprove them.”

Antiphanes affirmed, that Amyntas had refused him the horses, with arrogant and menacing words.

* Among the Macedonians, the most honourable military class was the *body-guards*, or *guards of the presence*; Arrian states them to have been SEVEN in number, and afterwards EIGHT: — but from the recorded admission of four Sogdian chiefs, among the *body-guards*, Curt. lib. VII. x. 37. and the investiture of a thousand Persians, with the same title and office, *Supplement* by Freinshemius, lib. X. iv. 11; the Translator considers the EIGHT individual Macedonian commanders eminently styled “body-guards” to have been captains of as many companies. The *lance-bearers* held the next rank, among whom this Amyntas was enrolled, though a commanding-officer. See *Translation*, b. iv. c. 13. sect. 52.

3. Amyntas then availed himself of permission to speak : “ I request, that, if it do not affect the king’s right, I may plead unfettered.” Alexander immediately ordered both the brothers to be unbound. Amyntas then requested, that the ensign of his office as a lance-bearer might be restored to him. When this was granted, bearing it in his left hand, and removing to some distance from the place where Lyncestes had fallen, he thus spoke : “ We are compelled, sire ! to confess, that if the lot awaiting us be prosperous, to your generosity we shall be indebted for it ; if adverse, we must ascribe it to fortune. We do not plead, prejudged. Our persons, at liberty, are distinguished by those tokens of authority, which we bore when we attended you in our respective posts. Our freed minds fear not for our cause, nor longer distrust fortune. Permit us to reply, at once, to your concluding accusation : we are not conscious of having spoken, in any shape, disloyally of your majesty. I would say, that you had long ago overcome malevolence, might you not possibly suspect, that I aim, by compliments, now, to atone for former disrespectful expressions. If, when weary and fainting on a march, or hazarding our lives in battle, or sick in our tents, or suffering under wounds, any sore word has escap-

“ ed us ; we have deserved, by intrepid actions,
“ that it should be attributed to our condition
“ at the moment, and not to disaffection. In
“ supreme calamities,—we accuse every thing ;
“ we wound our own bodies, which we certainly
“ do not hate ; our parents, if they strike our
“ sight, are odious. After victory, when we are
“ distinguished by bounty, when we return laden
“ with spoils, who can bear our incontrollable
“ elation ? Neither the anger nor the joy of
“ soldiers acknowledges bounds. We are extra-
“ vagant in all our affections. We blame,
“ praise, melt, or storm, the sport of the exist-
“ ing impression. Now, we exultingly pene-
“ trate to India and the Ocean ; now we embrace
“ in our clinging thoughts, our wives, our chil-
“ dren, and our country. But these reflections,
“ these discourses cease, when the trumpet
“ sounds to arms ; then every one flies to his
“ post ; and whatever irritation had accumulated
“ in our tents, is all discharged on the enemy.
“ Would to God that Philotas also had confined
“ his delinquency to words !

“ I now revert to the ground on which we
“ were arraigned : our friendship with Philotas.
“ So far from disowning his friendship, I avow
“ that we cultivated it. Is it wonderful, sire !
“ that we respected the son of Parmenio, whom
“ you had distinguished among your friends,

“ investing him with dignity, inferior only to
“ your own? If your majesty will hear the
“ truth, it is you that has drawn us into this
“ disgrace. For who else was the cause, that
“ all who sought your favour, courted Philotas?
“ If we are honoured with any rank in your
“ friendship, he introduced us to it. Honour-
“ ing him with intimacy, you made his favour
“ an object of ambition, and his displeasure of
“ dread. Have we not all sworn in your pre-
“ sence, to have the same enemies as you, and
“ that your friends shall be ours? We deemed
“ that this oath, dictated by yourself, forbade us
“ to slight the man ennobled by your esteem.
“ If this be a crime, then, sire! you have few,
“ you have no, subjects that are innocent; for
“ all aspired to Philotas’ friendship, although
“ the mass was disappointed. If his friends must
“ be conspirators, so must all those who would
“ have been his friends. What forms the proof,
“ that we were privy to his treasonable design?
“ I apprehend, our private conversation with
“ him the day previous to his arrest. This
“ would implicate us beyond exculpation, if we
“ had done something unusual: but as we, on
“ this obnoxious day, repeated only the practice
“ of every day, the constancy of the habit clears
“ us.

“ But—then—we would not give up our

“ horses to Antiphanes! and our contention
“ happened, on the same attainted day, while
“ Philotas was yet undetected. If for this re-
“ fusal I am suspected, he who made the demand
“ must be suspected also; the only difference
“ between us is, that he claimed another’s; and
“ I, with superior justice, kept my own property.
“ However, sire! of ten horses belonging to
“ me, Antiphanes had already transferred eight
“ to such as had lost theirs: our remaining two
“ chargers, which he insolently required, had I
“ not retained, we must have served on foot. I
“ cannot deny that the tone of my refusal was
“ that of a man of spirit speaking to a poltroon,
“ whose sole occupation in the army, is to dis-
“ tribute to those who fight, other people’s horses.
“ I deem it unfortunate, that while I apologize
“ to Alexander, I appear to do so to Anti-
“ phanes.

“ But, O Hercules! your venerated mother
“ has denounced us in her letters as your ene-
“ mies. I regret, that she does not exercise her
“ maternal solicitude more judiciously, than to
“ infuse into her son’s mind chimerical suspi-
“ cions. Why does she not assign the cause of
“ her terrors? name her author, or particularize
“ what action or expression of ours moved her
“ to perturb you with such letters? Unhappy
“ my condition! equal, perhaps, my peril, whe-

“ ther I speak or am silent. But let what will
“ result, I had rather displease you by my de-
“ fence, than leave my cause under imputation.
“ You will recollect, that when you detached
“ me into Macedon, to collect recruits, you
“ stated, that there were secluded in your mo-
“ ther’s palace, many youths of an age to bear
“ arms; and you instructed me, with attention
“ only to yourself, to impress those eluding the
“ levies. I executed your orders more com-
“ pletely than consisted with my private inte-
“ rest; bringing thence Gorgias, Hecatæus, and
“ Gorgatas, who have proved highly serviceable
“ in the field. What were more unjust, than
“ that I, whom merited punishment awaited,
“ if I disobeyed, should now fall for having
“ obeyed you? On no other account does
“ your mother persecute us, than that we pre-
“ ferred your benefit to her favour. I con-
“ ducted hither six thousand foot and six hun-
“ dred horse, many of whom would not have
“ marched, had they not been compelled. As
“ queen Olympias is indignant against us from
“ this cause, it is reasonable that she should be
“ conciliated by you who exposed us to her
“ displeasure.”

CHAP. II.

Amyntas and his brothers discharged. Catastrophe of Parmenio.

4. WHILE Amyntas was pleading, — those who had pursued, having overtaken his brother Polemon, brought him back bound. The assembly, incensed, could hardly be restrained from the summary vengeance of stoning him, the death which custom assigned to traitors. Polemon, wholly unterrified, said, “ For myself I
“ supplicate, that my fault in absconding may
“ not affect my brothers. If my defence be not
“ satisfactory, let condemnation attach only to
“ myself. It assists their cause, that I am be-
“ lieved to be guilty only because I fled.” At these words, all the auditors, favourably affected, dissolved in tears, suddenly induced to sympathize with the act of weakness, which had chiefly provoked their fury. A youth just entering on the age of puberty, he had been carried away by the contagious terror, which disturbed the cavalry, while Philotas was tortured. Deserted by his companions, he was deliberating whether to return to the camp, or to continue his flight, when his pursuers came up.

In tears, now, he smote his forehead ; distressed not for himself, but for his two endangered brothers. The king, with the assembly,

was moved. Amyntas, alone implacable, looking at him sternly, said: " Fool! thou shouldst have wept, when thou wert galloping away, a deserter of thy brothers, an associate of renegades. Wretch! whither and whence didst thou fly? Thou hast brought me under an impeachment menacing my life; thou hast caused me to reproach thee." Polemon acknowledged, ' That his offence was heavier as it had affected his brothers, than as it could affect himself.'

5. The soldiers no longer restrained those tears and acclamations, which express a burst of popular good-will. By a universal voice, the king was entreated to release these brave and innocent men. His friends also seized the opportunity to appeal to his humanity. He commanded silence: " Of my free impulse, I acquit Amyntas and his brothers. — — And, young men! I had rather that you should forget this generous return, than remember your jeopardy. Be as cordial in resuming friendly relations as I am. Had I not examined the charge, it might have been ascribed to dissimulation. To you it must be satisfactory to be cleared, instead of remaining suspected. Reflect that no one can establish his innocence unless he be tried. And, you Amyntas! forgive your brother, which I shall esteem as a pledge of your sincere reconciliation to myself."

The assembly dismissed, he summoned to his presence Polydamas, who was in the particular confidence of Parmenio, and accustomed to fight at the veteran general's side. Notwithstanding Polydamas had gone to the palace, relying on his innocence; yet on receiving a command to produce his brothers, who, on account of their juvenile age, were unknown to the king, his firmness sunk wavering into solicitude, exercised rather in imagining possible imputations, than in framing a defence. The lancebearers now brought in his brothers. The king commanded Polydamas, exanimate with fear, to come close to him. Having dismissed all the retinue of the presence: "Polydamas!" he said, "we are all invaded by Parmenio's treason; but myself and you especially are, whom he has deceived under the mask of friendship. I have chosen to employ you to seize and punish him — see what confidence I have in your fidelity. While you are discharging this trust, your brothers will be deposited with me as hostages. Depart for Media, and deliver these letters, in my own hand, to my sub-governors. Your expedition must anticipate the flight of rumour. I would have you arrive in the night; and, next morning, attend to the written instructions. You shall also carry letters to Parmenio; one from myself, and another as from Philotas, whose seal

- “ I have : thus the father, believing the letter to
“ have come from the son, will have no appre-
“ hensions at your sudden appearance.”

6. Polydamas, disburdened of terror, volunteered above what had been required; and Alexander heaped upon him commendations and promises. Polydamas assumed an Arabian habit. Two Arabs, whose wives and children remained with the king as pledges of their fidelity, were assigned to accompany him. Riding on dromedaries on account of the arid deserts, they, on the eleventh day, reached the destined place.

Here Polydamas took the Macedonian dress; and, before his arrival could be announced, repaired, at the fourth watch, to the tent of Cleander, the king's provincial administrator. When his dispatch had been delivered, they agreed to meet at day-break at Parmenio's quarters, for Polydamas had to deliver other letters from the king. As they were about to proceed thither, Parmenio heard of Polydamas' arrival. Overjoyed at the coming of his friend, and impatient to know how the king was engaged, from whom he had received no epistle a long while, he sent to inquire after the welcome visitant. The palaces* of this country have, at their rear, large grounds planted exquisitely with trees,

* *Diversoria*, public caravanseras: but the context shows that the word must be understood with a latitude which will embrace private mansions.

which the princes and satraps enjoy as paradises: Parmenio was walking in such a grove, surrounded by the officers who had received the king's mandate to kill him. The time for the deed they had concerted: when he should begin to read the letters to be delivered by Polydamas.

7. While approaching, recognised from a distance by Parmenio, whose features played with satisfaction, Polydamas ran to embrace him. After mutual greetings, he delivered the king's letter. While Parmenio was opening it*, he inquired, what the king was doing? Polydamas answered, the letter would inform him. Parmenio, having read the letter, said: "The king is preparing an expedition against the Arachosians. Intrepid and ever active prince! But having acquired so much glory, it is time that he should spare himself." The other letter written in Philotas' name, he then began to read, with visible joy in his countenance. Meanwhile, Cleander passed a sword through his side; he afterwards stabbed him in the throat; and the rest pierced him as he lay lifeless.

The guards stationed at the entrance of the plantation, having witnessed the murder, without knowing its cause, repaired to the camp;

* Literally, *while he was breaking the band of the letter*. It was customary with the ancients, in sealing letters, to carry a thread round, the knot of which was covered and confined by the impressed wax.

and convulsed it with the clamoured tidings. The soldiers, flying to arms, invested the place where their general's corpse lay: threatening, 'That unless Polydamas and his accomplices in the crime were delivered up, they would force the wall enclosing the grove, and sacrifice all within to the manes of their leader.' Cleander admitted their officers, and read to them a letter from Alexander to the troops, stating Parmenio's treason, and concluding with a request that they would avenge him. As the king's orders became known, the sedition was allayed, though indignation was unappeased. After the mass of soldiers had dispersed, the few remaining petitioned, that they might at least be allowed to bury the corpse. This was long refused by Cleander, apprehensive that compliance might displease the king. As they persisted with increasing vehemence, he at length, in order to deprive tumult of a rallying cry, yielded them the trunk of the corpse to bury. The head, which he had severed, he sent to the king.

8. Such was Parmenio's exit, a man illustrious by talents and services, in civil not less than military affairs. He had gained many successes without the king: in his absence, Alexander had achieved nothing of magnitude. He had satisfied a prosperous prince, who required every

thing to correspond with his own elevated fortune. At seventy years of age he would often take the duty of a young general, and sometimes that of a private soldier. He was wise in the cabinet, valiant in the field, beloved by the officers, still more the favourite of the ranks. These great qualities, with conscious popularity, inspired him with the ambition of reigning: or, he was sacrificed to suspicion. This is a problem; for while the recency of the affair admitted elucidation, it was not ascertained, whether Philotas, subdued by complicated tortures, disclosed actual transactions, which no informant could have laid open—or, whether, to end his sufferings, he devised a fiction.

Those whom Alexander had observed to re-pine at Parmenio's fall, he determined to separate from the rest of the army: the command of this distinct corps he gave to Leonidas, who had shared in the intimate confidence of Parmenio. These were, for the most part, the identical men, whom he had otherwise devoted to disgrace. For, once to sound the soldiers' dispositions, he proclaimed, That such as wished to write to their friends in Macedon, might securely send their letters by his messengers:—Every one, addressing his relatives, gave his sentiments frankly: Some were sick of the war: To the more numerous, it was generally agreeable:—Thus he ob-

tained the letters of the gratefully affected, and the discontented: He ordered this corps to encamp separately, as a mark of infamy; proposing to retain their valour in his service, while he locked out their licentious fluency from ears too ready to drink it. The rashness, or policy of irritating the bravest among the younger troops by these contumelies,—was espoused by the fortune which had attended other measures of equivocal discretion. For none fought with more alacrity than these; fired by courage, by impatience to expunge their disgrace, and by consciousness, that in a small body superior acts of gallantry could not shine unnoticed.

CHAP. III.

Alexander enters the country of the Evergetæ. Detaches a force against Satibarzanes. Reduces Arachosia. Founds a city at the base of the Indian Caucasus.

Olymp. cxii. 3. 9. **THESE** things thus settled,
A. C. 329. Alexander appointed a satrap over
Alex. Ætat. 28. the Arians.

Reg. 8. He then gave orders for pro-
Imper. 2. ceeding toward the Ariaspes; at
 that era called Evergetæ*, because, when Cyrus'

* *Gr. benefactors.* With this was synonymous their Persian name *Orosungæ.*

army was sinking under cold and famine; they had clothed and victualled it. On the fifth day after entering their country, he is informed, That Satibarzanes, who had revolted to Bessus, had, with a body of horse, made another irruption into Aria. Alexander, therefore, detached thither Caranus and Erigyius, Artabazus and Andronicus, with six thousand Grecian infantry and six hundred cavalry.

The king remained sixty days among the Evergetæ, during which he organized their state; and, by a munificent pecuniary largess, rewarded their fidelity to Cyrus. Amenides, who had been a scribe * of Darius, he constituted their governor.

He then reduced the Arachosians, whose territory extended to the Indian sea †. Here he

* *Scriba*, a Pehlivism for SECRETARY OR MINISTER. Among the Persians, the office of a pennman was one of primary dignity; by the Greeks, too, it was classed with the first in distinction, contrary to the practice of the Romans. The court of Modern Persia furnishes, in its costume, a good commentary on Curtius. "The *kullumdan*, "or *inkhorn*, is made in Persia to hold both ink and pens. It is, in "length, about ten or twelve inches, and three or four round. It is "generally beautifully painted, and is still worn by ministers in "Persia, as an insignia of their office. It is stuck in the girdle, in "the same part in which military men wear their daggers."—MALCOLM'S *History of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 369. note.

† *Ponticum mare*. — CURTIUS. Deduced from lib. IX. cap. vii. s. 23. to be a literal error for *Indicum mare*, the Indian ocean; it there appears that a nation on the west bank of the Indus paid a tribute to the Arachosians; moreover, their "territory extending to the Indian sea," probably included so much of the intervening region

received the army which Parmenio had commanded, consisting of six thousand Macedonians, with two hundred nobles, and five thousand Greeks, and two hundred horse: it was, indisputably, the chief strength of the king's forces. He nominated Menon provincial administrator over the Arachosians, with a garrison of four thousand infantry and six hundred cavalry.

10. He advanced into a region imperfectly known to the bordering nations, as it cultivates no interchange by commerce. Designated *Parâpamisadæ*, the wild inhabitants are the most uncivilized among the Barbarians; the hard aspect of the local scenery has petrified their minds. Touching Bactriana on the west, the greater part of their country has its aspect toward the frozen pole; the southern district stretches toward the Indian sea. Their cottages are built, the lower part of brick, and the upper of tile; for no timber grows in the sterile fields, nor on the naked mountains: their form, broadest at bottom, gradually contracts as the structure rises, till it terminates in the fashion of a ship's

of Gedrosia as answers to the modern Beloochistan. As the latter is a dependency on the present kingdom of Caubul; and Caubul itself, though now independent, was but a province of the modern empire of Persia in the height of its power; the analogy in the chain of dependencies and sub-dependencies, is very striking. Curtius has *mare Indicum* but a few lines lower.

keel, with an aperture in the centre to admit the light*. Such vines and trees as can endure the rigour of such a climate, the inhabitants press down, and cover with earth during the winter: and when the snow is dissolved, they dig them out and restore them to the air and sun. So deep are the snows which shroud the ground, so bound up by ice and almost perpetual frost, that no symptom was perceived of birds, or any beast remaining out †. The light is rather an obscuration of the sky resembling darkness, in

* The houses are constructed of brick, burnt or unburnt, and cemented with mud, mixed with chopped straw. The roofs are sometimes terraces laid on beams, but far more frequently are composed of three or four low domes of brick joining to one another. An opening is left in the centre of one of the domes, and over it is a chimney made of tiles, to keep out the rain. This sort of roof is recommended by its requiring no wood for rafters, a great consideration in a country where timber is so scarce. Most dwelling houses have but one room, about twenty feet long and twelve broad.—DESCRIPTION OF A DOORAUNEE VILLAGE, in a district near Candahar, ELPHINSTONE'S *Cabul*, p. 405.

† Alexander was now in some elevated table-land comprised within the modern Afghaunistan, not farther north than lat. 33°. Not finding any modern traveller who has pictured winter in what may be deemed the same identical region, the translator quotes a notice of a similar climate four or five degrees more to the south, and nearly treble that farther to the east. "In the territory round Phari fortress in the southern part of Tibet, perpetual winter may be said to reign, though in 28° n. lat. Such is the intensity of the frost, that animals exposed in the open air, are found dead, with their heads split open by its force. Wheat is grown for forage, but does not ripen."—HAMILTON'S *Description of India*.

which the nearest objects are with difficulty seen.

11. In this uncultured wild, the destitute army had every variety of ill to endure; scarcity, cold, weariness, despair. The blast of the snow* extinguished life in many; and caused the feet of others to mortify: its white glare perniciously affected the eyes of the majority. Some, having stretched on a bed of ice their exhausted frames, through want of motion, were so stiffened by the activity of the frost, that when they assayed to rise, they were unable.

* **BLAST of the snow.** The *uredo* of the original will equally bear the sense of **BURNING** or **BLISTERING**; and in the natural history of the effects of cold, there are not wanting facts to countenance the notion which either term conveys. An ode of Dr. Watts alludes to an accordant phænomenon, with which the inhabitants of Sarmatia and Scandinavia are familiar: but from the poetical veil of the allusion, it is not generally understood.

Cold steel exposed to northern air,
Drinks the meridian fury of the midnight Bear,
And burns the unwary stranger there.

A good comment on these lines is supplied by a correspondent in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for Feb. 1811. "In the winter season in the northern regions of Europe, it is common for strangers to be invited to put their tongues to cold iron, which instantaneously causes the sensation of burning; were the tongue not immediately withdrawn, the skin would be blistered. I have been informed, that a soldier in the guard-room at Prague, had, during a severe frost, warmed his hands to a glow; and on the guard being suddenly turned out, taking hold of the barrel of the musket, which had been exposed to the external air, the palm of his hand was blistered."

The torpid were lifted up by their comrades: there was no better remedy than compelling them to walk; the vital heat thus excited, the use of their limbs in part returned. Such as could reach a cottage, were restored quickly: but through the density of the atmosphere, huts could be traced out only by the smoke. The inhabitants had never seen a foreigner in their territory; and as their armed visitants suddenly presented themselves, their hearts died with fear: Petitioning to have their lives spared, they produced what their hovels afforded.

The king on foot moved through the troops, raising up the recumbent, and supporting languid stragglers. Proceeding, and rapidly turning, he was present in the van, the centre, and the rear. At length the army steps among patches of land improved by tillage, and a large supply of provisions refreshes it: those who had been unable to keep up, came in while the camp remained here.

12. Hence Alexander moved toward mount Caucasus*. A continuous ridge connected with this mountain divides Asia. Here its peaks overlook the sea which washes Cilicia; there another chain stretches toward the Caspian sea, the river Araxes, and the deserts of Scythia.

* The Hindoo Cos, or Indian Caucasus. — See ADDITIONAL NOTES (L).

Mount Taurus, second in magnitude, rising in Cappadocia, traverses Cilicia, and joins the mountains of Armenia. By so many branches and spurs, closely linked among themselves, a continuous ridge is formed. Thus is Taurus connected with Caucasus. In this entire chain, the sources are traced of almost all the rivers of Asia, which discharge themselves, respectively, into the Erythræan, the Mediterranean*, the Euxine, and the Caspian seas.

The army consumed seventeen days in passing over mount Caucasus. Among its eminences, is a rock ten stadia in circumference, and four in height; to which, according to an ancient tradition, Prometheus † was chained. At the base of the ridge ‡, Alexander selected a site for founding a city, which he peopled with seven thousand Macedonian menials, besides soldiers with whose services he could dispense. This also the inhabitants named Alexandria.

* *Hyrcaunum mare*.—CURTIUS. Evidently a casual substitution for *Internum mare*, the ancient name of the Mediterranean. The palpable error which the translation corrects, must be ascribed to intermediate MSS.; for Curtius has shown in a previous chapter information superior to it, noticing "Caspian" and "Hyrcaunian" as alternative names of the same sea.—*Translation*, vol. ii. p. 88. This therefore is an inductive, rather than a conjectural emendation.

† The mythologists, for the most part, fix Prometheus to the Western Caucasus. Goropius Becanus, in *Indo-Scythicis*, agrees with Curtius; and so do ancient Sanscrit authorities.

‡ See ADDITIONAL NOTES (M).

CHAP. IV.

Bessus flies from Bactriana, which Alexander enters. Single combat between Erigyius and Satibarzanes.

13. **BESSUS**, terrified by Alexander's expedition, after a sacrifice to the national gods, as the custom is in those regions, at a banquet, deliberated, with his friends and chief-officers, respecting the war. Oppressed with wine, they extolled their own force, and ridiculed the rashness and small number of the enemy. Bessus, above all bold in words, elated with dominion procured by treason, and scarcely master of recollection, thus expressed himself: "From " Darius' stupidity, Alexander's fame has risen. " He met our invaders in the defiles of Cilicia, " when, by retiring, he might have drawn them " upon places naturally inaccessible; so many " rivers in the way, so many mountains with " recesses for ambuscade, — surprised among " which, the enemy, deprived of the power " to resist, would have had no opportunity to " escape. I have determined to withdraw " into Sogdiana, interposing the river Oxus, " as a barrier to Alexander, while strong " reinforcements assemble round my standard

“ from the bordering nations. Coming to my
“ aid are the Chorasmii and the Dahæ, the Sarcæ
“ and the Indians, and the Scythians from be-
“ yond the Jaxartes, who have not among them
“ a man so short that his shoulders are not even
“ with a Macedonian’s head.” The drunken
crew unanimously shouted, that this plan was
wise. Bessus caused the wine to circulate, and
routed Alexander at the table.

14. At the feast was Cobares, a Median, famed
rather as a professor of the magic art, (if it be
an art, and not an illusion on the superstitious,)
than as an adept. He was, in other respects,
reasonable and honest. He began to preface:
‘ He was convinced that it were better for a
‘ servant to obey implicitly, than to offer coun-
‘ sel; since he who obeys fares as the rest, but
‘ the mover of any measure takes a personal
‘ risk.’ Bessus then delivered the cup out of his
hand to Cobares, who, as soon as he had received
it, said: “ It is an unhappy feature in the con-
“ dition of man, that every one is far less saga-
“ cious in his own affairs than in another’s. A
“ tumult of projects and inclinations agitates a
“ mind deliberating with itself: apprehension-
“ oppresses it, or avidity misleads it, or self-
“ complacency weds it to a fatal decision. Pride
“ I will not name; it can have no influence
“ over you. You have experienced, that every

“ one deems his own proposition, either alone
“ fit to be entertained, or the best. In the im-
“ perial diadem, you have to sustain a great
“ weight, which must be carried with modera-
“ tion; or, what I solemnly deprecate, it will
“ crush you. Prudence, not impetuosity, is
“ requisite at this crisis.” He then adduced
what were trite remarks among the Bactrians,
The timorous dog barks more fiercely than he bites,
—and, *The deepest rivers glide on with least noise:*
These recorded adages attest, that among Bar-
barians, of whatever description, traces of wis-
dom may be found. When Cobares had thus
awakened the expectation of the auditors, he
delivered advice more salutary to Bessus, than
agreeable: “ The gates of your palace are in-
“ vested by a prince consummately active. He
“ sooner will move his army, than you this table.
“ Is this a time to summon troops from the
“ Jaxartes, or to oppose the invader with rivers!
“ Can you fly whither he cannot follow? Com-
“ mon to both, the way is safer to the victor.
“ Is consternation nimble?—exulting pursuit is
“ swifter. Why do you not court the stronger,
“ and give yourself to his mercy? Follow what
“ will, by submission you must obtain a better
“ lot than by hostility. You wear another’s
“ crown, therefore to part with it is less a hard-
“ ship. You may perhaps begin to reign law-

“ fully, when he shall have made you a king,
“ who can both confer a sceptre, and take it
“ away. You have here faithful counsel, which
“ to press farther were superfluous. The steed
“ of spirit is touched by the shadow of the
“ switch: the jade cannot be stimulated even
“ by the spur.”

Bessus, whose choleric temper drinking had inflamed, was so infuriated, that he drew his sword, and could hardly be hindered by his friends from killing Cobares. The usurper, as if his reason were impaired, sprung out of the company. Cobares, having escaped in the confusion, went off to Alexander,

15. Bessus' army consisted of eight thousand Bactrians, who, while they imagined that their inclement country would induce the Macedonians to march in preference toward India, remained faithful to him: when Alexander was known to be coming, they deserted Bessus, every one returning to his hamlet. The purpled traitor, with a small dependent retinue, which adhered firmly to him, passed the river Oxus in boats, which he burnt, lest they should avail the enemy. Among the Sogdians, he began to embody a fresh army.

Alexander, as above related, had passed the [Ind.] Caucasus: but the scarcity of corn in his camp almost amounted to famine. With a juice

expressed from the *sesama**, the Macedonians anointed their limbs: but of this juice every amphora † cost two hundred and forty denarii: the price of the same measure of honey, was three hundred and ninety denarii; of wine, three hundred. No wheat, or but a scanty quantity, could be procured. The *siri*, as the Barbarians call their subterranean granaries, are covered in so subtly, that those only who had excavated, could find them. In these, were buried stores of corn ‡. Under the want of which, the sol-

* The botanic name is *SESAMUM*, *oily grain*. There are several species, all natives of the East Indies. The *orientale* has been introduced into many other parts of the world, and is cultivated in Egypt, Syria, Africa, and the warmer climates of America. 1. The seeds form an article of food. 2. The oil, drawn from these, if kept two years, grows mild, and is by some preferred to that from the olive. 3. The herb is applied externally for the cure of cutaneous, and other diseases, in the form of a fomentation, or of a cataplasm.

By employing the oil as an unguent, the Macedonians probably sought to obviate the consequences of exposure to extreme cold.

Sesamum is very abundant in Afghaunistan.—ELPHINSTONE'S *Caubul*, p. 302. In Syria and Persia, the oil is called *Sharaj*.

† The Roman *amphora* contained forty-eight sextaries, or nearly seven gallons one pint English wine-measure: the Attic amphora contained one third more.

‡ The custom of excavating pits for preserving corn from the influence of the air, as affected by the vicissitudes of dryness and moisture, heat and cold, has been prevalent through all antiquity in India, Persia, and Asia Minor. The construction of them has varied as stone, brick earth, or sand, composed the soil,—as bitumen or lime has furnished the means of keeping out humidity,—and as a hot climate might spontaneously dry the grain to be preserved, or as

diers supported themselves on river-fish and herbs. As these kinds of food presently failed, they were directed to kill their draft-cattle, on which they subsisted till they entered Bactriana.

16. The face of Bactriana is contrastingly diversified. In many places, luxuriant trees and vines yield fruit of fine growth and flavour : numerous springs irrigate a rich soil. The more generous land is sowed with corn ; other fields afford pasturage. Further, great part of the country is deformed by tracts of barren sand, in which a mournful absence of vegetation refuses nourishment to man. When the winds blow from the Indian ocean*, the floating dust is swept into masses, which at a distance assume the appearance of hills. These moveable shoals obliterate all traces of previous roads. Travelers, therefore, through these levels direct their course at night, like mariners, by observation of the stars. The shadowy night is to the full as luminous as the misty day. In the day-time,

coal and other fuel might be applied to that stage of preparation in a cold one. In China, too, subterranean corn magazines have been constructed from time immemorial. One of their most successful methods has been to cut a cavern in the rocks, and to line the sides and bottom with straw mats. In 1820, M. Le Comte De Laysteyrie published a work on this subject, recommending the use of subterranean pits, as an economical substitute for the present public granaries of Paris.

† i. e. from the South. The original has *Pontico mari*, which the Translator regards as an error for *Indico mari*.

this region is impassable, because the tracks, which ought to be followed, are not discoverable, and a dense vapour veils the sun. If one of those winds from the sea overtakes a traveller, it overwhelms him with flying sand.

The cultivated portion of the country is crowded with inhabitants, and well stocked with horses. Bactra, the capital, is situate under mount Parâpamisus; the river Bactrus, which washes its walls, gives name to the city and province.

The king, while encamped here, received intelligence from Greece of the revolt of some of the Peloponnesian cities in concert with the Laconians; for they had not been reduced when Antipater's messengers came away, now arriving with an account only of the first movements of the insurrection. Another — an existing — cause of alarm is announced: the Scythians seated beyond the river Tanais [Jaxartes] are advancing to the aid of Bessus.

17. At the same time is brought a narrative of the proceedings of Caranus and Erigyus in the country of the Arians. The forces having come to action, the renegade Satibarzanes, who commanded the Barbarians, perceiving that the lethargic battle stood equally poised, rode up to the first lines, and stopped the discharge of missiles: taking off his helmet, he spoke aloud a challenge, — If any man was disposed to single

combat, he was ready to fight bare-headed. The Macedonian general, Erigyus, of a great age indeed, but not inferior to any of the young soldiers in strength and courage, could not patiently hear the insolence of the Barbarian. Showing his grey hairs as he lifted up his helmet — “The day is come,” he cried, “in which I will, either by victory or honourable death, display what sort of friends and soldiers surround Alexander.” He galloped to charge his antagonist. It might have been supposed that both armies had received orders to arrest their darts: both, in the same time, trod backward to form an area; watching, in the result, the fortune not of the combatants only, but of themselves, involved in their leader’s danger. The Barbarian launched his spear: Erigyus eluded it by a slight inclination of the head, spurred his horse, and struck his javelin through his adversary’s throat, so that the point stood out behind his neck. Fallen from his seat, the Barbarian yet grappled. Erigyus disengaged the javelin, and aimed it into his mouth. Satibarzanes, to avoid a lingering death, grasped the weapon, and assisted the conqueror’s thrust.

The Arians, having lost their general, whom they had followed rather from necessity than attachment; and not unmindful of their obliga-

tions to Alexander, delivered up their arms to Erigyus.

The king, while gratified by this success, felt not entirely at ease respecting the Spartans; but he bore their defection with fortitude, observing, ' That they had not dared to manifest their designs, till they knew that he was on the frontiers of India.'

He decamped, in order to pursue Bessus; and was met by Erigyus displaying the spoils of Satibarzanes as an opime trophy.

CHAP. V.

Alexander advances into Sogdiana. Spitamenes delivers up Bessus.

18. ALEXANDER having committed the province of Bactriana to Artabazus, left there his baggage under a guard. He in person, with a flying camp, marching by night, entered the deserts of Sogdiana*. Amid a dearth of water, despair of obtaining any, kindled thirst before nature excited it. Throughout four hundred stadia not a drop of moisture springs. The

* He has not yet passed the river Oxus, which Strabo and Ptolemy make the boundary between Bactriana and Sogdiana. Dionysius Periegetes, however, extends a portion of Sogdiana across the Oxus.

exhaling power of a summer sun, which then began to reign, torrefied the sands; every thing is dried up as in a kiln always burning*. Steaming from the fervid earth, a cloudy vapour darkens the day; and the arid plains take the appearance of a vast and deep sea†. Travelling between sun-set and sun-rise is supportable, on account of the dews, and the freshness of the mornings. But the heat which commences at dawn, exhausts the animal juices, blisters the skin, and causes internal inflammation. The soldiers sunk under depression of spirits, succeeded by bodily debility: it was annoying both to halt and to march. Some few, advised by such as knew the country, had provided themselves with water; a temporary relief:—the progressive heat soon rekindled the importunity of parched nature. The stock of wine and oil is distributed to the troops. To drink was so voluptuous, that the soldiers forgot that thirst might recur. They gulped the liquor so greedily, that they became unable to carry their arms, or to march; and those seemed happier, who had pined without water, than these who had swallowed intemperate draughts of wine and oil, which the offended organ of nourishment refused to entertain.

* See PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION, *Testimonies*, No. 4.

† *Glittering with salt*.— See ADDITIONAL NOTES (N).

19. The king, pensive under these disasters, is, by his encircling friends, entreated to remember, that his greatness of mind could alone save the fainting army. At this moment, two of a party who had been sent forward to mark out an encampment, returning with some skins of water to relieve their sons also in the army, in passing along, came into his presence. One of them untied a bottle, filled a cup, and presented it to the king. Alexander, taking it, inquired for whom the water was intended. The man acknowledged, that he was carrying it to his sons. The king, returning the vessel full, said : “ I cannot endure to drink alone, “ and I cannot distribute to every one out of “ so small a quantity. Hasten, and give it to “ your children, for whom you had designed “ it.”

At length he reached the river Oxus about the setting-in of evening. As a great portion of the army had been unable to keep up, he caused fires to be displayed on a mountain-peak, that the distressed in the rear might perceive that they were not far from the camp. Those of the advanced division, after they had speedily refreshed themselves with aliment, he ordered to fill up the bottles, bowls, and every vessel in which water could be carried, and return to relieve their fellow-soldiers. Those who

drank the more immoderately, died: and a greater number perished thus than he had lost in any battle. On his part, without throwing off his armour, or taking meat or drink, he placed himself where the army was coming: nor did he retire to bathe till the last companies had passed. He consumed a sleepless night in anxiety.

The morning light failed to dispel his uneasiness, because it disclosed, along the river's bank, a bare tract, so void of timber, that it disabled him, destitute of boats, from building a bridge. He had a single resource. Skins filled with straw, he distributed to a great proportion of the soldiers: on these they floated across the river. Those who had first passed, took a covering station while the rest ferried over. In thus transporting the army to the opposite bank, six days were exhausted.

20. Alexander was decided to persevere in the pursuit of Bessus, by information of the occurrences in Sogdiana. Among the friends of Bessus, Spitamenes had been courted by the highest honours. But perfidy cannot be humanized by beneficence: his, however, is the less hateful, because in relation to Bessus, the murderer of his sovereign, nothing appears execrable. To colour his treachery, this man professed to avenge Darius: but it was the fortune,

not the crime of Bessus, that provoked the conspirators.

When Spitamenes knew that Alexander had crossed the Oxus, he imparted his design to Dataphernes and Catenes, in whom Bessus reposed eminent confidence: they met his proposal eagerly; and, having suborned eight robust young men, the party concerted this wily procedure. Spitamenes, with parading secrecy, informs Bessus, ‘ That having discovered Dataphernes and Catenes to be plotting together to deliver him up alive to Alexander, he, of his own act, had arrested and bound them.’ Bessus, under obligations for such meritorious fidelity, thanked Spitamenes; and, impatient to consummate their punishment, gave him an order to lead them in. Their hands having been tied by their own connivance, they were dragged along by their accomplices. Bessus, fixing on Dataphernes and Catenes a sanguinary look, rose to despatch them with his own hand. But the party, dropping the disguise, surround him, bind him, snatch from his head the diadem, and tear his mantle, part of the spoils usurped from his murdered master. He now confessed, ‘ That the gods are present to punish treason:’ he added, ‘ That they were not unjust to Darius, whom they thus avenged; though they were propitious to Alexander, whose conquests

' were always promoted by his enemies.' It is doubtful whether the mass of the Barbarians would not have rescued Bessus, had not the conspirators awed the wavering, by the pretence that they acted under Alexander's orders. Placed on horseback, they carry him off in progress to deliver him up to Alexander.

Meanwhile, the king separated nine hundred soldiers, whose dismissal was fully due. To the trooper he gave two talents; to the foot-soldier, three thousand denarii: Having exhorted the discharged to become the fathers of families, he sent them home. The rest, promising their hearty services to finish the achievements of the war, obtain his thanks. *

21. He is now near an inconsiderable city, inhabited by the Branchidæ. Their ancestors had betrayed to Xerxes, retiring from Greece, the treasures under their charge, as priests of the Didymean Apollo; and by him had been transplanted from Miletus to this settlement. The Branchidæ had not forsaken the customs, though they had degenerated from the language of their original country, gradually mingling with it a foreign dialect. With extreme joy, they meet the king, and, with themselves, surrender their city.

Alexander convened all the Milesians in his army. The Milesians inherited the ancient

feud against the race of the Branchidæ. Nevertheless, empowered by their liberator to decide, whether the crime of the ancestors, or the Grecian blood of the descendants, should now be remembered, they could not agree in opinion. He then declared, that he would advise with himself. When the parties met the next day, he commanded them to proceed with him to the town. He entered one gate with a light division, ordering the phalanx to surround the place, and, at a signal, to pillage that receptacle of traitors, and slay the race to an individual. In all directions, unarmed people are butchered; nor can similarity of language, nor the veils held up by kneeling suppliants, nor the prayer "Have mercy!" stop one inhuman sword. The walls are dug up from the foundations, that not a trace of the city might remain. Nor yet allayed,—vindictive fury, after felling the consecrated groves, unbeds their roots, that nothing may be left but a barren solitude. Had such cruel extermination been exercised on the perpetrators of the treason, it might have been deemed just vengeance: but here the guilt of the forefathers was expiated by a remote generation, who had never seen Miletus, so far from having betrayed it to Xerxes.

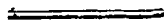
22. Hence Alexander moved toward the Jaxartes. Bessus is now presented, despoiled

of his robes, and bound. Spitamenes led him by a chain affixed to his neck; a sight not less welcome to the Persians than to the Macedonians. "You, sire! and Darius," said Spitamenes, "both my sovereigns, I have avenged. I deliver up to you the assassin of his king, seized in the manner of which he furnished the example. O that Darius could open his eyes to this spectacle! could rise from the shades, as far from deserving that catastrophe, as he greatly merits this consolation." Alexander, having highly applauded Spitamenes, turning to Bessus, cried: "What brutish frenzy instigated thee, first to bind, and then to murder, a prince who merited the best services from thee? But thou hast paid thyself for the enormity, by the title of king." Bessus, not daring to deny his crime, said, 'That he had assumed the regal dignity, to preserve his own country for Alexander: if he had neglected, some one else would have seized the kingdom.'

Alexander called out for Oxathres, Darius' brother, who was among the body-guards. To him he consigned Bessus, to be bereft of his nose and ears, and, pinioned on a cross, to serve as a target to the Barbarian archers, who were also to guard his carcase from the depredations of the birds. All the rest Oxathres undertook

to superintend. The birds, he affirmed, could be kept off only by Catenes, desirous to display his matchless dexterity. Catenes drew at an object with such precision, that the arrow uniformly surprised the flying bird: And notwithstanding his superior management of the bow must have appeared the less admirable, because the weapon is common; yet his performance astonished the spectators, and won him great respect.

Alexander made presents to all those concerned in bringing Bessus: but postponed his execution till they should come to the place where he had killed Darius.



CHAP. VI.

The king is wounded by the Mountaineers. Occupies Maracanda. Embassy from the Abian Scythians. Revolt of Sogdiana and Bactriana, fomented by Spitamenes.

23. MEANWHILE, as Macedonian parties were foraging, careless of military order,—unreduced hordes came down from the neighbouring mountains, and enclosed them. The Barba-

rians having taken prisoners a greater number than they killed, driving their captives before them, returned to the ridge. Twenty thousand, lurking here, lived by plunder: their arms were slings and bows. Alexander besieged them. Fighting among the boldest, he is struck with an arrow, which leaves its barb in the middle of his leg. The afflicted Macedonians bear him back to the camp. Nor were the Barbarians ignorant that the king had been carried from the field, over which they had a commanding view from the height. They sent, therefore, on the following day, deputies to Alexander. He gave them an immediate audience; and, having taken off the bandage to dissemble the severity of the wound, appeared with his leg bare. When commanded to sit down, they said, 'That the Macedonians could not be more afflicted than they were when they knew that he was wounded; and if they could discover who had shot the arrow, they would deliver him up, for only the sacrilegious fight against the gods. That all their nation, overcome by his virtue, submitted to him.' The king accepted the restored captives, and took the tribe under his protection.

24. Decamping, he was conveyed on a military litter, which the troopers and foot soldiers contended for the honour of bearing. The

cavalry claimed it, because the king usually fought at their head; the infantry alleged, that, as it was their office to carry their wounded fellow-soldiers, it was unjust to deprive them of it in the case of the king. Alexander, sensible that it was difficult to decide on their pretensions, and that a preference would be regarded by the rejected party as an injury, directed that they should carry him alternately.

On the fourth day he reached the city Maracanda: the wall is seventy stadia in circumference; the citadel is not surrounded by any outwork*. Having left a garrison in the place, he pillaged and burnt the neighbouring villages.

Deputies arriving from the Abii†; a Scythian community which had been independent

* *Arx nullo cingitur muro.*—CURTIUS. The citadels of Persian walled towns are called by the name of “*Argh*,” or “*Ark*.” They are generally square, with very high walls, which are flanked by lofty turrets.—MALCOLM’S *Persia*, vol. ii. p. 269, *note*.

Arg (أرغ) signifies a small castle constructed within a large fortress.—*Berhan Katea*. And Curtius seems to notice the circumstance of the citadel standing by itself as an exception to the general mode.

† The *Ἀβίοι* of Homer, *Iliad*, lib. xiii. 6. lost in the lines:—

On milk sustained, and blest with length of days,

The Hippenolgi, justest of mankind.

COWPER.

Pope’s Version had likewise treated as an epithet, that word which Strabo and Ammianus Marcellinus, as Warburton’s note acknowledges, construed into the proper name of a people. The more correct interpreters of the *Iliad* reduce *πῖπυμολγοί* to an epithet; and when so construed, its import, the *mare-milking race*, is peculiarly characteristic of Scythian manners.

since Cyrus' death, declare their readiness to obey Alexander. They, it is attested, were the most just people among the Barbarians; abstaining from war, unless they were injured; under their attempered and impartial use of liberty, the chiefs, and the humbler ranks, were equals in immunity from wrong. Having promised these his paternal favour, he sent Berdes, of the band of friends, to prohibit the Scythians, dwelling in Europe*, from passing the Tanais, without his orders. He instructed him to survey the situation of their encamping-places, and to visit the Scythians, on the coast of the Cimmerian Bosphorus.

25. Alexander had selected, on the bank of the Tanais, [Jaxartes†] an area, on which he intended to found a city, as a fortified barrier between the tribes recently subdued, and those which he proposed to invade. But this design is suspended by the revolt of the Sogdians, which was followed by that of the Bactrians. There were seven thousand cavalry, by whose

* It is likely that, during this mission, the wall was built at the straits of the Caspian, on its western shore, which tradition attributes to Alexander. The Translator does not consider that Alexander at any time in person, penetrated to the *pass of Derbend*; his progress in Hyrcania, when he was moving in that direction, is described above, *lib. VI. cap. iv. 7. et cap. v.*

† The introduction of the *Tanais*, which was right in the last section, is wrong in this. The conversion of the *Jaxartes* into the *Tanais* by the Greek authors who accompanied Alexander is accounted for in the ADDITIONAL NOTE (O).

authority the others were influenced. Alexander dispatched messengers to Spitamenes and Catenes, who had delivered up Bessus, not doubting that by their services the agitators of the insurrection might be repressed and secured. But they, the secret movers of it, circulated a report, ' That the Bactrian cavalry ' were sent for to be slaughtered; that this ' was their commission, but they were inca- ' pable of consummating such an unpardonable ' crime against their countrymen; for they ab- ' horred Alexander's cruelty not less than Bes- ' sus' parricide.' The Bactrians, previously inclined, now goaded by the fear of destruction, were without difficulty persuaded to arm.

Informed of the defection of these renegades, the king directed Craterus to invest Cyropolis. He, in person, by the operations of a *military circle*, took another city in the same province: At a signal, the storming parties killed every full-grown male, reserving the other inhabitants as booty: The town was demolished, as an example.

The Memaceni, a powerful community, resolved to sustain a siege, as not only the more honourable, but the safer course. To move their pertinacity; Alexander sent forward fifty horsemen, who were instructed to blazon his clemency towards such as submitted, and his inexorable rage towards such as he was obliged

to conquer. The Memaceni replied, that they doubted, neither of the king's honour, nor of his power. They required the troopers to encamp outside the walls, where they entertained them hospitably. At midnight they assaulted and slew their guests, oppressed with banqueting and sleep.

26. Alexander, whose indignation corresponded to this enormity, surrounded their city by a *military circle*: but it was too successfully fortified to be taken at the first assault. He therefore committed the siege to Meleager and Perdicas; and proceeded with a division to join Craterus, whom we left investing Cyropolis.

This city Alexander had determined to spare altogether. Of Cyrus, its founder, no less than of Semiramis, from contemplation of their magnanimity and effulgent actions, he had imbibed a veneration rising far above his estimate of any other sovereign of the East. The contumacy of the citizens, however, enraged him; therefore, when he had taken, he ordered a chosen party to pillage, Cyropolis; and the Macedonians were, not without cause, severely inclined.

He then returned to Meleager and Perdicas. No garrison made a more vigorous defence than the Memaceni. The bravest of Alexander's soldiers fall: He is personally in

consummate danger, a massy stone strikes his neck; suffused with dimness, his eyes, unconscious, become sealed; his reason sinks under delirium. The army, filled with grief, supposed him to be killed. But, invincible against those occurrences which repel others, without waiting till his wound was cured, he more vigorously pressed the siege, anger promoting his natural celerity. Having made a considerable breach, by mines extended under the wall, he carried the city by storm. Then he caused it to be demolished.

27. He detached Menedemus, with three thousand foot and eight hundred horse, to the city Maracanda, whence Spitamenés had driven the Macedonian garrison. That renegade took refuge within the walls: the inhabitants, without approving, appeared to concur in the revolt, unable to oppose him,

Meanwhile Alexander returned to the bank of the Jaxartes: he there enclosed as much ground as his camp had occupied, in circumference sixty stadia, within a trench, as the foundation of a city. This also he denominated Alexandria. With such expedition the work proceeded, that in seventeen days the fortifications were raised, and the habitations roofed in. The labour had been apportioned to the soldiers, among whom prevailed an emulation, who

should soonest perform his task. Alexander peopled the new city with liberated captives, whose ransoms he paid to their respective owners. And, although ages have since elapsed, their posterity are not yet excluded from consideration, supported by Alexander's memory.

CHAP. VII.

The new city excites the hostility of the Scythians.

The detachment under Menedemus cut off by the revolting Bactrians.

THE chieftain of the Scythians, whose dominion lay beyond the Tanais, regarding the city, newly erected by the Macedonians, as a yoke upon their own necks, sent his brother Cartusis, with an army of horse, to demolish it, and to drive the Macedonian forces to a distance from the river.

28. The Tanais divides the Bactrian Scythians* from the European Scythians, flowing

* *Bactrianos Tanais ab Scythis quos Europæos vocant dividit.*—
CURTIUS. The Translator construes this passage as condensed by an ellipsis, to be thus supplied: *Scythos quos Bactrianos vocant Tanais ab Scythis quos Europæos vocant dividit.* Curtius has said, *supra*, lib. V. cap. x., that Bactriana influenced the third part of Asia; and the "Bactrian Scythians" of the translation may find some countenance in its analogy to the modern compounds "Chinese"—and—"Russian Tartary."

as a boundary between Asia and Europe. From the vicinity of Thrace, one seat of the Scythian nations diffuses itself in a north-westward direction; not bordering on, as some have viewed it, but a part of Sarmatia. Another division of Scythia, extending on one side still farther toward the North, commences from the country of the Alauni situate beyond the Ister, and, sweeping eastward along by Bactriana, reaches to the extremity of Asia. In the remote interior are impenetrable forests and boundless deserts: on the contrary, the banks of the Tanais, and those tracts which look toward Bactriana, are not dissimilar, in their features, from other inhabited countries.

Alexander, on the point of an unforeseen war with these people, when he perceived their horsemen insolently parade in his sight, although he was not recovered from the wound in his neck, and his voice was excessively weakened by the effects of pain, and a low regimen, summoned his friends to council. Not the enemy, but the adverse coincidences of the crisis, alarmed him. "The Bactrians were in rebellion; the Scythians insulted him, when he could neither support himself on foot, nor sit his horse, nor marshal and exhort his troops. In this twofold emergency, he complained to the gods, 'That he was lying inactive, whose expedition heretofore none could escape: his

own soldiers were ready to regard his illness as dissembled.'

Since Darius' overthrow, Alexander had not consulted the magicians, nor the other interpreters of futurity. Returning to a superstition, ridiculous to enlightened minds, he commanded Aristander, whom his credulity invested with precedence, to explore the result of affairs by suitable sacrifices.

29. It was the custom of the diviners to inspect the lobes of the victim apart from the king, and to make a report of their prognostications. While these were reading in the inwards of a ram secret events, — Alexander ordered his friends to draw nearer to him, lest, by the exertion of speaking, he should break the cicatrice, not yet firmly knit. Hephæstion, Craterus, and Erigyus, with his body-guards, had been introduced into his tent. "New hostilities," he began, "engage us at a time more convenient to our enemies than to us: but necessity controuls reason; especially in war, rarely permitting the selection of opportunities. The Bactrians have revolted, while we were affixing the yoke to their necks: and to assay the reality of our courage, they foment another war. Leaving the Scythians, who have come to fight us, we shall be despised by the rebels to whom we return: but if we pass the Tanais [Jaxartes],

“ and show ourselves invincible by the defeat
 “ and slaughter of the Scythians, who can doubt
 “ that this part of Europe* also will be opened
 “ to our victories? He miscalculates, who mea-
 “ sures our glory by the space to be traversed.
 “ By passing a single river, we carry our arms
 “ into Europe. What perfection of honour,
 “ while we are subduing Asia, to set up trophies
 “ in a new world as it appears! and to connect
 “ suddenly by one victory, regions which, for
 “ so long a time, nature seems to have kept di-
 “ vided! But if we venture on a short delay,
 “ the Scythians will harass our rear. Can we
 “ alone effect the passage of rivers? Many ex-
 “ pedients, through which we have hitherto
 “ conquered, will be converted to our annoy-
 “ ance. Fortune is teaching the vanquished
 “ the art of war. We have recently shown
 “ how a river may be passed on skins †; which,
 “ if the Scythians do not know, the Bactrians

* As though Scythia were an elongation of Europe, rather than a portion of Asia. The geographical science of the Moderns enables them to correct many errors of the Ancients: but of Independent Tartary, or Central Asia, our knowledge is at this day only comparative; and the travels of Marco Polo, performed towards the close of the thirteenth century, furnish the basis of the delineations of D’Anville. The notes of MARSDEN add greatly to the value of his able translation of MARCO POLO.

† We also saw many persons crossing, or floating down the river [the Indus], on the skins of oxen inflated, on which they rode astride, with most of their bodies in the water. ELPHINSTONE’S *Cabul*, p. 73.

“ will soon teach them. Besides, one army
“ only of Scythians now presents itself; others
“ are expected; so that we nurture the war,
“ by declining it, and such a shock as we may
“ give, we shall, if we pause, have to sustain.
“ The reason of my intention is evident: but
“ whether the Macedonians will permit me to
“ execute my decision, I am in doubt, because
“ they know, that, since this wound, I have
“ been unequal to the exertion of riding on
“ horseback, or of walking. Friends! if you
“ are willing to follow me, I am well. I have
“ strength sufficient to support the fatigue:
“ or, if the term of my life be arrived, in what
“ greater undertaking can I die engaged?”

30. Alexander had been speaking in a voice so low and tremulous, that those nearest with difficulty heard: wherefore, all present endeavoured to divert him from so precipitate an enterprise, and especially Erigyus. This officer, finding argument unavailing against an obdurate purpose, had recourse to superstition, to the influence of which the king was not superior. He affirmed, ‘ That the gods opposed the design, and that extraordinary danger was portended, if the river should be passed.’ Erigyus said this, on the authority of Aristander, who had met him at the entrance of the tent, and told him that the viscera appeared inauspi-

cious. Alexander silenced him ; and, reddening with anger, mingled with shame, because his covert superstition was divulged, ordered that Aristander should be called in. Looking at him, “ No longer a sovereign,” said he, “ I have lost all authority. You received a command from me to offer sacrifice. Why did you disclose to any other than myself what it portended? You have betrayed my secrets to Erigyius, who, I am certain, has employed his own fear to interpret the appearances. As far as a monarch can command, I enjoin you to state truly what you discovered from the victims, that you may not deny what you shall have said.” As a thunder-bolt had fallen near, pale and speechless through terror, stood Aristander:— at length, fear itself prompting him, lest he should farther provoke the king waiting for his reply, he spoke: “ I foretold to be impending, a war difficult, but not unfortunate. Not any discovery from my art, but loyal friendship fills me with concern. I see that your returning strength is not confirmed ; and I am sensible how much depends on you personally. I fear that you cannot support the fatigues which your present fortune annexes to the expedition.” Alexander sent him back to make a second sacrifice, bidding him confide in his happiness ; ‘ For the gods

‘ would vouchsafe other indications, pointing
‘ to glory.’ While the resumed council was
exercised upon the manner of passing the river,
Aristander returned, and reported, ‘ the mani-
‘ festations from the inwards, far different from
‘ the former, to be unequivocally favourable :
‘ then, there was some ground for anxiety ;
‘ now, all was eminently propitious.’

31. News, however, immediately afterwards reaches Alexander, of an interruption to his military successes. Menedemus, as above mentioned, had been detached to besiege Spitamenes, the instigator of the Bactrian revolt. Spitamenes, on advice of the enemy’s approach, to avoid being confined within the walls of a town, and expecting to circumvent him, took a station in ambuscade on the way which he knew Menedemus was to come. It lay through a wood adapted to the design. Here he placed the Dahæ: their horses carry each two men completely armed, who alternately dismount; they break the lines of cavalry; the swiftness of the men equals that of the horses.

Spitamenes ordered these troops to spread themselves in a circle through the wood, and at a signal to attack the enemy in front, on the flanks, and in rear. Menedemus, enclosed on every side by superior numbers, maintained a persevering conflict; calling out to his men,

‘ That nothing could have overcome them but
‘ the treacherous adversities of the ground ;
‘ their consolation must be, to die heroically
‘ and amply avenged.’ Mounted on a powerful horse, charging under a loose rein, he had repeatedly broken the wedges of Barbarians with great slaughter. But become the common object of the pressing enemy, and almost drained of blood by numerous wounds, he recommended Hypsides, one of his friends, to take his horse, and save himself by flight. He expired while resigning the animal, from which his corse rolled upon the ground. Hypsides could have effected his escape : but, having lost his friend, he chose to fall. His only care was to make his death expensive to the Barbarians. Spurring his steed, he drove into the midst of the enemy, and, in a combat worthy of emphatic memorial, was killed by a shower of darts. The surviving Macedonians took post on a woody knoll, which was a little higher than the other barrows near : but, blockaded by Spitamenes, famine forced them to surrender. In this action there perished two thousand foot, and three hundred horse ; a loss which Alexander assiduously concealed ; restraining, by the penalty of death, those from divulging it, who returned from the defeat.

CHAP. VIII.

Alexander prepares to cross the Jaxartes. Embassy from the Scythians.

32. **BUT** as Alexander could not command his countenance to dissemble, he retired to a tent which he had directed to be pitched on the river's bank. There alone, throughout the night denying himself sleep, he weighed the projects springing in his mind: frequently were the skins of his tent lifted up, that, from the enemies' fires, he might calculate the extent of their multitude.

As soon as the light dawned, he put on his corslet for the first time since the wound in his neck, and showed himself to the troops. Such was their veneration for their king; that his presence dispelled every fearful rumination. They salute him with tears of joy; and demand, with animation, to be led on the expedition from which they had recoiled. He said, that the cavalry and the phalanx must prepare to transport themselves on rafts; and the light-armed, to swim over on skins. It was not necessary to utter more, nor could he in his convalescent state.

With such alacrity the soldiers framed rafts, that in three days they had completed twelve

thousand. Every thing was in readiness for the passage ; when twenty Scythian ambassadors, according to their national usage, riding through the camp, desired that the king might be informed they had a message to him. Introduced, and bidden to sit down, they fixed their eyes earnestly on the king ; I suppose, as they were accustomed to estimate the mind by the dimensions of the body, he seemed little, in their view, to correspond with his fame.

With the Scythians, however, the understanding is not, as with the rest of the Barbarians, left rugged and unformed : some of them are represented to acquire as much knowledge, as can be gained by a people constantly in arms. Tradition states that they thus addressed the king : — Their notions may be repugnant to our minds, familiar with manners and times more cultivated : yet we shall deliver their speech, purely as it has been handed down* ; so that should their eloquence be despised, our fidelity will be unimpeachable : — The eldest of them spoke : —

33. “ If the gods had willed you a body corresponding to your ambition, the world had not contained you : You would have touched the East with one hand, and the West with the

* The Translator has substituted *Jaxartes* for *Tanais* in three places.

“ other; and, reaching beyond the West, you
“ would have discovered whither the light
“ of the deity withdraws. As you are, you
“ covet what you cannot grasp. From Europe
“ you strike into Asia; and from Asia you pass
“ to Europe; and when you have vanquished
“ all the human race, you will make war
“ on woods, drifts of snow, rivers, and wild
“ beasts. What! do you not know that lofty
“ trees take a long while to grow, and may be
“ cut down in an hour? He is a fool who looks
“ up at the fruit, without measuring the height:
“ take care, while endeavouring to climb to
“ the top, that you do not fall with the branches
“ in your hands:

“ A lion is sometimes the prey of the small-
“ est birds: and rust can eat away iron. Nor is
“ there any thing so strong, as not to be in dan-
“ ger from something weaker.

“ What have you to do with us? we never
“ set foot in your country. Ranging in forests,
“ may we not remain ignorant who you are,
“ and whence you come? We will not set; ;
“ we desire not to command.

“ Heaven has given us goods: (that you
“ may judge of the Scythian nation :) a yoke of
“ oxen, a plough, an arrow, and a bowl. We
“ use these, with our friends, and against our
“ enemies: In common with our friends, we

“ eat the corn obtained by the labour of the
“ oxen ; and, out of the bowl, offer wine to the
“ gods. Our arrows we send to our enemies.
“ For close fight, we have spears. With these,
“ we overthrew the king of Assyria, the king
“ of the Medes, and of Persia ; and opened to
“ ourselves a passage even into Egypt.

“ You, who vaunt that you come to punish
“ plunderers, are the plunderer of every coun-
“ try. You seized Lydia, and Syria ; you hold
“ Persia, and Bactriana ; and you have struck
“ at India. Now, your insatiable and restless
“ hands extend to grasp our flocks. Of what
“ service are riches to you, whose ravening
“ they provoke ; the first, whose hunger is shar-
“ pened by fulness ; as though the more you
“ have the more fiercely you hanker after what
“ you have not.

“ Is it gone out of your mind, how long
“ Bactra detained you ? While you were reducing
“ it, the Sogdians commenced hostilities. With
“ you, each victory is the parent of a fresh war.
“ Although you may be greater and stronger
“ than any, yet no one will long endure an
“ alien master.

“ Pass now the Jaxartes, and you will know
“ how wide the Scythian plains are : never will
“ you overtake the people. Our poverty will
“ be swifter than your army, which carries the

“ spoil of so many nations. Again ; when you
“ imagine us at the greatest distance, you will
“ see us in your camp. With the same rapidity
“ as we fly, we pursue.

“ I am told, that the Scythian deserts are
“ proverbially derided by the Greeks. But we
“ seek unpeopled and uncultivated tracts, in
“ preference to cities and rich provinces.

“ Henceforth hold Fortune with clenched
“ hands ; for she is slippery. Nor will she be
“ detained against her will. Sound advice ap-
“ pears better afterwards, than when it is given.
“ Put a curb on your prosperity ; and it will be
“ guided with less trouble. Our fathers teach
“ us, that Fortune has no feet to stand upon :
“ she has hands and wings : when she stretches
“ out her hands, she suffers not her wings to be
“ confined.

“ If you are a god, you ought to be benefi-
“ cent to mortals, and not take away their pos-
“ sessions. But if you are a man, constantly
“ think on what you are. It is weak, to re-
“ member those things which make you forget
“ yourself.

“ You may employ as faithful friends those
“ whom you shall not invade ; for the firmest
“ friendship is between equals ; and those seem
“ equal who have not tried their strength against
“ each other. Beware of relying on those whom

“ you conquer as on friends : between the despôt
“ and the slave there can be no friendship :
“ even in peace, one is disposed to oppress, and
“ the other to rebel.

“ The Scythians do not ratify an alliance by
“ oaths ; they substitute integrity for swearing.
“ The Greeks, as an assurance, seal treaties and
“ invoke the gods : we show our religion by
“ observing our promises. They who have no
“ respect for men, will engage falsly to the
“ gods. Nor have you need of an ally, of whose
“ good-will you can doubt.

“ In us, you will have centinels guarding
“ both Asia and Europe. Only the Jaxartes
“ separates Bactriana* and Scythia. Beyond
“ the Jaxartes, we occupy regions as far as
“ Thrace ; and Thrace is rumoured to border
“ on Macedonia. Neighbours to both your
• “ empires, consider whether you will have us
“ for friends or enemies.” Thus, the Barbarian.

* Considered as including Sogdiana.

CHAP. IX.

Alexander passes the river, and defeats the Scythians. Receives the submission of the Sacæ. Returns, and divides his army into brigades to chastise the revolters.

34. THE king answered, ‘ That he should be
 ‘ guided by his fortune, and the counsel of his
 ‘ friends; by his fortune, because he had con-
 ‘ fidence in it; and by the counsel of his friends,
 ‘ that he might not do any thing rashly.’ The
 ambassadors dismissed, he embarked his army
 on the floats prepared. In the prows, he sta-
 tioned targeteers, in a kneeling Olymp. cxii. 4.
 position, that they might be less A. C. 328.
 exposed to the enemy’s arrows. Ætat. Alex. 28.
 Next to these, stood such as had Reg. 9.
 to work the military engines; Imp. 3.
 enclosed, on each side and in front, by men
 completely armed. Posted behind the engines,
 the rest, by a tortoise of shields, protected the
 rowers, who wore armour. The same order
 prevailed in the rafts which transported the
 cavalry: the major part drew along, by the
 bridle, their horses swimming at the stern.
 Those who were buoyed over on skins
 stuffed with straw, were sheltered behind the
 rafts:

With chosen attendants, the king was the first to unmoor his float. He ordered a movement to the opposite bank. The Scythian advanced lines of horse stood at the water's edge, to prevent the rafts from being laid on the beach. Besides an army in array guarding the bank, a serious consternation assailed the floating forces; for the steersmen could not direct the course of the rafts, impelled obliquely by the stream,—and the soldiers, staggering, apprehensive that they should be shaken off, disturbed the rowers. Nor could they launch their javelins with a spring, more solicitous to stand securely, than to annoy the enemy. They were preserved by their military engines, bolts from which were shot with effect upon the Barbarians, crowded together, and rashly exposing themselves. On their part, the Barbarians discharged clouds of arrows on the rafts; so that there was scarcely a shield unpierced with multiplied barbs.

35. At length the rafts begin to lean on the shore; when the front men, with shields, rising together, cast their javelins with a more certain aim and a freer spring. The Scythian horse treading backward in terror,—the Macedonians, encouraging each other, leap with alacrity on land; and press, with a quick step, upon the confused enemy. Such troops of horsemen, then, as had their chargers bridled, broke the Barbarian line. Meanwhile, the rest of the

army, covered by those who were engaged, prepared for action.

Alexander, whose neck was not yet well cicatrized, compensated by energy of mind, for deficiency in bodily vigour. While his languid voice was wasting exhortations in the air unheard, all could see how gallantly he fought: All, therefore, discharged the general's part; and one animating the other, reckless of personal safety, rushed upon the enemy. The Scythians, hereupon, unable to sustain the aspect, shouts, and weapons of the Macedonian army, took to flight, at full gallop, for their whole line was cavalry. The king, although his enfeebled frame unfitted him for great exertion, pursued them in person eighty stadia. Becoming now faint, he ordered his men to continue the pursuit while day-light lasted. Having quite exhausted his spirits, he recovered himself in the camp, where he halted a remnant [of soldiers left in the rear].

The troops had already passed the bounds of Bacchus; of which the monuments were—piles of stone, thickly scattered at irregular intervals*; and lofty trees, around whose trunks twined the ivy. Rage impelled the Macedonians farther; so that when they returned into camp, it was near midnight. They had killed

* These monuments apparently resembled the Druidical remains at Stonehenge.

many, taken prisoners more, and brought away eighteen hundred horses. But of the Macedonians there fell sixty troopers, and a hundred infantry, and a thousand were wounded.

36. This expedition, the fame of so opportune a victory, disarmed and restrained a great portion of the Asiatics, who were revolting, or meditating revolt; for, having regarded the Scythians as invincible, they now acknowledged that no nation could withstand the Macedonian arms.

The Sacæ, hereupon, sent an embassy to Alexander, undertaking to obey his mandates. These were moved, not more by the king's bravery, than by his clemency towards the Scythæ, to whom he had returned all their prisoners without ransom, that the fiercest of the Barbarian tribes might know, that he had not fought from animosity, but to vindicate his reputation. Alexander, having received the Sacæan ambassadors as friends, gave them, out of his train, as a companion home, Excipinus, a young man in the bloom of life, who equalled Hephæstion in a handsome exterior, but by no means in manly wit.

The major part of the army left under Craterus, whom he commanded to follow by easy marches, — the leader of the Greeks and Macedonians arrives at Maracanda. Spitamenes, apprised of his coming, had fled to Bactra. The

king had traversed an extended distance in four days, reaching the place where Menedemus had been cut off, with two thousand foot and three hundred horse: their collected bones he interred in a mound; and to their manes offered sacrifices according to the national rites.

Craterus, with the phalanx, now joined. The king, in order to crush simultaneously all who had revolted, divided his army into brigades, which he ordered to burn the country, and kill the males of an age to bear arms.

CHAP. X.

Alexander pardons thirty Sogdian nobles. Is reinforced. Founds six cities in Bactriana Latior.

37. SOGDIANA is, for the greater part, uninhabited; the barren wastes extending nearly eight hundred stadia in breadth. Its length is disproportionately greater than its width. Through it, rolls a rapid river, called by the inhabitants the Polytimetus. Its approaching banks confine it in a narrow channel. At length, received into a cavern*, the subterra-

* Strabo, lib. 11; and Arrian, lib. 4, make the river to enter the deserts, and to be absorbed among the sands.

nean torrent rushes on with a noise indicating its course, although there is no evaporation from the ground under which this considerable volume of water flows.

Among the captive Sogdians brought before the king, were thirty nobles, endowed with uncommon bodily strength. Understanding, by an interpreter, that the fiat for their execution was pronounced, they began by singing, dancing, and unrestrained gesticulations, to express delight. Alexander, astonished at their hardihood, ordered them to be brought back. To his inquiry respecting the motive to such extravagant mirth, with death before their eyes, they answered, "That the fatal doom from any other would have oppressed them: but to be dismissed to their ancestors by the great conqueror of the world, was an honourable death, which brave men might devoutly desire; and they were celebrating it with hymns of joy." "Then I demand," rejoined the king, "whether ye will act as my friends, in return for the boon of life?" Hereupon, they affirmed, "That they had never been his enemies: they had resisted invasion. If any one would try them by good offices instead of injuries, they were ready for the generous contest, and anxious not to yield."—"What pledge," said Alexander, "will you deposit for your fidelity?"—

“ That life,” exclaimed they, “ which we receive, shall be the pledge: we will render it when you require.” Nor did they violate their promise; for the individuals sent home, retained the natives in allegiance to Alexander; and the four, received into the body guards, were below none of the Macedonians in sincere loyalty.

38. Having stationed Peucolaus in Sogdiana, with three thousand men, for a greater garrison was not requisite, — Alexander proceeded to Bactra. He commanded that Bessus should be conveyed thence to Ecbatana, there to suffer death for the murder of Darius.

About this time, Ptolemy and Menidas brought a subsidiary force of three thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Alexander also arrived with the same number of foot, and five hundred horse from Lycia. A similar reinforcement was conducted by Asclepiodorus from Syria. Antipater had sent eight thousand Greeks, including five hundred cavalry.

With his augmented army, the king proceeded to restore order in the revolted provinces; and, having punished with death the leaders of the commotions, he, in four days, regained the banks of the Oxus*. This river bears along so much slime, that its water,

* Arrian places the time of these transactions just after mid-winter.

always turbid, is unwholesome to drink. The soldiers, therefore, began to sink wells: but, although they had pierced to a great depth, could not find a spring. At length, a spring was perceived in the royal tent: Because it had not been immediately noticed, the discoverers imagined that it was risen up on a sudden; and Alexander was willing to have it contemplated as a present from heaven*.

Having passed the Ochus as well as the Oxus †, he came to the city Marginia. In its vicinity, he selected areas for constructing six new cities; two seated toward the South, and four toward the East; at moderate intervals, that the garrisons might not have far to go for mutual aid; on lofty eminences, that they might awe the conquered. Now, their origin forgotten, these cities obey whom they governed ‡.

* Arrian, and Eustathius *ad Dionys. v: 747*, with Plutarch *in Alex.* and Strabo, lib. 11, overwhelm us with the marvellous. The two latter give us a fountain of oil; the two former, a spring of oil and water.

† *Superatis deinde amnibus Ocho et Oxo.* — CURTIUS. By a retrospective turn, the river which was last crossed, is the first mentioned.

‡ The Greek dynasty of Bactrian kings had extended their conquests in India beyond Alexander's, during the next century. Then a powerful horde of Tartars, pushed by a more numerous body from their native seats near China, overwhelmed the dominions of the Greeks in Bactriana, after it had subsisted, during six successive reigns, near 130 years. — *Robertson's Disquisition concerning India*, edit. 1804, p. 36, 37.

CHAP. XI.

Escalade of a rock.

39. AFTER the other places had submitted, Arimazes, a Sogdian, with thirty thousand men, kept possession of a rock, in which were laid up two years' provisions. The acclivity of the rock is thirty stadia; and the circumference, one hundred and fifty: on every side craggy and shelving, it can be ascended only by a narrow path. Midway up, is a cavern, which a contracted entrance renders dark; the interior gradually expands, and terminates in deep recesses. The cavern is full of springs, whose united waters rush, a river, down the declivity of the mountain.

A survey of the local difficulties had determined the king to leave this rock unattempted: he was, afterwards, seized by a desire to reduce a hold fortified by nature. Previously to undertaking the siege, he however sent Cophas, a son of Artabazus, to move the Barbarians to surrender. Arimazes, confiding in the strength of the place, treated the application haughtily; and at length asked, 'If Alexander could fly?'

Communicated to the king, this incensed

him. In council, having mentioned the sarcasm of the Barbarian, "By to-morrow night," said he, "I will convince the enemy that the Macedonians can even fly. Bring me, selected from your respective battalions, three hundred of the most agile young soldiers, such as, at home, have been accustomed to drive sheep along almost impassable ways over rocks."

40. They promptly brought him men excelling in lightness of form and ardour of mind. Viewing them, "Generous youths," said the king, "my equals in courage, with you I have forced towns till then impregnable, have traversed mountain-ridges encrusted with perpetual snow, have penetrated the defile of Cilicia, and have endured without shrinking the virulent frosts of India*. I have given you proof of myself; I have had proof of you. The rock, as you perceive, has a single approach, which the Barbarians guard: the other sides of it they neglect; keeping watch only toward our camp. If you explore the crags with skill, you will find passages leading to the top. Nature has constructed nothing too high for you to climb. By undertaking what others despaired of, we have become masters

* Curtius announces to India, the ridges of the Parapamisus, the country of Arachosia, and other tracts bordering on India, but on this side the Indus.

“of Asia. Work up to the peak; and wave
“ thence white streamers, as a signal to me that
“ you have gained it. My advancing forces
“ shall then draw the enemy’s attention from
“ you to us. The reward of the first who as-
“ cends to the summit, shall be ten talents; of
“ the second, a talent less; diminishing in this
“ proportion to the tenth. I am confident, that
“ my intimated wish will influence you more
“ than my liberality.”

They listened to the king, as though they stood already exulting on the peak. Dismissed, they furnished themselves with iron pins to wedge between the fissures of the stone, and with strong ropes. The king rode round to that part of the rock, which appeared most practicable; and, at the second watch, ordered them to enter on the attempt, and committed them to the protection of the gods.

41. Carrying two days’ provision, and armed only with their swords and spears, they began to step up the ascent. When they came to the rougher acclivities,—some, by their hands grasping the jutting stones, hoisted themselves up; assisted by ropes with sliding knots, others climbed, having fixed iron pins in the clefts*

* By driving the iron pins into congealed snow, and then fastening to them the ropes, they gradually hoisted themselves up the mountain. *Arrian*, lib. iii.—This appears less comprehensible, and less probable.

for occasional footing. The day-light was consumed in fear and labour. The more arduous steeps surmounted, the adventurers took breath; and the rock seemed to grow in height. It was a heart-rending spectacle, when some, whose feet loose crags deceived, tumbled headlong down the precipice; showing to others what fate they were presently to meet. Overcoming every difficulty, the greater part struggled to the top. Of these, all were sorely fatigued by protracted exertion, and several were bruised and maimed: but night and sleep surprised the latter, equally with their companions. Stretching themselves; here and there, on the rough shelving stones, oblivious of the awful peril of their stations, they reposed till morning.

At length, awaking from their profound sleep, they surveyed vallies hidden from the world below, ignorant in what part of the rock the great force of the enemy could lie concealed, till the smoke, rolling out underneath, discovered their caverned dwellings. The bold adventurers displayed on their spears the concerted signal; and found, that of their full number thirty-two were missing.

* Collins has an image of corresponding terror, in his *Ode to Fear* :

Or lays him, on the ridgy steep
Of some loose hanging rock, to sleep.

The king, not more impatient to reduce the place, than anxious respecting the condition of those whom he had exposed to manifest danger, had, during the whole day, watched the pinnacles of the mountain, departing to take refreshment, only when night prevented the inquiry of his eyes.

42. Next morning, he was the first to descry the flying signals, that his men had ascended to the peak. But the varying complexion of the sky, now brightened with the solar blaze, and now clouded, made him suspect the accuracy of his sight, till the clearer day dispelled all doubt. Cophas, by whom he had before assailed the resolution of the Barbarians, he dispatched—To admonish them, now at least to take a safer course: if they still relied on their impregnable recess, to show them the soldiers, who had seized the principal height in their rear. In an interview with Arimazes, Cophas urged him to surrender: ‘He would acquire Alexander’s favour, if he did not detain him from proceeding to nobler objects, by the siege of a single rock.’

The Barbarian, more fiert and insolent than before, commanded Cophas to be gone. But Cophas, taking Arimazes by the hand, prevailed on him to step out of the cave: he pointed to the detachment occupying the top of the rock, and told him, a retort not undeserved, that Alexan-

der's soldiers had wings. In the camp of the Macedonians, at this moment, the trumpets sounded, and the army sent up joyous acclamations. This (frequently, in war, vapouring demonstrations have great influence) induced the Barbarians to surrender: Seized with terror, they could not estimate the trivial force looking down on their rear. Cophas, whom they had quitted, they called back with trembling haste. Accompanying him, they send thirty chiefs to deliver up the rock, under the stipulation that they might retire unhurt.

Notwithstanding, Alexander was not unapprehensive, that the Barbarians, discovering the small number of his men, might hurl them down from the precipice; yet incensed at Arimazes' arrogant answers, and confiding in his fortune, he refused to grant conditions. Arimazes, despairing of his situation before it was lost, descended into the camp, with his relatives, and nobles: all whom Alexander caused to be whipped, and crucified at the foot of the rock. The multitude, with the money taken, were given to the inhabitants of the new cities. Artabazus was nominated to guard the rock, and the adjacent tracts.

QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK VIII.

DEATH OF CLITUS. ALEXANDER'S MARRIAGE WITH
ROXANA. CONSPIRACY OF HERMOLAUS. BATTLE
WITH PORUS.

CHAP. I.

*Embassies from Scythian nations: New revolts
extinguished. Hunting match: Alexander
kills Clitus.*

1. ALEXANDER added to the extent, rather than to the lustre, of his fame, by the reduction of the rock. As the scattered enemy required his forces to be diffused, he divided his army into three bodies: One was commanded by Hephæstion; one by Cænos; and one he led in person. Of the Barbarians, some were compelled to submission by defeat; the majority surrendered without an engagement: to the latter, he distributed the towns and lands of such as had persisted in rebellion. But the exiled Bactrians,

with eight hundred Massagetæan horse, ravaged the neighbouring villages. To repress these disorders, Attinas, governor of the province, marched with three hundred horse, ignorant of the ambuscade concerted for him. In thickets skirting the plain, the enemy had concealed troops; a few men in view, driving cattle, were to allure Attinas into the snare. These the Macedonian officer followed, in disorder, plundering. When he had passed the wood, the ambuscade, making an unexpected assault, cut him off with all his men. The disaster was speedily reported to Craterus, who repaired to the scene of it with his whole cavalry: the Massagetæ had already fled; but he slew a thousand of the Dahæ, and thereby terminated the revolt throughout the province.

Alexander, in like manner, having again reduced the Sogdians, returned to Maracanda.

2. Here Berdes, whom he had sent to the Scythians inhabiting the banks of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, met him with the ambassadors from that nation. These requested Alexander, 'To accept in marriage the daughter of their king; or, should he reject that alliance, to permit the Macedonian nobility to intermarry with the chief Scythian families. They assured him, that their king would in person visit him.' At the same time, Phrataphernes,

governor over the Chorasmii, who bordered on the Massagetæ and the Dahæ, by messengers, acknowledged Alexander's sovereignty. Both embassies were received courteously.

The king remained encamped, waiting for Hephæstion and Artabazus: when these had joined, he marched into a district called Bazararia.

Of the barbarous splendour prevailing in these parts, there are no stronger marks, than the extensive forests, in which are shut up untamed beasts of the grandest kind. A spacious wood, in which numerous unfailing springs give cheerfulness to the scenery, is selected, encompassed with a wall, and interspersed with towers for the reception of the hunters. In one park, it was said, the game had remained undisturbed during four generations*. Alexander, entering it with

* *Ætatibus*. CURTIUS.—The ancient Greeks limited an *age* to thirty years, as appears from Porphyry in *quest. Homer.* and Eustathius, *ad Homer. Iliad.* i. 251, where three *ages* are ascribed to Nestor. Plutarch, in *Catone Majore*, appears to use *age* in the same sense. Herodotus, in *Euterpe*, compresses *three ages* into a hundred years. Similar is the computation of Clemens of Alexandria, *Strom.* lib. i. of Herodian, iii. 26. It would also appear, that, among the Greeks, the word *age* must sometimes bear a construction less definite than even *generation*; for Diodorus reckons, from Caranus the first king of Macedon to Alexander the Conqueror of Persia, *sixteen ages*, which cannot be understood otherwise than as the *successive reigns* of as many kings. It is true, indeed, that the Roman poets translated the “three ages” of Homer as *three secula*;

his whole army, commanded, that the beasts throughout it should be roused from their lairs. A lion of uncommon size was bounding toward the king: Lysimachus, who afterwards was a sovereign, happening to be next to Alexander, prepared with his hunting-spear to receive the animal. Alexander refused his assistance, and commanded him to stand aloof, adding, "I am as able, singly, to kill a lion as Lysimachus." Lysimachus had, by himself, formerly, at a chase in Syria, overcome a very large lion; but the beast endangered his life, and tore his left shoulder to the bone. The king, taunting him in allusion to this, acted more nobly than he spoke; for he not only parried the spring which the lion made, but dispatched him at one stroke. The fabulous story*, respecting Lysimachus being

and though *seculum* itself fluctuated in import from "twenty" to a "thousand years," yet Ovid, *Metam.* xii. has fixed his own conception of Homer's "ages" to be *centuries*;

—Vixi

Annos bis centum; nunc tertia vivitur ætas.

Poets love to amplify. But as Curtius, deriving his materials from Greek sources, must be considered, with some qualifications, as a translator, I think that the construction-put upon his *ætas*, should be occasionally regulated rather by the usage of Greek than Latin writers.

* The representation which Curtius rejects as a fiction, briefly is—That Lysimachus, having saved Callisthenes from the torture, by giving him poison, was shut up in a den with a lion, by Alexander's order; the intended victim folded his hand in his robe, thrust it into

exposed to a lion, by command of Alexander, took its rise, I am inclined to believe, from the incident above related.

Although Alexander acquitted himself happily in his bold attempt, yet the Macedonians, in right of their national custom, decreed, That the king should not be permitted to hunt on foot, nor unattended by his chief nobility and friends.

Having speared four thousand wild animals, he gave a feast to his whole army in the forest.

3. Thence he returned to Maracanda. Artabazus' venerable excuse accepted, he transferred the province to Clitus. He it was, who, at the Granicus, when Alexander was fighting with his head bared, covered him with his shield, and struck off the hand of Rhæsaces, whose sword was descending on the king's head. A veteran under Philip, he had distinguished himself by many martial deeds. His sister Hellanice, who had nursed Alexander, was beloved by the king as a mother. For these causes, Alexander con-

the lion's mouth, and plucked out his tongue. When Alexander was informed of the exploit, his rage was turned into admiration of Lysimachus' intrepidity. This account, of which Pausanias, lib. i. gives the basis, is repeated with variations, or adverted to, as true, by Seneca, *De Ira*, lib. iii. et *De Clementia*, lib. i. by Pliny, viii. 16, by Justin, lib. xv. by Valerius Maximus, ix. 3, who, with Pausanias, alledge that it is confirmed by the coins of Lysimachus. See Lazius, p. 447.

fided to his guardianship the most warlike division of the empire.

Having ordered him to prepare for his charge on the following day, he invited him to a splendid banquet, at which the king, when he was heated with wine, began an unrestrained eulogy on his own actions, offensive even to such as were sensible that he recited truths. The elder guests, nevertheless, endured him in silence, till he began to disparage the achievements of Philip: "It was MY work"—he vaunted—"the noble victory of Chæroneæ: my father, from malevolence and envy, took to himself the glory: He, just before, in the sedition that arose between the Macedonians and mercenary Greeks, lay disabled by a wound in the tumult, to save himself, pretending to be dead: I protected him with my shield, and killed, with my own hand, enemy after enemy rushing on him. Which service he never candidly acknowledged, abhorring to owe his life to his son. Therefore, after the expedition which I conducted alone against the Illyrians *, I, the victor, wrote to him, *That the enemy were slain and routed, and Philip had never been present* †. The men worthy to be extolled,

* Vol. I. p. 53.

† To mark strongly a vein of fatuity, the effect of Circean intoxication, is the best apology for such a disgusting speech.

“ are not those who were prying into the Samo-
“ thracian mysteries, when they should have
“ been burning and ravaging Asia, but those
“ who, by the vastness of their exploits, sur-
“ pass belief.”

4. These, and similar sallies, titillated his young auditors: but the senior officers felt the affront to the memory of Philip, under whom had passed the greater part of their lives. Then Clitus, not himself firmly sober, turning to those who reclined below him, recited some verses from Euripides, in such a tone, that they might be rather heard than understood by the king. These lines *deplored the custom among the Greeks of inscribing on trophies the names only of their commanders, who thereby arrogated to themselves alone, the glory won by the blood of others.* The king, suspecting the words to be invidiously applied, inquired, of those nearest, what Clitus had said. They maintained a resolute silence: but Clitus, raising his voice, commemorated Philip's actions, and the wars in Greece, extolling them above any present successes.

This caused a dispute between the younger warriors and the veterans. During which, the king, as though he patiently heard the comparisons by which Clitus was derogating from his honours, let his fearful rage burn inwardly. He

appeared ready to practise self-controul, if Clitus would discontinue his insolent discourse : but it proceeded, tempered in nothing ; and he became more highly incensed.

5. Now, Clitus even presumed to vindicate Parmenio ; and, impelled by a sullen spirit of contention, as well as by inebriety, eulogized Philip's victory over the Athenians as a brighter exploit than the destruction of Thebes. At length, addressing himself directly to Alexander—" When it is requisite to risk life for you, Clitus is permitted to stand first : But when you distribute the fruits of victory, they bear away the chief rewards, who most contemptuously insult your father's memory. On me you confer the province of Sogdiana, so repeatedly rebelling, at this hour unreduced, and which never can be subdued. My last days are consigned to wild animals, whom nature disposes to turbulence—But I wave whatever relates to myself. You traduce all the soldiers of Philip ; forgetting, that had not Atharías, here present, rallied the junior bands, who were stealing from the field, we might have been sitting now before Halicarnassus. How then have you conquered Asia with these youngsters ? I believe, that your uncle in Italy said truly, that he met with men, and you with women."

Of all the unadvised random-strokes of Clitus, nothing more provoked Alexander than the honorary introduction of Parmenio's name. Yet the king suppressed his resentment, satisfied with commanding him to quit the company: Nor added any thing farther than—"I suppose, had he continued to talk on, he would have reproached me with my life saved by his means, the frequent subject of his arrogant boasting."

But as Clitus delayed to rise, the guests on the next couches sprung to hand him up; and, remonstrating with him on his duty, endeavoured to lead him out. When he felt compulsion used, anger augmenting his former violence, he cried aloud: "His back was sheltered by MY breast! but the time when so great a service was rendered is past, even the recollection of it is odious!" Clitus then upbraided Alexander with the death of Attalus. Further, deriding the oracle of the Egyptian Jupiter, whose son Alexander had proclaimed himself, he said: "I make you truer responses than your father."

6. Now the king was stung by such an accretion of ire, as it had been difficult to repress, had his reason, overpowered, not been affected, by the phrenzy of the grape. He leaped from his couch. His friends, in amaze, not setting

down their goblets, but throwing them away, started up, watching the result of his impetuous deportment. Having snatched the javelin of a lance-bearer, he aimed it at Clitus, who was pouring out an unabated flow of intemperate language: the king's arm was arrested by Ptolemy and Perdiccas, who clasped and detained him, persisting to struggle with them, till Lysimachus and Leonnatus had taken the weapon from him. Alexander invoked the fidelity of his soldiers, and exclaimed: "I am seized, as Darius was, by intimate friends! By sound of trumpet, call my troops armed to the place!" Then Ptolemy and Perdiccas, kneeling at his feet, entreated 'Him not to proceed with precipitate anger, but allow himself time to reflect: in the morning, he might decide and execute with more justice.' But he could listen only to revenge. Infuriated, he flew to the vestibule of the pavilion, took a spear from a centinel, and placed himself at the portal through which those who had supped with him were obliged to pass. The rest departed; Clitus was coming last, without a light. The king asked, 'who he was?' in a tone manifesting his fell purpose. Clitus, his own passion now having subsided, mindful only of the king's, answered, "It is Clitus retiring from the banquet." At these words, Alexander pierced

hini through; and, bedewed with the blood of his dying friend, said: "Go thou, now, to Philip, Parmenio, and Attalus."

CHAP. II.

Alexander repents of the murder of Clitus. Marches into Xenippa. Engagement with the exiled Bactrians. Surrender of the rock of Sysimithres in Naura. Memorable death of Philip.

7. THE human mind is unhappily endowed in this,—We, for the most part, neglect to weigh consequences till we have acted. Thus the king, when his anger had subsided, and the madness of intoxication past, too late estimated the enormity of his crime. His reflections were bitter—I have killed an associate, whose last conversation abused the licenses of a feast, but who was a consummate soldier; and, but I have been ashamed to acknowledge it, the saviour of my life:—I have degraded the king, by invading the odious province of the executioner:—a few intemperate words ascribable to wine, I have chastised by a foul murder; have stained

the entry of my tent, by the blood of a friend whom I invited to supper.

The centinels, petrified with horror and astonishment, stood aloof; and the still solitude in which the king was left, invigorated his remorse. The spear, drawn out of the extended corse, he pointed toward his own body; he was advancing it to his breast, when the guards fly up, and wrest it from his hands. Soothing, they bore him into the pavilion.

He there flung himself on the ground, and the royal quarters resounded with his audible grief. He lacerated his face with his nails; and implored his attendants not to let him survive a deed so dishonourable:—in such entreaties he consumed the whole night.

Meditating, whether the displeasure of the gods might not have impelled him to the crime, he recollected, that he had not offered the anniversary sacrifice to Bacchus; and his perpetration of murder in an hour of festivity, he concluded to be an indication of the wrath of that deity.

8. Above all, he was grieved to see the stupefaction of his friends; fearing no one would in future venture to converse with him, and that he should live, insulated, as the wild beasts, which, alternately, are scaring passengers, and shrinking under fright.

As soon as it was day, he ordered the gory corse to be brought into his tent. When it was placed before him, "This grateful return," he said, with tears, "I make my nurse, whose two sons sacrificed their lives for my glory at Miletus. To their bereaved parent, this brother was the only comfort—I have murdered him at my own table. How will this unhappy woman support herself? Of all belonging to her, I alone survive; me she will not be able to behold without horror. Can I, the assassin of those who preserved my life, return to my country; where, if I stretch out my right hand to my nurse, it will call to mind her calamity?"

As his expressions of sorrow appeared interminable, his friends caused the body to be taken away.

Secluded, the king lay three days. At length, the lance-bearers and guards of the presence, perceiving that he was obstinate in courting dissolution, broke all at once into his chamber. By continued entreaties, they overcame his reluctance to take food.

The Macedonians, in order to diminish the confusion of the king, voted that Clitus had been justly killed, and would have deprived the corse of sepulture, had not the king ordered it to be buried.

11 He remained ten days at Maracanda, chiefly to recover his countenance. The province which he had destined for Clitus, he, then, gave to Amyntas [the son of Nicolaus]; sent a detachment under Hephæstion into Bactriana, to provide victualling stores against the winter; and marched in person into Xenippa.

9. This district borders on Scythia, and contains a great many well-peopled villages. Its fertility not only cherishes the children of the soil, but attracts strangers to settle there.

The Bactrians who had revolted from Alexander, in exile, had retired thither. But, on intelligence of his approach, expelled by the inhabitants, two thousand two hundred of them collected in a body. They were all cavalry, accustomed even in peace to subsist by depredation; a state of war, and despair of pardon, aggravated their natural ferocity. They therefore unexpectedly attacked Amyntas, Alexander's administrator: The conflict was long doubtful: At length, having lost seven hundred men, of whom three hundred were prisoners, they took to flight. Not unrevenged, they had killed eighty Macedonians—and wounded three hundred and fifty. Notwithstanding this was not their first insurrection, they obtained an amnesty, and were received into allegiance.

The king, with his whole army, came now to a district denominated Naura. Its satrap, Sysimithres, had two sons by his own mother; for, in these regions, the imperfect law does not forbid parents from intermarrying with their children*. Where the streits, leading into the country, converge to a point, two thousand militia had thrown up a strong bulwark: in its front flowed a rapid river: the rear was barred by a rock, through which the manual labour of the inhabitants had excavated an avenue;—at its aperture penetrated by the splendour of day, dark in the interior unless the traveller carry a light, this continuous tunnel opens, to the plains, a passage known only to the natives.

Notwithstanding this defile, naturally strong, was guarded by the Barbarians,—Alexander levelled, with his battering-rams, the mounds which they had added; and, with slings and bows precipitated numbers of combatants from the heights, or, wherever distributed, caused them to fly. Over the ruined works, he then advanced his army to the rock.

10. The intervening river was a collection of streams, descending from the lofty peak into

* These nations had not been civilized, had they not been vanquished by Alexander. He taught marriage to the Hyrcanians, and agriculture to the Arachosii: he instructed the Sogdians to maintain, and not to kill, their parents; the Persians to respect, and not to marry, their mothers; the Scythians to bury, and not to eat, their dead. *Gillies after Plutarch.*

the valley. It appeared a great undertaking, to fill up so deep a ravine. Alexander, however, ordered trees to be felled, and massy stones to be piled. The Barbarians, unacquainted with such works, were panic-struck, as they beheld the pier rapidly ascend. The king, hence expecting that their trepidation might induce them to surrender, sent Oxartes, of the same nation, but under his protection, to persuade the governor to deliver up the rock. Meanwhile, to augment their terrors, he presented his turrets, and shot up javelins from his engines. They hereupon, distrusting every other fastness as untenable, went up to the summit of the rock.

Oxartes pressed Sysimithres, who was trembling over his affairs, ‘ Rather to make trial of the good faith of the Macedonians, than their power, nor impede the career of a victorious army, stretching into India; which, whoever should oppose, would bring on his own head the ruin designed for another.’

Sysimithres, on his part, consented to surrender: but his mother, who was also his wife, declaring that she would die before she would come into the power of any enemy,—he veered round to measures honourable rather than safe, ashamed that liberty should be prized more highly by women than by men. The herald of peace he therefore dismissed, resolving to sustain the

siege. But, weighing the strength of the enemy against his own, he repented of having adopted a woman's proposition, which appeared unnecessarily violent. Having in haste called back Oxartes, he said: "I commit myself to the king's decree." He requested the mediator, 'To forbear any report of the counsel given by his mother, that her pardon might be more easily obtained.' Oxartes sent forward, Sysimithres followed with his mother, children, and a crowd of other kindred, not staying for the security from the king which his messenger had promised.

11. Alexander despatched, by a horseman, orders that they should return, and wait his arrival. After sacrifices to Minerva and Victory, he confirmed Sysimithres in his authority, and encouraged him to expect a larger province, if he cemented their friendship by fidelity. Sysimithres delivered his two sons to the king, who ordered them to military stations in his train.

Leaving the phalanx, Alexander proceeded with the cavalry to subdue the remaining insurgents. The road, uphill and stony, the troops bore with at first; but the hoofs of the harassed horses wearing away, the greater part failed to keep up. As the column advanced, successive vacancies thinned it more, for the immoderate

fatigue of the men vanquished shame. The king, however, repeatedly changing horses, pressed without intermission after the flying enemy. The young noblemen, accustomed to attend him, all yielded, except Philip, the brother of Lysimachus. He was in the blossom of manhood, and, it is evident, animated by no common spirit. Incredible to relate, on foot, he kept up with the king, who was mounted, five hundred stadia. Lysimachus repeatedly offered him his horse: nor yet could he be induced to quit his royal master, though loaded with his breast-plate and other armour. Afterwards, in a wood where the enemy had concealed themselves, he displayed eminent gallantry, and protected the king, who was closely engaged. When the Barbarians were driven from the coverts, that soul which had supported his frame in the heat of the conflict, fainted; a morbid sweat suffused his limbs; he leaned against a tree; unable to stand, received into the arms of the king, he there expired.

Another melancholy incident added to the affliction of Alexander. Returning to camp, he was informed of the death of Erigyus, one of his most illustrious generals. The funerals of both were solemnized with the highest pageants and honours.

CHAP. III.

Spitamenes slain by his wife. The Dahæ surrender. Alexander replaces several satraps.

12. HE had designed to march against the Dahæ, among whom, he understood, was Spitamenes. But fortune, indefatigable in good offices to him, effected, in his absence, as on many other occasions, the object of his meditated expedition. Spitamenes had a wife whom he loved extravagantly : but she ill endured to be carried about, his companion in every danger, in search of refuge in ever-changing exile. Employing all her blandishments, she importuned him to terminate his flight, and to appease, by submission, the victor, whose clemency he had once experienced, and whose pursuit he could not evade. Her three children by him, in blooming adolescence, she brought, and caused them to hang upon the father ; imploring him at least to pity THEM, and to enforce this appeal, exclaiming that Alexander was not far distant. Spitamenes conceiving that he was not counselled, but betrayed, and that confidence in her beauty made her impatient to fall into Alexander's

power, unsheathed his sabre, and, had not her brothers interposed, had killed her. He, however, commanded her to quit his presence, menacing her with death, if she again met his sight. That he might be less sensible of her absence, he passed the nights with his concubines. But inextinguishable love for her was inflamed by distaste for their company. He, therefore, devoted himself, again, to her alone: but he conjured her, ‘ Not to repeat her advice, ‘ but willingly endure with him whatever lot ‘ fortune should present. To him death was ‘ more tolerable than submission.’ She apologized: “ If I have talked like a woman, in “ proposing what I thought beneficial, fidelity “ directed my intention: in future, I will im- “ plicitly adopt your pleasure.”

13. Spitamenes, delighted by her compliance, celebrated their reconciliation with a feast, and, oppressed with luxuries and wine, was conveyed, half asleep, into her apartment. As soon as he was in a deep sleep, his wife, with a sword which she had concealed under her robe, struck off his head, which she gave, bleeding, to a man slave, who was a confidant of her treason. With this attendant, imbrued as her apparel was, she went to the Macedonian camp. She announced, that she had news for Alexan-

der, which it behoved him to hear from herself. Having caused her to be immediately introduced, the king, observing on her spots of gore, imagined that she was come to bewail some dishonour. He commanded her to speak freely. But she requested, that the slave, whom she had bidden to wait at the entrance, might be admitted.

The slave, who had the head covered up under his cloak, exciting suspicion, had shown to the guards, when they began to search him, what he wished to conceal*. But pallor had disfigured the blood-drained visage; nor could it be fully identified.

Alexander, informed that the attendant had brought a human head, stepped out of the tent, and inquiring into the affair, heard the narrative of the slave. The king's mind was now the seat of perplexing debate:—That a renegade and traitor was taken off, whose life would have retarded his august plans, he estimated as a momentous benefit: On the other hand, a transcendent enormity roused his abhorrence,—the female Barbarian had perfidiously murdered a husband, who from HER deserved most highly, and with whom she shared parental joys. The

* *Quid oculeret.* Read as *Quid occuleret,*

foulness of the crime surpassed the gratefulness of the service. He caused to be proclaimed to her: "Depart from the camp, lest the more clement minds and manners of the Greek soldiers should be deprived by entertaining a pattern of savage licentiousness."

The Dahæ, knowing that Spitamenès was slain, brought Dataphernes, his confederate, in chains, to Alexander, and made their submission.

The king, relieved, in great part, from ascendant cares, turned his attention to avenge such subjects, as had suffered by the rapacity, or tyranny, of his provincial governors. The satrapy over the Mardians and Tapurians*, he therefore bestowed on Phrataphernes, with orders to send Phradates, his predecessor, in custody to the king. Stasanor was substituted in place of Arsanes, lieutenant over the Drangæ. Into Media, Arsaces was detached, that Oxydates might retire. Babylon was confided to Deditamenes, Mazæus being dead.

* Book vi. s. 9, 12, p. 89, 94, ante.

CHAP. IV.

Storm on the march to Gabaza. The king's graceful treatment of a private soldier. He pillages the country of the Sacæ. Proceeds to a province under Cohortanus; and marries Roxana.

14. THESE regulations effected, Alexander broke up the army, which had lain in winter-quarters exceeding two months, and proceeded toward a tract called Gabaza. The first day, calm, was favourable to marching; the next, not indeed vexatious and stormy, but less bright, closed with menaces of approaching mischief. On the third morning, lightning darted from every part of the sky; dazzling flashes filled the soldiers with apprehensions for their eyesight; recurring gloom, oppressed them with horror. The crash of the elements had few pauses; the appearance of falling thunderbolts was seen in every direction: the army, aghast, hesitated under their terrible effect. Now burst down a torrent of rain and hail. The troops sheltered themselves under their bucklers, till their benumbed hands, glazed with ice, could no longer support that covering. Not knowing

what course to attempt, since whithersoever they turned to avoid the tempest, it met them with increased violence, they broke their ranks, and wandered over all the wood. Many, exhausted with affright rather than fatigue, laid themselves on the ground, although the fallen rain was frozen. Others leaned against trunks of trees, to many a shelter as well as a support: nor were these ignorant that they chose a place to die in, since vital heat would desert the motionless; but the growing lethargy was grateful to the harassed, nor did they refuse to die at rest. The storm was not only furious, but persevering; and the density of the wood concurred with the night-like blackness of the clouds, to exclude the genial consolation of light.

15. Alexander, alone able to meet these ills, perambulating among the forces, rallied the dispersed, and assisted the prostrate to rise: Pointing to smoke curling out of distant cottages, he encouraged them to embrace whatever refuge presented itself. Nothing conduced more to their safety, than shame to abandon the king, whom they saw, with redoubling exertions, warding off the miseries under which they had cowered. At length, necessity more availing in adversity than reason, found a remedy against the cold: they assailed the groves with axes, and every where fired stacks of wood. In pro-

spect, the forest must have presented one continued conflagration; for, between the blazing piles, room was barely left for the companies to stand. The heat awakened their torpid limbs; and by degrees the animal spirits, which gelation had obstructed, circulated freely. Some entered the huts of the Barbarians, which, embowered in remote thickets, exigency had explored; others pitched their tents upon damp ground indeed, but now the sky was hospitable.

Of soldiers, labourers, and menials, these conspiring inclemencies swept off a thousand. Tradition represents, that some of the men frozen to death, resting against the trees, looked as though they were alive and in conversation, stiff in the attitudes in which death surprised them*. Among other incidents, — a private soldier, holding out to carry his armour, at length gained the camp. The king, who was warming himself at a fire, on perceiving him, sprung from his seat, and having assisted the soldier, stricken with frost, and nearly insensible, to take off his

* For a delineation of many examples of men frozen to death, remaining in their last attitude like statues, see any of the authenticated *Narratives of Buonaparte's Campaign in Russia*. Speaking of the memorable retreat from Moscow, and describing the extraordinary figures and groupes presented by men whom death had surprised in the midst of vital energy, — one writer says: “None seemed to have been frozen in a composed state; each was fixed in the last action of his life. Even the eyes retained the last expression of anger, pain, or entreaty.”

armour, desired him to sit down in his place. This man, for some time, knew neither where he was, nor by whom entertained. At length his vital heat was restored, he saw the royal chair and the king, and rose up in affright. Alexander, observing this, said: "Are you ignorant, fellow-soldier, how much happier the Macedonians live under their king, than the Persians? To these it were death to sit in the king's seat: it has preserved your life."

Next day, he directed his convened friends and generals to proclaim, that he would compensate for whatever losses had occurred. He amply fulfilled the promise; for Sysimithres, having brought a multitude of horses, two thousand camels, with divers herds and flocks*, — Alexander, by a distribution of these among the troops, at once indemnified them, and delivered them from famine. Having honoured, with public commendation, the grateful proceeding of Sysimithres, — he caused the forces to take with them cooked provisions for six days, and marched against the Sacæ. Of the spoil gained by ravaging their whole country, he presented thirty thousand head of cattle to Sysimithres.

16. Hence he passed into the district [of Gabaza,] over which was satrap Cohortanus, a nobleman; who surrendering, claimed the king's protection. Alexander reinstated him in his

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (P).

government, exacting nothing more from him than the military service of two of his three sons. The satrap delivered the third also, which the king had allowed him to retain.

[Alexander now visited the hill-fort of Sysimithres. Oxartes, the friend of Sysimithres, had himself a palace situate on this asylum*.] The banquet with which he entertained Alexander, he had arrayed with Barbarian magnificence. That the highest courtesies might adorn the day, he caused thirty noble virgins to be introduced, among whom was Roxana his own daughter. To symmetry of form, she added a grace of manner, rare in those countries. Though in the midst of chosen beauties, she attracted the gaze of all the company, especially of the king, whose empire over his desires was now undermined by the indulgences of fortune, against which man does not fortify himself with sufficient vigilance. Him, therefore; who had regarded, with emotions no intenser than a father's, the wife and daughters of Darius, with whose charms none but Roxana's could support competition, — a transport of love, for a maid whose extraction, contrasted with the royal pedigree, was mean, impelled thus to speak: "To fix the

* That a member of this part of the narrative has been lost, is evident from book x. ch. iii. s. 10, where Roxana is expressly stated to be the daughter of Oxartes. And Strabo, lib. xi., records, that the nuptials, which Curtius is proceeding to relate, were solemnized at the rock of Sysimithres.

“ foundations of our empire, it is requisite that
 “ the Persians and Macedonians should inter-
 “ marry. By this expedient alone, can the shame
 “ of the vanquished, and the pride of the con-
 “ querors, be extinguished. Thus my ancestor
 “ Achilles wedded a captive. Let none deem
 “ that a corrupt example is to be introduced :
 “ truly, I will have solemnized a lawful union
 “ with Roxana.” A joy which he had not hoped,

Olymp. cxiii. 1.
A. C. 327.
Ætat. Alex. 29.
Reg. 9.
Imp. 3.

ravished the father as he heard this
 speech : and the king, in the warmth
 of his passion, ordered that bread
 should be brought. This was the
 most sacred symbol of a bridal en-

gagement among the Macedonians : the bread,
 cut in two with a sword, is tasted by each of the
 parties. By food so plain and easily procured,
 the founders of the custom, I conjecture, in-
 tended to signify, to the pair joining their lots,
 with how little they ought to be contented.
 Thus, the king of Asia and Europe married a
 lady introduced at an entertainment ; designing,
 by offspring from a captive, to furnish the vic-
 tors with a sovereign. His friends felt inward
 shame, that he should, amid the blandishments
 of the table, choose a father-in-law from among
 his vassals. But, liberty of speech having been
 taken away since Clitus' death, their faces smiled
 assent. In dressing the face, the service of a
 despot chiefly lies.—See ADDITIONAL NOTES (Q).

CHAP. V.

Preparations for the Indian war. Catenes slain in battle. Bubacene reduced. Alexander, arrogating divine honours, is opposed by the Macedonians: Speech of Callisthenes.

17. INTENDING to proceed to India, and thence to the Ocean, Alexander, that no commotion might start up in his rear to embarrass his plans, directed that thirty thousand young men should be picked out of all the provinces, armed, and sent to his standard, to serve at once as hostages and soldiers. Yet further, he detached Craterus [into Parætacene*] to pursue Haustanes and Catenes, who had revolted: Haustanes, in consequence, was taken prisoner, and Catenes fell in battle. Polysperchon, likewise, subdued the district called Bubacene.

Having established all his governments, Alexander turned his consideration to the expedition against India. This country was esteemed rich, not in gold only, but in gems and pearls, which were applied to excessive decoration ra-

* The name of the place is introduced from Arrian.

ther than magnificence. The soldiers' shields were said to glitter with gold and ivory.

That he might not, excelling others, be surpassed by the Indians, he plated the targets of his warriors with silver, and furnished the horses with golden bits; the cuirasses he embellished, some with silver, and some with gold. One hundred and twenty thousand men followed the king to this war: for which, every thing was now prepared.

Deeming the conjuncture favourable to an object which his corrupted mind had long cherished, he began to concert in what manner he should take upon him celestial honours. Not satisfied to be styled, he was desirous that mankind should believe that he was Jupiter's son; as though he had the same authority over their minds, as over their tongues. He required the Macedonians, therefore, to salute him as worshippers, prostrating themselves on the ground, in the manner of the Persians. To stimulate his prurient pride, adulation was not wanting, the perpetual bane of kings, which ruins more than the fiercest hostility. The Macedonians are to be exculpated, for none of them could endure to swerve from their national customs: but the Greeks in the king's train, sullied the profession of the liberal arts by corrupt manners.

18. One Agis, an Argive, the most contemp-

tible of poets, next to Chœrilus; and Cleo, a Sicilian, from the vice of his nation, and from disposition, a profligate flatterer; with other offal from various cities;—These could gain access to Alexander, before his relatives or generals. These opened heaven to him, and cried, that Hercules and Bacchus, with Castor and Pollux, would give way to the new deity.

On a festival, the king, therefore, had a banquet prepared with every gorgeous display: to which were invited the chief of his friends, Macedonians and Greeks, with his nobles. After having occupied a couch, confestive with them a short hour, he withdrew. Then Cleo, as it had been contrived, began, in the tone of admiration, a discourse on the king's exploits. ' He
' recounted favours conferred on the people by
' Alexander, for which there was a grateful re-
' turn in their power,—to acknowledge him as
' a god whom they might perceive to be one,
' repaying mighty favours with a little frank-
' incense. The Persians acted not only with
' piety, but with prudence, in adoring their
' monarchs as gods, for the majesty of empire
' was its protection. Hercules and Bacchus,
' indeed, were not deified, before they had
' overcome the envy of contemporaries*. The

* The inconsequential, and even stupid, tenor of the arguments, is in character with the speaker. And, correspondently, amidst both

his faith of after-ages is regulated by what a coeval generation attests. However others might hesitate, he intended to prostrate his body, at the king's reappearance in the banquet. It concerned the rest to take the same course, especially those endowed with wisdom; such ought, indeed, to lead the way in worshipping the king.'

19. Against Callisthenes, whose severity and bold freedom were odious to the king, this speech was, not ambiguously, pointed; as though the Macedonians were ready to pay the required honour, and he alone prevented it.

Callisthenes, on whom all eyes were turned, silence having been made, thus began: "If the king had heard thy oration, not a word from us had been necessary in reply; for he would have required thee, not to instigate him to degenerate into foreign manners, and to forbear from disturbing our complacent admiration of his acts, by thy foul adulation. But since he is absent, I will answer thee for him.

solid and artful reasoning, the dangerous talent of wit sparkles in the defence of Philotas. Shall we not attribute the ever-varying, appropriate traits in the speeches, to a higher quality, in the historian, than invention? A habit of measuring ancient manners by a modern scale, has made it common to speak of the orations, which fill a prominent place in ancient chapters, as, for the most part, embellishments of the writers. But scepticism often discriminates as feebly as credulity.

“ No untimely fruit is lasting. So far from
“ conferring divine honours on the king, thou
“ robbest him of them. For before the demi-
“ god will win belief, time must intervene; it
“ is posterity that gives this reward to heroes.
“ My own prayer is,—Late be the king received
“ among the celestials; may his life be pro-
“ tracted; his majesty, eternal. An apotheosis
“ is, sometimes, yielded to the departed—ne-
“ ver, to the living.

“ Thy adduced examples of immortals by
“ consecration, are Hercules and Bacchus.
“ Dost thou think, that they were made gods
“ by the decree of a convivial circle? Their
“ mortal nature was removed from view, before
“ fame carried them into heaven.

“ Thou and I, Cleo, are, forsooth, forming
“ gods! The king will receive authority for his
“ divinity from us! Try thy power: make one
“ of us into a king, if thou mould the king into
“ a god; it is easier to bestow an empire, than
“ heaven.

“ May the propitious gods, unprovoked by
“ the sacrilegious words of Cleo, suffer our af-
“ fairs to go on in a successful course, and grant
“ us to be content with our tried customs. I am
“ not ashamed of my country, nor desirous to
“ be taught by the Persians in what manner I
“ am to pay homage to my king. They, in-

“ deed, are the conquerors, if from them we
“ receive laws.”

20. Callisthenes was heard with unwavering attention, as the assertor of the public liberty. Nor did he obtain silent approbation merely, but loud support, particularly from the elders, who were aggrieved by an alien innovation on their ancient usages.

The king was not a stranger to what passed between the different speakers; for he stood behind the arras which skreened the range of couches. He, therefore, sent an intimation to Agis and Cleo, to let the discussion cease, and to be content, that the Barbarians only, at his return, should fall down before him.

Soon afterwards, as though he had been transacting affairs of moment, he rejoined his guests. While the Persians were worshipping him, Polysperchon, who sat above the king, recommended one of them, who touched the floor with his chin, ‘ To hit it harder against the
‘ ground.’ This jest elicited the ire of Alexander, who said to him: “Thou wilt not then
“ reverence me? Do we seem to thee, alone,
“ worthy of mockery?” Polysperchon replied,
‘ That he deemed neither the king to deserve
‘ derision, nor himself contempt.’ Then Alexander dragged him from the couch, and flung him on the ground, and, as he lay prostrate,

said : " Thou art doing, dost thou see, the same thing that thou wast ridiculing in another !" Having ordered him into custody, he dismissed the assembly. After a long confinement, he pardoned Polysperchon.

CHAP. VI.

*Conspiracy of Hermolaus, Sostratus, and others.
Callisthenes arrested with them.*

CALLISTHENES, whom he had long suspected of pertinacious opposition, was the object of his deeper resentment : for wreaking it, an opportunity speedily occurred.

21. With the Macedonian nobility, it was the custom, as already * noticed, to deliver their adult sons to the king, for offices not far different from menial : They watched, alternately, by night at the king's chamber-door ; they introduced the concubines by another entrance than that before which the soldiers kept guard ; from the grooms they received, and brought to the king, horses prepared for him to mount ; they

* Pages 11 and 12, ante.

attended him at the chase, and in battle. They were educated in all the liberal arts and sciences. Their chief distinctions—they were allowed to sit at table with the king, and no one had power to chastise them but himself. This band served as a seminary of generals and sub-governors. Hence, posterity received their kings, whose respective lines, after many *reigns*, were deprived of their dominions by the Romans.

Hermolaus, a young nobleman in this royal band, having tossed his spear at a wild boar, which the king had intended to strike, was severely flogged, by his order. Aggrieved by this ignominious treatment, Hermolaus complained of it to Sostratus, a colleague zealously attached to him. Sostratus, sympathizing with his lacerated friend, and perhaps ill-affected toward the king on some personal account, stimulated the incensed youth to conspire to assassinate the king. They bound themselves to mutual fidelity. They did not proceed to the heinous deed with puerile impatience; but artfully gained select confederates, Nicostratus, Antipater the son of Asclepiodorus, and Philotas; and by these were associated Anticles, Elaptonius, and Epimenes.

22. Nevertheless, no easy way lay open to effect the catastrophe: it was necessary for them all to be on duty together, that they might not

be obstructed by comrades unacquainted with the plot: it happened, however, that one was on guard one night, and another another. Two and thirty days were consumed in changing their turns of attendance, and in other preparative arrangements.

It was now the night, that the conspirators formed the guard, congratulating their mutual fidelity, which had survived the trial of so many days. Neither fear nor hope had changed them, so strong was their resentment against the king, or their constancy to each other.

At the door of the apartment in which the king was banqueting, they waited to conduct him into his bed-chamber, when he should rise from table. But, in unison with his fortune, conviviality urged him and his guests to drink yet more deeply: and entertaining interludes* prolonged the time. With this, the conspirators were, alternately pleased, because they should have a man nodding with insensibility to fall upon; and alternately alarmed, lest the festivity should be protracted till morning,—for at dawn they were to be relieved, seven days must pass before their turn would recur, and they could not rely that, meanwhile, every accessory would remain faithful.

* Page 76, line 10, ante.

At the approach of day, however, the company dispersed. The conspirators, happy in an opportunity to execute their crime, were receiving the king:—When a woman, of melancholy habits, accustomed to haunt the palace, and supposed to utter predictions by inspiration, as he was going out, placed herself to obstruct him, and while her countenance and eyes expressed the commotion of her mind, advised him to return to festivity. He answered, in a jesting tone, ‘That the gods counselled well;’ and, having called back his friends, continued the entertainment till the second hour after sun-rise.

23. Now, others of the band had succeeded to the station before the bed-chamber door. The conspirators yet kept their post, though their duty was terminated: so obstinate is hope, when an ungoverned will absorbs the understanding.

Alexander addressed these more courteously than usual; and desired them to retire to rest, since they had watched all night; commending the zeal which detained them on guard after they had been relieved, he promised each a reward amounting to two talents and five minas.

Supremely disappointed, they went home. To the next night of attendance the rest impa-

tiently looked : but Epimenes, either suddenly changed by the king's urbanity to him and his accomplices, or persuaded that the gods opposed their undertaking, disclosed the affair to his brother Eurylochus.

The punishment of Philotas was painted on every memory. Eurylochus, therefore, instantly seized his brother, and carried him to the palace. He announced to the guards of the presence, that he brought intelligence which concerned the king's safety. The unseasonable hour, his visible perturbation, and the dejection of his companion, alarmed Ptolemy and Leonnatus, who guarded the chamber door. They therefore opened it, took in a light, and awakened the king, oppressed with wine and sleep. Having, by degrees, collected his mind, he asked, ' What was their business ?' Before the intervention of a moment, Eurylochus said : " The
" gods have not entirely abandoned my family ;
" for although my brother dared to concur in
" an impious crime, he has repented, and
" employs me to make a most important dis-
" covery. On this last night, a treasonable
" contrivance was to have been executed, by
" parties whom your majesty would last sus-
" pect." Then Epimenes detailed the origin and progress of the plot, with the names of the conspirators.

24. Callisthenes, it is certain, was not named as a party to the treason,—but as wont to lend a ready ear to the youths pouring out invective and scandal against the king. Some writers add, that when Hermolaus complained to him of the king's having subjected him to the rod, Callisthenes answered, ' That they ought to remember that they were now ' men.'—It were doubtful, moreover, whether he said this to comfort him under his sufferings, or to aggravate his discontent.

The king, whose drowsiness was dispelled by a vivid image of the danger which he had escaped,—immediately directed, that Eurylochus should receive fifty talents, with the rich estate of one Tyridates. His brother he restored, before Eurylochus could solicit his pardon. But he ordered the rest of the conspirators, and with them Callisthenes, to be confined in irons. After these had been brought to the palace, he reposed all that day, and the following night, lethargic with drinking and sitting-up.

On the succeeding day, he summoned a general assembly, at which were present the fathers and relatives of the accused, exposed to vital peril themselves, inasmuch as the Macedonian customs consigned to death all who were allied by blood to traitors.

By his command, all the prisoners were brought in, except Callisthenes. They admitted the charges. While reprobation was bursting from a thousand tongues, the king asked them, ‘ For what offence of his, they had contrived so wicked a plot?’

CHAP. VII.

The Speech of Hermolaus.

25. “ YOU put the question, as if you were indeed ignorant of the cause:” *While stupor bound the rest in silence, Hermolaus replied: “ We conspired your death, because you began to treat us, not like free-born men, but like slaves”— His father, Sopolis, starting up, cried: ‘ Parricide of thy parent, as well as thy king!’ and, laying his hand on his son’s mouth, said, ‘ That a boy, whom guilt and wretchedness rendered insane, ought not to be suffered to say any more.’ The king, silencing the father, commanded Hermolaus to speak what he had learned from his master Callisthenes.*

“ Availing myself of your favour,” *said Hermolaus,* “ I shall utter what the grievances of all have taught us. What number of Ma-

“cedonians survive your cruelty? how few,
 “that are not of ignoble blood! Attalus, Phi-
 “lotas, Parmenio, Alexander the Lyncestean,
 “and Clitus, contending with the fierceness of
 “the enemy, could live, could support the bat-
 “tle, could cover you with their shields, re-
 “ceiving wounds to purchase for you victory
 “and glory. How illustrious your requital!
 “The blood of one of them stains your table.
 “Another had not, indeed, so easy a death.
 “The conductors of your armies on the rack,
 “were a gratifying spectacle to the Persians
 “whom they had conquered. Parmenio, by
 “whom you had destroyed Attalus, was slaugh-
 “tered without being suffered to plead. Thus
 “you employ the hands of the wretched in
 “dark executions, and cause the instruments of
 “your murders to be in their turn dispatched
 “by others”— — *Now clamours against Her-
 molaus swelled to uproar; and his father, with his
 sword, drawn and raised, had struck him, unless
 he had been restrained by the king, who ordered
 Hermolaus to proceed, and desired the assembly
 patiently to hear the criminal multiply causes
 for his punishment.*

26. *Those with difficulty repressed, Hermo-
 laus resumed:* “How liberally you permit
 “youths, unskilled in oratory, to plead their
 “cause! but the voice of Callisthenes is im-

“mured in prison, because he alone knows how
“to speak. Why is he not brought forth,
“while even avowed conspirators are heard?
“You shrink from the free speech of that in-
“nocent man; you could not bear his look.
“I strenuously maintain that he has done no-
“thing: Here they stand, who meditated with
“me the glorious stroke. Not one of us can
“alledge, that Callisthenes was privy to our
“design; however long he may have been de-
“voted to death by a most just and most for-
“giving king. Of the Macedonians, whose
“blood you waste as though it were super-
“fluous and worthless, these are the rewards.
“But you possess captured treasures, which are
“transported by thirty thousand mules, while
“your soldiers have nothing to take home but
“gratuitous scars. All these ills we could,
“however, endure, till you surrendered us to
“the Barbarians, and, by a new procedure,
“subjected the victorious to the yoke. The
“Persian garb and discipline delight you:
“your country’s manners you detest. It was,
“therefore, the king of the Persians, not of the
“Macedonians, that we would have killed; we
“arraign you as a deserter, by the rules of war.
“To THEE, thou hast required the Macedonians
“to kneel as to a god. You renounce your fa-
“ther Philip; and were any of the gods es-

“ teemed greater than the Thunderer, THOU
 “ wouldst discard Jupiter. Is it strange that
 “ the free-born cannot brook your arrogance?
 “ In you what trust can be reposed by us,
 “ who must either die innocent victims, or,
 “ which were worse, live slaves? If your
 “ amendment be practicable, you are indebted
 “ to me, since I have first dared to tell you
 “ what free minds cannot submit to. I will
 “ kneel to you to spare our parents: Oh! do
 “ not load with torments disconsolate age, your
 “ old soldiers bereaved of offspring. As for
 “ ourselves, lead us to execution, that we may
 “ obtain by our own death, the release from sla-
 “ very which we proposed from yours.” Thus,
 Hermolaus.

CHAP. VIII.

Alexander's reply to Hermolaus.

27. “ HOW false,” said the king to the as-
 sembly, “ are all the things which he has been
 “ repeating after his master, appears from my
 “ forbearance! For after he had pleaded guilty
 “ to the highest enormity, I prevailed on you

“ to hear him as well as myself; although I
“ was not ignorant that this assassin would
“ vent the cur-like phrenzy which prompted
“ him to kill me, whom he ought to have re-
“ vered as a parent.

“ Lately, when he insolently forgot his sta-
“ tion at the chase, I caused him to be correct-
“ ed, agreeably to the national usage, and the
“ practice of former kings of Macedon. This
“ discipline is as necessary as that which pupils
“ receive from their tutors, and wives from
“ their husbands: nay, we even suffer our
“ slaves to chastise boys of his age. This is
“ my cruelty toward him, which he would re-
“ venge by an impious murder. Toward his
“ companions, who do not compel me to vio-
“ late my disposition, how mild I am, you all
“ know; to mention it was needless.

“ I am not surprised that Hermolaus can-
“ not approve punishments inflicted on parric-
“ cides, since he has incurred similar; so that
“ when he justifies Parmenio and Philotas, he
“ defends his own cause. Alexander the Lyn-
“ cestan, however, charged by two witnesses
“ with conspiring against my life, I twice par-
“ doned. On a third information, I respited his
“ trial three years*, till yourselves required that
“ the criminal should satisfy the sentence due.

* Page 138, ante.

“ You all remember that Attalus invaded my
“ life before I was king. Clitus——I would
“ that he had not compelled me to an act of ac-
“ cumulated wrath : but his unadvised scurrili-
“ ties on me and yourselves, I bore longer, than
“ he would have borne the same expressions
“ from me. The clemency of kings and com-
“ manders does not depend exclusively on their
“ own dispositions, but equally on those of the
“ governed. Authority is conciliated by obe-
“ dience : but when respect is abjured, and the
“ highest are confounded with the lowest, we
“ are necessitated by violence to repel vio-
“ lence.

“ What wonder that he charges even cruelty
“ upon me, who has the effrontery to reproach
“ me with avarice ! I shall not appeal to you
“ individually, lest I should render my liberali-
“ ty invidious, and a burden on your modesty.
“ Survey the whole army : they who recently
“ had but military equipments, now recline on
“ beds of silver, their tables groan under vessels
“ of gold, trains of slaves attend them, their
“ riches won from the enemy they cannot well
“ transport.

“ But it is objected, that the Persians whom
“ we have subdued, enjoy princely honours un-
“ der me. If I do not domineer haughtily over
“ the conquered, what is that but an evidence
“ of my moderation ? I did not enter Asia, to

“ exterminate whole nations, nor to make a de-
 “ sert of half the world,—but that the van-
 “ quished might not regret my victories. This
 “ stimulates them to fight in coöperation with
 “ you; and they whom severity would have
 “ made rebels, shed their blood to enlarge your
 “ empire. Acquisitions, kept by the sword,
 “ cannot be permanent; the obligation of be-
 “ nefits is eternal. If we propose to retain
 “ Asia, and not merely pass through it, our
 “ clemency must embrace the people, and their
 “ fidelity will confirm and perpetuate our domi-
 “ nion. Ourselves have more than we can use,
 “ and insatiable must be the avarice which
 “ would fill higher what already overflows.

“ But, further, I am transferring the man-
 “ ners of Asia to the Macedonians! Truly, in
 “ some of its numerous nations, I can see traits
 “ which we need not blush to imitate. Not
 “ can so extended an empire be suitably govern-
 “ ed, unless we communicate some customs;
 “ and adopt others.

“ It had nearly excited my laughter, when
 “ the traitor required me to disown Jupiter, by
 “ whose oracle I am recognised. Do the an-
 “ swers of the gods, depend on me? Hammon
 “ conferred on me the title of son. In our
 “ wars, our acknowledgment of it has not
 “ been unavailing. I wish that the Indians

“ may also be persuaded that I am a god.
“ Success in arms depends greatly on fame;
“ and, many times, an accredited fiction has
“ obtained equal triumphs with truth.

“ Do you imagine that it was to pamper
“ luxury, that I adorned your arms with gold
“ and silver? To the Indians, with whom no-
“ thing is more common than those metals, I
“ would show, that the Macedonians, unequal-
“ led in other respects, are not to be surpassed
“ in opulence. Their eyes prepared to encoun-
“ ter invaders in poor and sordid array, I will
“ strike with glitter: they shall be taught that
“ we come, not to ravish their silver and gold,
“ but to finish the conquest of the whole world.
“ From this glory, thou, parricide! wouldst
“ have debarred us, and have sacrificed the Ma-
“ cedonians, destitute of a king, to the con-
“ quered nations.

“ Thou hast recommended thy parents to
“ my mercy! It were a violation of no duty,
“ not to inform thee how I shall dispose of
“ them, that thou mightest die touched more
“ acutely with remorse, if thou hast filial re-
“ membrance and affection;—But, long since,
“ I abrogated the custom of punishing the
“ innocent relatives of criminals; and I pro-
“ claim that they shall all retain their ho-
“ nours.

“ I know why thou willest me to introduce
“ thy Callisthenes, to whom alone thou seemest
“ a man, because thou art an assassin,—in
“ order that he might here repeat the same
“ scandalous things which thou, having fresh
“ learned, hast been reciting before this as-
“ ssembly. Had he been a Macedonian, the
“ worthy tutor had been brought in with his
“ pupil: but an Olynthian is excluded from
“ the privilege.”

After this speech, Alexander dismissed the council; and caused the condemned to be delivered to the other members of the band,—who, to prove their allegiance, inflicted on the criminals a cruelly protracted execution. Callisthenes also died under torture: He was innocent of the conspiracy; but he was not fitted for a court by the disposition of a flatterer. No homicide excited in the Greeks stronger disaffection toward Alexander, inasmuch as Callisthenes possessed the highest probity and learning; by him, Alexander was reconciled to life, when, having slain Clitus, he would have destroyed himself by abstinence. The king did not simply kill the philosopher without a trial, but tortured him. His cruelty was succeeded too late by penitence.

CHAP. IX.

Commencement of the Indian expedition. Description of India. Philosophers. Manner of computing time.

28. **THAT** he might not pamper inactivity, the mother of rumours, Alexander advanced toward India; constantly acquiring more lustre by victories, than he maintained after them.

Almost the whole of India slopes eastward a spacious territory, not so much by running into breadth, as by its perpendicular extent*. Intercepting the South-wind, are tracts of elevated table-land: other districts are level, and many celebrated rivers, which have their sources in mount Caucasus †, maintain a placid tenor through the plains. The Indus is colder than the other streams; the complexion of its waters, is not greatly different from that of the

* The remarkable apology with which Strabo introduces his account of India, is an appeal for indulgence which all the ancient writers on the same subject require, and may, on similar grounds, claim. He professed to be entering on the account of a country very remote, and which few persons had visited; and of these many *having visited only a small part of the country*, had related things either from hearsay, or, at the best, from hasty remarks made as they passed along, on military service, or on a journey. He admits that few of the traders from the Arabian Gulf had reached the Ganges. *Strabo*, lib. xv.—See ADDITIONAL NOTES (R).

† The Hindoo Kos, or Indian Caucasus.

sea. The Ganges, a distinguished river, at its rise* flows southward, in a direct channel, along the ridge of the principal mountains†; afterwards, opposing crags give its course an eastward inclination, although it is ultimately received by the Erythræan sea. Riving its banks, it sweeps away many trees with extensive portions of soil. Obstructed by rocks, it often takes a returning direction; but where it finds a yielding bed, it oozes, and forms islands. The Acesines‡ augments it, just before its discharge into the ocean. Their collision is furious; for the Ganges meets the tributary stream in a narrow estuary, and the conflicting torrents repel each other||. The Dyardenes§ is the less mentioned in the reports of travellers, because it runs through the remote parts of India: but [in common with the other rivers of the country,] it not only cherishes crocodiles, like the Nile, but dolphins, and various aquatic mon-

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (S).

† We are informed, by Major Rennell, *Mem.* p. 233, that the Ganges wanders above eight hundred miles in a mountainous tract, before it escapes from it.

‡ The modern Burrampooter.—See ADDITIONAL NOTES (T).

|| Thus we have no mention of the Delta formed by the several mouths of the Ganges.

§ What river Curtius thus designates, it is unavailing to conjecture. But the Bain Gonga would correspond with the vague description: it was first discovered to Europeans by the late Colonel Camac: it penetrates vast teak forests, in a country in central Hindostan, singularly wild and little explored, inhabited by uncivilized people.

sters unknown in other regions. The Erymanthus * wantons in successive meanders;—diverted by the inhabitants into canals for the purpose of irrigation, it loses its name before its diminished waters reach the sea. India is intersected by several other rivers, of comparatively little note, because their course is less extended.

29. The maritime parts are most scorched by the North winds, which, excluded by ridges of mountains, do not penetrate to the interior tracts: hence these are favourable to the production of fruits. Nevertheless, in this region the earth inverts the *times* of the seasons, so that while other countries are heated by the fervid influence of the sun, snows fall [or the local concomitants of winter are experienced] in India, — and when our fields are frozen, the heat is there intolerable; nor has the cause of this variation been discovered †.

* This river may represent the modern Sarsooty (*Saraswati*).

† This difficult passage is rendered more comprehensible, by recollecting that the western coast of the majestic cape runs in a direction nearly from North to South; so that intercepting heights might shelter the interior, without preventing the North winds from sweeping along the low-lands, outside the chains of mountain. As to the heat attributed to the North wind, it may be acquired by passing over torrefied deserts in the last stages of its course. "We experienced a whole night of strong hot wind from the North-west," (a Peshawer in Afghanistan).—ELPHINSTONE'S *Cabul*, p. 133.

‡ Possibly the Macedonian-Greeks might have encountered extreme cold in the elevated mountain-tracts of India, in the season

The sea washing India varies not in colour from other seas. It derived its name from king Erythras; on which account, the ignorant have believed the water to be red. The land is prolific of flax, [cotton*?] of which the garments of the people are chiefly formed. The pliant internal bark of the trees, receives written characters, in the manner of paper †. The birds may be taught to imitate the articulations of the human voice ‡. Here are animals in other countries unknown, unless transported thither. India nourishes the rhinoceros: but the breed is not indigenous. The elephants are more powerful than those tamed in Africa; and their size corresponds to their strength. Gold is washed down by several rivers, whose loitering streams glide with a serene and gentle tenor. The sea discharges gems and pearls upon the

corresponding to summer in a European climate; and again, in descending to the valleys of the South, have experienced oppressive heat when the rigours of winter prevail in their own country; and on these unexpected vicissitudes have founded the erroneous conclusion, that the *times* of both seasons were inverted in respect to Europe.—See the first note on p. 364.

* See next page, note †.

† The Cashmerians write chiefly upon *tooz*, which is the bark of a tree.—HAMILTON'S *Description of India*.

‡ Relating the particulars of a visit paid to the Munny Begum, at her apartment in the palace of Moorshadabad, Lord Valentia says: “During the whole of our stay, two minahs [birds that are taught to speak] were talking most incessantly, to the great delight of the old lady, who often laughed at what they said; and praised their talents.”—*Travels to India*, by GEO. VISC. VALENTIA, vol. i. p. 229.

shore: nor has any thing more contributed to the opulence of the natives, especially since commerce has disseminated among the exterior nations a vicious taste for costly ornaments; for these excretions of the foaming sea are appreciated at whatever luxury will give*.

As in other places, a bias is given to the mind by local circumstances. The inhabitants invest their heads in rolls of muslin †, and cover

* The two pearls ornamenting the ear-rings of Cleopatra, were valued at £161,458.—*PLIN. Nat. Hist. lib. ix. c. 35.*

† *Linteis.* ORIG.—The reader who is indifferent whether this be translated *linen* or *muslin*, will pass over this and the next note. The Latin language is deficient in appropriate words for the various materials of drapery. The ancient Romans had a very imperfect acquaintance with the woven fabrics of India; and Dr. Robertson, WITHOUT SUSPECTING HIMSELF TO BE MISLED BY THE LEXICOGRAPHERS, [*Disquisition on India*, edit. 1804, p. 320,] infers, that the use of the cotton manufactures of India was not common among the Romans, because a Rescript [in Justinian. *Digest*, lib. xxxix. tit. iv. s. 16, attributed to Marcus Antoninus and Commodus] on the “particular articles liable to duties at Alexandria,” does not enumerate the various kinds of cotton manufactures, as it does the various kinds of spices and gems. Dr. Vincent, [*Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, Part II. Appendix:] comparing the Imports named in the *Digest*, with the Exports from India detailed in the *Periplus*, finds in the former the following articles: *Byssus*, TRANSLATED BY HIM Cotton Goods — *Karpasus*, fine Muslins — *Sindones*, possibly, fine Cottons. Hence, and from the evidence in the next note, it appears that the meanings assigned in the Latin dictionaries to these words require to be revised; and that the latitude of *byssus*, *karpasus* or *carbatus*, and *sinon*, will embrace any fine woven fabric, whether of linen, or cotton. Nor must *linteum* always be restrained to “linen.” Precise terms cannot be expected from the Greek or Roman authors, who were totally uninformed as to the basis of most

their bodies with calico* down to the feet, which they bind with sandals. Those distinguished by rank or opulence, have precious stones suspended from their ears, and wear on their wrists and arms bracelets of gold. They frequently comb their hair, which they seldom cut. Leaving the chin unshaven†, they trim into a cheerful appearance the rest of the face.

30. The luxury of their kings, which they call magnificence, surpasses the extravagancies of all other nations. When the monarch is pleased to be seen in public, officers with silver censers perfume all the road through which he

of the exotic piece-goods. "For many centuries after the use of silk had become common," says Dr. Robertson, "they had not any certain knowledge either of the countries to which they were indebted for this favourite article of elegance, or of the manner in which it was produced. By some, silk was supposed to be a fine down adhering to the leaves of certain trees or flowers; others imagined it to be a delicate species of wool or cotton; and even those who had learned that it was the work of an insect, show, by their descriptions, that they had no distinct idea of the manner in which it was formed."

On the other hand, although in the provinces of modern Hindostan, calico or muslin is the prevailing article of clothing,—yet we cannot affirm that linen was not anciently worn by some classes in India; for we find from *Perip. Mar. Erythr.* p. 28, that, among the commodities imported by Egyptian vessels into Patala on the Indus, was *chequered linen*.

* *Carbasus*. CURT.—The native Sanscreeet term for muslins or fine calicoes, is *karpasi*, as appears by Sir William Jones's catalogue.—*Asiat. Res.* vol. iv. p. 231. Calcutta edit.

† Arrian represents them to have dyed their beards various colours.

is to be carried. He sits in a golden palanquin hung round with pearls. His garments of *carbasus* are embroidered with gold and purple. The body-guards follow the palanquin, some of them carrying singing birds perched on boughs; these birds are even brought in, to relieve hours of important business, by the notes which they have been taught. The palace is supported with gilt pillars, round which are twisted vines engraven in gold, with images of the most beautiful birds executed in silver.

The palace is open to applicants, while the king is combing and dressing; at this interval, he gives audience to ambassadors, and administers justice to his people. His sandals taken off, his feet are anointed with perfumes.

His principal exercise is hunting: amidst the vows and songs of his concubines, he shoots animals which have been enclosed in a park. The arrows, two cubits in length, are discharged by the Indians with more exertion than effect: inasmuch as the missile, whose force depends upon velocity, is retarded by its inconvenient weight. His shorter journeys the king performs on horseback. When he makes a longer expedition, his chariot is drawn by elephants, whose vast bodies are covered with trappings of gold. To complete the corruption of manners, he is followed by a long procession of concubines in golden palanquins. Separated from the queen's

retinue, this column equals it in gorgeous excess. Women prepare his food; they also serve him with wine, of which the Indians drink profusely*. When rendered insensate

* In unison with this, are Chares *apud Athenæum*, lib. 10; and *Ælianus*, *Hist. Var.* lib. ii. In opposition to it, Strabo, lib. xv. transcribing the account of Megasthenes, asserts that the Indians, except at sacrifices, do not use wine, but drink a spirit obtained from rice.

What is the consideration due to Megasthenes? He derived his knowledge of India from a residence of several years in Palibothra, a station far beyond the south-east limits of Alexander's progress in India, [whether the site of Palibothra were Kanoge, or Allahabad, or Patna, or Bhaugilpoor;] to which he had been sent by Seleucus, as ambassador to Sandracottus king of the Prasii. "From his writings," observes Dr. Robertson, "the Ancients seem to have derived almost all their knowledge of the interior state of India; and from comparing the three most ample accounts of India, by Diodorus, Strabo, and Arrian, they manifestly appear, from their near resemblance, to be a transcript of his words. But, unfortunately, Megasthenes was so fond of the marvellous, that he mingled with the truths which he related, many extravagant fictions; and to him may be traced the fabulous tales — of men with ears so large that they could wrap themselves up in them; of others with a single eye, without mouths, without noses, with long feet, and toes turned backwards; of people only three spans in height; of wild men with heads in the shape of a wedge; of ants as large as foxes, that dug up gold. The extracts from his narrative, transmitted to us by Strabo, Arrian, and other writers, seem not entitled to credit unless when they are supported by internal evidence, and confirmed by the testimony of other ancient writers, or when they coincide with the experience of modern times. His account, however, of the dimensions and geography of India, is curious and accurate." From this and another specimen, it will appear, how whimsically the defects and excellences of the ancient writers are mingled and counterpoised; for "the scientific Ptolemy has given a Map of the

by wine and sleep, he is conveyed by concubines to his chamber, who, in hymns, invoke the gods of the hours of night.

31. Amid these vices, who would expect the culture of wisdom?

There is a class, rustic and uncivilized, whom the Indians denominate wise men. These esteem it glorious to anticipate the fatal hour; when age has destroyed their activity, or disease oppresses them, they make arrangements to burn themselves alive; regarding it disgraceful to live merely to expect death. When dissolution is the effect of old age, they do not honour the corse with a funeral pile, deeming the fire defiled, unless it receives a breathing victim.

Humanized in their habits, others live in cities. They are said to observe scientifically,

“ same region more erroneous than any other transmitted from antiquity.”

The above account of Curtius is countenanced by enumerations of Imports into India, found in *Perip. Mar. Erythr.* several of which comprise wine generally; one specifies Italian, Greek, and Arabian wines; another, Laodicean and Syrian wine.

There now exist provincial diversities, which agree sufficiently with both the reports of antiquity. In Bengal, wine is imported and drunk. In Cashmire, a wine is made resembling Madeira; and a spirituous liquor is distilled from the grape. Golconda is famous for a white wine. At the same time, in most parts of India, the common people, when they deliberately take any intoxicating liquor, use that sort of arrack which is distilled from rice.

the motions of the planets, and to predict events. They hold, that no one hastens the moment of death, who can wait its approach with fortitude. They contemplate as deities whatever their ancestors betook themselves to worship, particularly trees*, to wound which is a capital crime. They circumscribe their months within fifteen days: but preserve the full dimensions of the year. They compute time by the course of the moon; not, as most people do, by the entire revolutions of that planet, but by half-moons†: hence the shortness of their months. There are many other things related of them, which seem not sufficiently important to suspend the history.

* As in the Mythology of Heathen Rome, every tree had its peculiar GENIUS; so was there scarcely any tree that was not dedicated to some NUMEN or other.

Populus Alcidæ gratissima; Vitis Iaccho;

Formosæ Myrtus Veneri; sua Laureæ Phæbo.

VIRGIL, *Ecl.* 7.

Ovid alludes to the *Quercus Oracula*. To revert to our own country at the corresponding period: there appears to have been little difference between the Druids of Britain, the Magi of Persia, and the Brahmins of India; all teaching at once the immortality, and the transmigration of the soul.—See *Travels into Africa and Asia*, by SIR THOMAS HERBERT, *third Edition*, 1677, p. 116.

See also PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION, *Testimonies to the Accuracy of Curtius*, No. 6.

† The Hindoos have divided their lunar month into what they denominate the *sookla-paksha*, and the *kreesna-paksha*, that is, the *light side*, and the *dark side* (of the moon); the former commences

CHAP. X.

Alexander enters India. Surrender of Nysa. Bacchanalian revel of the army in mount Meros. Capital of the Mazagæ taken.

32. ALEXANDER having passed the frontiers of India*, several rajahs met *Olymp. cxiii. 1.* him, and made submission; pro- *A. C. 327.* nouncing, ' That he was the third *Ætat. Alex. 29.* ' of Jupiter's offspring that had *Reg. 9.* ' reached their country. Bacchus † *Imp. 3.* ' and Hercules they knew by tradition. His ' presence they witnessed.'

These the king courteously received; and directed to accompany him, intending to employ them as guides. But as no others came to surrender, he sent forward Hephæstion and Perdicas, with part of the forces, to subdue such as were averse from his government: and he enjoined his officers to advance to the river Indus, and prepare boats to transport the army

with the new moon, and the latter with the full. *Hectopades, translated from the Sanscrit, by CHARLES WILKINS, LL.D. 1787, p. 289, and note to p. 43.*

* The Ancients attributed to India a long narrow tract of territory on the western bank of the Indus.

† See ADDITIONAL NOTES (U).

across. Because there were numerous rivers to be passed, these so constructed the boats, that they might be taken to pieces and conveyed on waggons.

Then, having ordered Craterus to follow with the phalanx, he led to action the cavalry and light-armed ; and, after a slight engagement, drove those who opposed him into the nearest walled town. Now Craterus had come up ; and Alexander, that he might strike terror into this nation, who had not yet experienced the Macedonian arms, gave orders for putting the besieged to the sword, and burning the fortifications of the place. Riding to survey the works, he was wounded by an arrow. He, however, took the town, and having slain the inhabitants, extended his vengeance to the buildings.

This obscure tribe conquered, he moved thence toward the city Nysa. The camp, pitched by accident under the very walls, was on woody ground : the nocturnal cold, there peculiarly intense, affected the soldiers with shiverings : fire furnished an opportune remedy. With the felled copses, they kindled and supported such a flame, that it reached the cemeteries of the townspeople : built of old cedar, the tombs caught and circulated the conflagration, till they were all burned down. The barking of dogs was now heard from the town, followed by a shout from

the army: The citizens discovered that the enemy had approached; the Macedonians, that they were close to the city.

33. And now the king drew out his troops, and besieged the fort. Such of the garrison as had ventured to sally, having been killed with darts, some of the Nyseans advised submission; others, the trial of a battle. Alexander, informed of their divisions, was satisfied to institute a blockade, prohibiting farther effusion of blood. At length, worn out by the inconveniences of a close investment, they surrendered.

They asserted their city to have been founded by Bacchus; and this was in fact its origin. It is seated at the base of a mountain, which the inhabitants call Meros*: whence the Greeks licentiously feigned, that Bacchus had been concealed in Jupiter's thigh. The king, instructed by the natives in the approaches to the eminence, having sent forward provisions, ascended to the summit with his whole army.

The mountain is dressed in an exuberance of vines and ivy. Numerous unfailing rills gurgle out. The soil spontaneously nurtures salutary fruits of various flavour, from seeds fortuitously dropped. Laurels, and berry-trees, and clumps of wild wood, vegetate among the crags.

* Μῆρος, ⁴femur, thigh.

I attribute it, not to a celestial impulse, but to wantonness, that parties of the soldiers crowned themselves with chaplets of ivy and vine-leaves, running through the thickets like the entranced at the festivals of Bacchus. As the extravagance of a few (a common occurrence) gradually extended to all,—amidst the peaks and swells of the mountain resounded thousands of voices, adoring the guardian divinity of the grove. With the confidence of profound peace, they stretched themselves on the grass and on couches of leaves. Not discountenancing the casual revel, the king profusely distributed viands for festivity, and detained the army, during ten days, to celebrate the mysteries of Bacchus. Who can deny that an illustrious name is oftener the boon of fortune than the reward of merit? inasmuch as against the carousers, reduced by wine to insensibility, no attack was ventured by the enemy, awed by the shouts and roaring of these frantic men, as though they had heard acclamations of soldiers in battle. At their return from the ocean, the Macedonians, inebriated, and feasting riotously, were protected by the same good fortune.

34. Hence Alexander proceeded to a district called Dædala. The people had deserted their habitations, and had fled to untraversed woods and mountains. He therefore passed on to

Acadera, likewise burnt and evacuated by the fugitive inhabitants. Constrained, therefore, to change the plan of his operations, he divided his forces, that he might simultaneously display his arms in a variety of places:—the surprised, and those who had expected the enemy, were completely subjugated by a general overthrow. The cities taken by Ptolemy were the more numerous, by Alexander the more considerable.

Having collected his forces, the Macedonian leader passed the river Choas. He committed to Cœnos the siege of an opulent town, called by the inhabitants Bezira.

He proceeded in person to Mazagæ: of which, Assacanus, the late sovereign, was dead; and his mother Cleophes governed both the capital and the province. Thirty thousand infantry defended this city, which was strong by position and fortified by art:—On the east, a rapid river, with precipitous banks, bars approach: on the west and south, nature has planted, as by design, exceedingly lofty rocks, at whose bases yawned chasms and gulfs, which corroding time had excavated to a great depth: where these terminated, a foss had been interposed, a magnificent work. The city has a wall thirty-five stadia in circumference; the lower part, of stone,—the upper, chiefly of unburnt brick. To the bricks, blocks of stone act as a frame, which the archi-

tect interplied, that the frailer material might lean against the harder. And lest the clay, washed by rain, should at length sink altogether, solid beams are laid upon these, supporting timber platforms, which at once preserve the walls, and afford a way along the top.

35. While surveying these fortifications, without a determinate project, — for the caverns could only be filled by vast masses of earth, and unless they were filled the engines could not be advanced to the walls, — Alexander was struck by an archer on the ramparts. The arrow pierced his leg in the calf. As soon as the barb was extracted, he called for his horse, and without any bandage on the wound, rode on in prosecution of his object. As, however, the limb hung down, the blood settling, and the wound growing cold, under aggravated anguish, he is represented to have said: “It was pronounced that I was Jupiter’s son: but I feel the disorders of a sickly body.” Nevertheless, he did not retire to the camp till he had viewed every thing, and ordered what was to be done.

The soldiers, as directed, demolished the houses on the outside of the city, whence they derived a copious supply of materials for a terrace: others precipitated into the caverns, by heaps, trunks of large trees, and banks of

stones. And now the terrace was level with the surface of the highest ground: the turrets were therefore set up: and, through the eminent zeal of the soldiers, the works were finished in nine days.

These the king, whose wound had not cicatrized, proceeded to examine. Having commended the troops, he ordered them to propel the engines: whence was discharged an abundant flight of missiles against the garrison. Strangers to such operations, the Barbarians were chiefly intimidated by the moving turrets; for, not perceiving the agency by which these vast piles advanced, they concluded them to be carried by the will of the gods*. The battering shafts, also, and the ponderous javelins, shot from the engines, they pronounced to exceed the powers of men. Despairing, therefore, of the defence of the town, they withdrew to the citadel. Thence, because nothing but surrender appeared safe to the besieged, deputies came down to the conqueror to implore pardon: which obtained, the queen, in procession with a number of noble ladies, brought wine in golden bowls, by way of sacrifice. Having placed her little son at the knees of the king, she not only won his forgiveness, but the

* These moveable towers were invented by Dyades, pupil of Polyæides, who accompanied Alexander. ATHEN. *de Machin.* p. 4, *in vet. Mathem.*

restoration of her former honours. He saluted her as a queen; and some have supposed, that he yielded more to her beauty than to pity. It is certain, that a child, which she afterwards bore, whoever was its father, was named Alexander*.

CHAP. XI.

Capture of the rock Aornos.

36. **DETACHED** hence, with an army, to the city Ora, Polysperchon, in a battle, overcame the people, who had taken the field in disorder: pursuing the routed into their fortifications, he reduced the city.

Into the king's power fell many inconsiderable towns, deserted by the armed inhabitants, who had seized a rock called Aornos. Hercules, according to tradition, in vain besieged this rock, and was forced, by an earthquake, to desist.

While Alexander hesitated how to proceed, because the fastness was on all sides steep and craggy, an old man, locally experienced, came with his two sons, and offered, for a reward, to show the approach to it. Alexander promised him eighty talents, and, detaining one of the youths as a hostage, sent the father to perform what he had undertaken. Mullinus, the king's

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (X).

secretary, was appointed to lead a light-armed party. It was proposed, that these, by a detour, which might elude the observation of the enemy, should climb to the highest ridge.

This rock, unlike most eminences, does not grow up into a sublime terrace by gradual and easy acclivities. It rises much in the form of a *meta**; broad at the base, contracting as it ascends: its crested summits terminate in a sharp pinnacle †. At its foot flows the deep Indus, which has rugged banks: on its hither side were craggy pits and ravines; and only by filling up these could assailants approach. The wood contiguous the king directed to be felled; and the trunks of the trees, to be stripped of their branches and foliage, that they might be transported more readily. He himself flung in the first tree: a loud acclamation spoke the alacrity of the army: and no one refused the labour which the king had commenced.

37. In seven days, the cavities were filled. The king ordered the archers and Agrians to

* *Meta*, stones in the chariot circus, serving both as bounds and measures of distance; had generally the shape of a cone, and sometimes of a triangular pyramid.

† Arrian, *lib. iv. cap. 28*, describes the rock to be two hundred stadia in circuit, and eleven in height, measured to the lowest part of the surface; accessible only by one path hewed in the stone—enriched, near the summit, by a plentiful spring, a dense wood, and with arable and other fruitful land sufficient to subsist a thousand men.

spread themselves on the steeps. From his own band, he selected thirty of the bravest young men, appointing as their leaders Charus and Alexander: this last he exhorted to recollect the name, which he bore in common with himself. At first, because the danger was so palpable, it was voted that the king himself should not join in the assault. But as the trumpet gave the signal, the intrepid prince turned to his guards, ordered them to follow him, and was the first to assay the rock. Nor, after this, would any of the Macedonians stay behind: they spontaneously left their posts, and followed the king. Of many the lot was miserable; slipping off the shelving crags, they were engulfed by the river underneath; a melancholy spectacle even to those not scaling in peril. But when another's destruction became a memento of what themselves had to apprehend, pity was succeeded by terror; and they mourned not the dead, but themselves.

Now the Macedonians had advanced so far that they could not return with impunity, unless victorious. The Barbarians rolling down ponderous stones on the climbing, such as were struck fell headlong from their treacherous positions. Alexander and Charus, however, whom the king had sent forward with the chosen thirty, had effected their ascent;

and were in close action with the enemy : but— as Barbarians, posted higher, poured darts on them—they received more wounds than they inflicted. Wherefore, Alexander, remembering both his name and promise, fought with gallant fury, careless of defence, till he was pierced in every limb, and borne down. Charus, seeing his extended corse, rushed upon the enemy, animated only by revenge : his spear was fatal to many, and some he killed with his sword. But one arm was unequal to so many assailants ; he fell lifeless on the body of his friend.

The king, adequately impressed by the fall of the heroic young men and of other soldiers, gave the signal to retreat. The gradual movements, and firm countenance of the retiring, conduced to their preservation ; and the Barbarians, satisfied to have repulsed the enemy, did not close on them as they gave ground.

38. Although Alexander meditated to relinquish the enterprise, (as there appeared no probability of taking the rock,) yet he made demonstrations of continuing the siege ; occupied the avenues, advanced his turrets, and relieved his parties.

The Indians, witnessing this pertinacity, devoted two days and nights to festivity, with a display, not only of confidence, but of triumph. But on the third night, the sound of the tim-

breels was not heard:—torches glared on every part of the rock, which, as the night was dark, the Barbarians had lighted, that their flight might be safer down the precipitous crags. From Balacrus, sent forward to observe, the king learned, that the enemy were evacuating their strong recess. He, thereupon, gave the signal for a general shout: this struck the disorderly fugitives with trepidation, Deeming the enemy at hand, many, rushing down slippery copings and pathless steeps, perished; a greater number, mutilated, were abandoned by those who had descended safe.

Although he had subjugated the place rather than the enemy, Alexander solemnized to the gods the sacrifices and acknowledgments of a great conquest; and built on the rock altars to Minerva and to Victory.

The guides, whom he had ordered to take up the light-armed party, although they had effected less than their engagements, he faithfully remunerated. The custody of the rock, with the surrounding country, he committed to Sisococtus.

C H A P. XII.

Submission of Taxiles Omphis.

39. HENCE he proceeded toward Embolima. Informed that some defiles in his line of march were occupied by one Eryces with twenty thousand men, he left Cœnos to conduct the heavier forces by easy marches, and advanced in person with the slingers and archers. Having dislodged those who guarded the avenue, he opened a passage for the army following.

The Indians, from disaffection to their chief, or to court the favour of the conqueror, rose upon, and killed, the fugitive Eryces. They brought his head, with his armour, to Alexander, who suffered the deed to go unpunished, but did not encourage the example.

Hence, in sixteen days, he reached the river Indus; for passing it he found every thing prepared by Hephæstion, as he had ordered.

The supremacy of this region had devolved on Omphis, who had counselled his father to surrender his empire to Alexander; and, on his father's death, had sent an embassy, to know whether it was Alexander's pleasure, that he should meanwhile exercise authority, or wait

his coming in a private capacity. Having the king's permission to reign, modesty yet prevented him from assuming his right. He had entertained Hephæstion liberally, gratuitously distributing corn to his troops: but had not joined that officer, disinclined to assay the fidelity of any but the king.

On Alexander's approach, he went to meet him with a well-appointed army: at intervals in his line, elephants, mixed with the troops, appeared to the distant spectator like castles.

40. At first, Alexander imagined that it was not an ally, but an enemy advancing. He commanded the battalions to take arms, and the cavalry to divide to the wings, in order of battle. But the Indian, perceiving the misunderstanding, halted his army, and spurred his horse forward. Alexander did the same, ready to meet him as a friend or an enemy, secure in the other's allegiance, or in his own valour. At their rencounter, amity was intelligible in the countenance of each: but, without an interpreter, they could hold no conversation. Assisted by one, the Indian prince explained himself, 'To have advanced with his army to Alexander, that he might at once surrender all the forces of his empire, without waiting to negotiate for a pledge. His person and kingdom he resigned to him, who, it was

known, fought for glory, and feared nothing but to sully his name by perfidy.' Pleased with the ingenuousness of the Barbarian, the king gave him his right hand, as a token of his protection; and restored his kingdom.

Ompis presented Alexander with fifty-six elephants, and a considerable quantity of cattle of an extraordinary size, with three thousand bulls, animals highly prized by the chiefs of this region. Interrogated by Alexander, 'Whether he had more agriculturists than soldiers?' he answered, 'That as he was engaged in hostilities with two kings, he found it necessary to have more men in arms than at the plough.' The two kings were Abisares and Porus: but Porus had the greater power. The territories of both lay beyond the Hydaspes; and whatever invader might come, they were resolved to try the fortune of war.

41. Ompis, under Alexander's sanction, assumed the ensigns of royalty, with the name of Taxiles, which his father had borne, and which followed the empire* on whomsoever it descended. Having entertained Alexander splendidly during three days, on the fourth he made known what he could farther contribute

* The empire intended does not appear to have been that of India; but, a paramount government at the head of numerous petty dependencies, of which the dominions probably embraced territory on both banks of the Indus, like the present kingdom of Caubul.

to the magazines of corn which had been formed by Hephæstion; presented the king and all his friends with crowns of gold; and gave him coined silver to the amount of eighty talents.

Alexander was so exceedingly gratified by the courtesies of Taxiles, that he not only re-delivered to him all his presents, but added to those riches a thousand talents from the spoils which he carried, numerous banquetting vessels of gold and silver, and Persian habiliments; with thirty of his horses in the same caparisons that were used for his personal service. As his liberality laid the Barbarian under obligations; so it greatly offended Alexander's friends. One of whom, Meleager, having taken too profusely of wine at supper, 'Congratulated him on 'having found in India at least one person 'meriting a thousand talents.' The king, not having forgotten what compunction he suffered after killing Clitus for audacious language, restrained his anger, simply observing, 'That 'the envious only torment themselves.'

CHAP. XIII.

Submission of Abisares. Barzaentes taken. Force of Porus. Passage of the Hydaspes.

42. ON the following day, ambassadors came to Alexander from Abisares, who, as commis-

sioned, made a surrender of all his royalties. Mutual engagements contracted, Alexander sent them back to their sovereign. Imagining that the ascendancy of his name might influence Porus also to submission, he deputed to him Cleochares, with a summons, ' That he should pay a tribute, and meet the king at the nearest pass in his frontiers.' Porus replied, ' That he had intended to perform one of these acts : he would meet the prince at his entry, but with an army.'

Alexander had now resolved on the passage of the Hydaspes : when Barzaentes, the instigator of the rebellion in Arachosia, was brought in captive. With him were seized thirty elephants ; an opportune reinforcement against the Indians, among whom there is more reliance on these powerful animals for execution, than on the armed men. Gamaxus, sovereign of a small tract in India, who had formed a league with Barzaentes, was also made prisoner.

The Persian deserter and the rajah placed under a guard, and the elephants delivered to Taxiles, Alexander came to the river Hydaspes. Porus had taken a station on the opposite bank to oppose the passage. His first line consisted of eighty-five elephants of the highest class for strength ; beyond these ranged three hundred chariots, and thirty thousand infantry ; includ-

ing bowmen, of a description already mentioned, with arrows too ponderous to be shot off dexterously. Porus was mounted on an elephant, which towered above the rest: his armour, enchased with gold and silver, displayed with effect a gigantic person; his courage corresponded with his stature; his mind was the seat of as much wisdom as could subsist in an unpolished nation.

43. The Macedonians were intimidated, not only by the appearance of the enemy, but by the magnitude of the river to be passed.* Overflown to the breadth of four stadia, its channel deep and no where fordable, it looked like an arm of the sea. Nor, in proportion as its waters were dilated, did its rapidity diminish; for, as though it had been confined within projecting banks, the torrent dashed. The repercussion of the waves shewed that there were sunken rocks in its bed.

The shore, covered with men and horses,

* The modern Behut or Chelam. Alexander's expedition into India commenced near the end of spring, when the rains were already begun in the mountains from which all the rivers in the Panjab flow; and he passed the Hydaspes at Midsummer, about the height of the rainy season. Aristobulus has recorded, in his *Journal*, that, though heavy rains fall in the mountains and in the contiguous country, yet in the plains not a shower descends; a circumstance to the accuracy of which, modern observations testify. *Robertson* after *Arrian*, *Strabo*, and *Rennell*.

had an aspect yet more formidable. Among them, stood elephants, as stupendous bulwarks; irritated for that purpose, they oppressed the ear with their roaring. There the enemy, here the river, suddenly infected with fear men disposed to confidence, who had often proved themselves invincible. They could not believe, that crazy rafts could be steered, or safely laid upon the opposite bank.

In the middle of the river were numerous islands, to which the Macedonians swam, holding their weapons over their heads. Here they had frequent skirmishes; and both kings deduced from these minor conflicts, the probable result of the great battle.

In the Macedonian army, Symmachus and Nicanor, young noblemen, were distinguished for hardihood and enterprise. The uniform success of their undertakings had inspired them with contempt for every kind of danger. Led by these, a party of the boldest youths, armed with lances only, swam over to an island occupied by a crowd of the enemy; defended by no other cuirass than courage, they killed a number of Indians. They might have retired with glory, if fortunate temerity could have known moderation: but while they disdainfully and arrogantly waited to be attacked, surprised on the rear by men who had swum round unperceived, they were

swept down by discharges of arrows. Such as escaped the enemy, were carried down the stream, or entangled in the whirlpools. This skirmish greatly established the confidence of Porus, who from the bank observed all its vicissitudes.

44. Perplexed, Alexander at length projected this stratagem to deceive the enemy. One island in the river was larger than the rest, woody, and calculated for masking operations. Moreover, not far from the bank which the king occupied, was a deep trench, in which not only the infantry, but cavalry mounted, might be concealed. That he might, therefore, divert the attention of the enemy from a spot with these advantages, he ordered Ptolemy to parade with all his cavalry at a distance from the island, and repeatedly to alarm the Indians with acclamations, as though he were in motion to pass the river. Thus Ptolemy acted many successive days; and, by this device, induced Porus to remove his army to the place at which he pretended to strike. The island was now beyond the enemy's view. Alexander caused his pavilion to be set up at another part of the bank, the guards usually attached to the royal person to mount in front, and the whole routine of imperial magnificence to be displayed there to the Indians. Attalus, of his own age, and

not unlike him in features and person, especially if seen from a distance, he invested in the robes of majesty, that the king might appear to be himself defending the bank, unoccupied about the passage.

A tempest, which at first retarded, afterwards promoted, the accomplishment of the stratagem; fortune directing annoyances to beneficial results. Alexander was preparing, with the infantry, to pass into the island above mentioned*; the enemy being diverted by the forces encamped lower down under Ptolemy; when a storm of rain fell, scarcely to be endured by those under tents: overwhelmed by the torrent, the soldiers deserting their boats and rafts, took refuge on land. The din of this confusion was not heard by the enemy, drowned by the louder surge against the banks. Then the rain suddenly intermitted; but clouds, so dense, overspread the sky, that they intercepted the light; men conversing together could hardly distinguish their companions' faces. This darkness would have terrified another leader, especially as an unknown river was to be passed: Possibly the enemy occupies the bank to which the explorers, seeking glory in complicated danger, are rashly groping. Alexander deem-

* Respecting the place where the passage was effected, see PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION, *Testimonies*, No. 5.

ing the shadowy gloom to be his opportunity, gave the signal for all to embark in silence, and caused his own raft to be put off first. The shore to which they were steering, was vacant of the enemy; for Porus confined his vigilance to Ptolemy. Except one boat, which was driven upon a rock, the rest arrived safe. The king ordered the soldiers to arm, to form into ranks, and to march.

CHAP. XIV.

Battle with Porus.

45. ALEXANDER was now leading his army divided into two wings; when Porus received advice, that an armed force had gained the bank, and an attack might be expected. At first Porus, with a weak indulgence of hope, natural to the human mind, imagined it to be Abisares his ally coming to aid him, according to treaty. Presently, the clearer light displaying the enemy, Porus sent forward, against the approaching force, his brother Hages, with one hundred chariots and three thousand cavalry. Porus' chief strength was in chariots: each carried six men; two targeteers, two archers disposed on each side; and the remaining two were drivers, not indeed un-

Olymp. cxiii. 2.

A. C. 327.

Ætat. Alex. 29.

Reg. 9.

Imp. 3.

armed, for, in close engagements, laying aside the reins, they showered javelins on the enemy. On this day, however, these machines were of small avail, for an unusually heavy rain, as already narrated, having fallen, made the grounds perfidiously soft, and unfit for riding: and the ponderous, and almost immovable, chariots, were arrested by the sloughs and torrent-gullies. Alexander, on the contrary, rushed freely to the charge, with an active and light-armed force. The Scythæ and the Dahæ began the onset: then Alexander detached Perdiccas with a body of horse against the enemy's right wing.

46. Now the conflict spread itself to all points; and the charioteers deeming their vehicles to be the last resource of their associates, drove with loose reins into the midst of the field, and equally annoyed both parties; for, at first, the Macedonian infantry were trampled down by their inroad,—then, the chariots, whirled upon slimy and unequal places, shook the drivers from their seats; other cars the affrighted horses precipitated into the ravines, and pools; and even into the river: a few, having been conducted as far as the enemy, reached Porus, who was vigorously stimulating the battle.

The Indian leader, perceiving his chariots, dispersed over the field, floundering without directors, distributed the elephants to his most

tried friends. Behind them, he had stationed his infantry and archers: these carried drums, whose accent served the Indians instead of the trumpet's call. Nor were the elephants disturbed by the noise: their ears were docile to the known sound. The image of Hercules was carried before the infantry; their supreme incitement to heroic acts: By the military code, it was a crime to desert the bearers of it, and these were consigned to death if they returned without it from the field: The fear which the Indians anciently entertained for Hercules, as an enemy, having been converted into religious veneration*.

The appearance of the stupendous animals contributed, with the presence of the martial chief, to check the Macedonians for an interval. Posted among the men, the quadrupeds looked at a distance like turrets. Eminently tall, Po-

* The Indian Hercules is drawn with a bill-hook as well as club. A native poet thus indicates a river sacred to him.

O'er Saraswati's waters wing your course,
And inward prove their purifying force;
Most holy, since, oppress'd with heaviest grief,
The PLOUGHSHARE'S MIGHTY LORD here sought relief—
From kindred strife, and Revati withdrew,
And to these banks and holy musing flew.

*Megha Duta, or Cloud Messenger, Translated
from the Sanscrit. By HORACE HAYMAN
WILSON, Secretary to the Asiatic Society.
London, 1814. p. 41.*

rus* almost exceeded the standard of man. The elephant which carried him, increased his apparent magnitude, rising in the same proportion, above others of its species.

47. Alexander, surveying the Indian prince and army, said: "At length, I meet a danger commensurate with my soul. We have to cope at once with mighty beasts, and uncommon men." Then, turning to Cœnos, he delivered these orders: "When, with Ptolemy, Perdicas, and Hephæstion, I shall have charged the enemy's left wing, and you shall perceive me in close action; yourself will move, by a circuit on the right†, and attack the disordered ranks.— You, Antigènes! and Leonnatus! and Tauron! bear upon the adverse centre, pressing it in front. Our long and powerful pikes can never be used with greater effect, than against the unwieldy beasts and their managers. Force off the riders, and stab the elephants. These form a dangerous kind of armament. In

* His height was seven feet and a half. *Arrian.*

† *Ipsè in dextrum move.* ORIGINAL.—This passage, connected with the narrative, below, of what Cœnos performed, has been regarded by the Commentators as implicating the use, here, of "right" for "left;" or an inverse mistake, there: But if the construction in the text be received; a sense which a mere wave of Alexander's hand might make clear to Cœnos; Curtius has fallen into no contradiction, but represents Cœnos to attack, in the flank or rear, the same body which Alexander assailed in front.

“ their fiercer rage, they trample their mas-
“ ters : they require to be guided against their
“ enemies : affright drives them upon their
“ friends.”

As he concluded, he galloped to the charge. And now, according to his plan, he had engaged the ranks of the enemy : then Cœnos, with impressive force, wheeled upon their left wing. The phalanx also bore, with united weight, against the centre of the Indian army.

Porus, wherever he perceived cavalry advancing, ordered elephants to be opposed. But the ponderous strides of so unversatile an animal could not answer the rapid wheelings of the horse. Nor, indeed, did the Barbarian arrows avail to keep off cavalry ; for, long and excessively weighty, the archers could not properly adjust them, without resting their bows upon the ground ; its slimy surface embarrassed the effort to draw ; and, while preparing to shoot, they were anticipated by the activity of the enemy. Porus' orders were now disregarded : (such an occurrence is common, when the leader's authority over broken ranks is usurped by fear :) there were as many commanders-in-chief as dispersed corps. One officer was directing his men to join the line ; another, to fight in a separate band ; a third, to stand firm ; several commanded their troops to wheel upon the enemy's rear. Nothing was done in concert.

The Indian king, however, accompanied by a few who feared only disgrace, rallied his scattered forces, and advanced upon the enemy, with the elephants in his van. The noble beasts spread terror over the field; and their unfamiliar noise, affecting not the horses only, which are prone to take fright, but the men, disordered the Macedonian ranks.

48. Now the recently victorious were looking round for a place of retreat: when Alexander sent against the elephants a force, consisting of light-armed Agrians and Thracians, more adapted for skirmishing than close fighting. These [mounted archers] discharged an immense stream of arrows upon the elephants and their directors: the phalanx also pressed the enemy; who were thus kept unceasingly alarmed. But individuals followed up the elephants too eagerly; and, having incensed them by wounds, were crushed under their feet; an admonition to others to assail them with more caution. The spectacle was dismaying, when the monstrous animals took up, by the proboscis, men in armour, and delivered them to the guides seated on their backs.

The Macedonians now pursuing, and now flying from the elephants,—the doubtful battle fluctuated through great part of the day: until Alexander's soldiers, with axes prepared for that service, hacked round the elephants' feet.

Others, with swords called *copidas*, slightly curved, resembling sithes, cut at their trunks. The fear; not merely of dying; but of new tortures in dying, made them leave nothing untried. At length, many elephants, subdued with wounds, rushing on their own bands, bore them down, and, precipitating their masters to the ground, trampled them to death. More terrified than mischievous, others were driven like cattle from the field.

Deserted by the greater part of his troops, Porus from his elephant began to expend a store of javelins on the encircling enemy. He wounded many at a distance; himself a mark at which all were aiming. His breast and back pierced already with nine wounds, he had lost much blood; and his languid arm was dropping darts, rather than directing them. His irritated elephant, not yet wounded, with unabated vigor, continued to assault the enemy's ranks: until the governor of the animal, perceiving that the king's limbs faltered, that his weapons were exhausted, and that he was losing recollection, incited the beast to flight.

Alexander followed: but his horse, fainting under multiplied wounds, stretched itself on the ground, rather setting the king down than throwing him* off. Thus was his pursuit retarded, till he could change his horse.

* Curtius has followed Chares, as the following account, preserved

49. Meanwhile, the brother of the Indian emperor Taxiles, having been sent forward by Alexander, began to counsel Porus, ‘ Not to fight obstinately to the last, but to surrender to the victor.’ Porus, although his strength was exhausted, and his blood at a low ebb, yet starting up at the known voice; “ I know thee,” said he, “ brother of Taxiles! betrayer of the empire and his own kingdom.” And he cast at him the single javelin by accident not before discharged; which, entering his breast, pierced to his back.

Having displayed this last exertion of manual prowess, he began to fly more diligently. But his elephant, which had also received numerous wounds, became unable to proceed. Halting necessarily, he opposed some infantry to the pursuing enemy.

Alexander had now come up; and acquainted with the pertinacity of Porus, ordered his

by Aulus Gellius, will show :—^d In the Indian war, when Alexander “ was mounted upon him, and, performing the noblest exploits, had “ carelessly entangled himself amidst a phalanx of the enemy,— “ spears from all parts were heaped on Alexander; and the horse “ was covered with many and deep wounds in the neck and in his “ side. Ready to expire, and almost exhausted, he bore the king “ from the midst of the foe with a most rapid pace; and having “ carried him beyond the reach of their spears, he dropped down, “ and, certain that his master was safe, he breathed his last, as “ if with the consolation of human sensibility. Upon this king “ Alexander, having been victorious in this war, built a city on this “ spot, and in honour of his horse, called it Bucephalon.”—CHARES apud AUL. GELL. *Att. Noct.* lib. v. cap. 2.

men not to spare the resisting. They, therefore, from all parts, plied the Indian infantry, and Porus himself, with darts; who at length, disabled and unconscious, began to slide from the beast. The Indian who directed the elephant, supposing the king designed to alight, caused the animal to kneel, as was customary. Observing the king's elephant bow to the ground, the others, as they had been trained, did the same. Thus one incident delivered Porus and all his adherents to the conqueror.

50. Alexander, concluding that Porus was dead, ordered his body to be stripped; and those whose office it was, ran in to take off his armour and robes: when the spirited elephant began to defend his master, and attack the spoilers, and, lifting with his trunk the rescued body to his back, replaced it there. Whereupon the Macedonians covered the beast with darts, and having killed it, laid Porus in a waggon. Alexander, perceiving the wounded prince to open his eyes, was incited, not by antipathy, but by compassion, to say: "Knowing my achievements, what phrenzy prompted thee, unhappy determination, to try with me the fortune of war; when thy neighbour Taxiles was an example to thee of my clemency to the submitting?" — — — 'Because thou freely inquirest,' said the Indian, 'I will answer freely. No one I accounted stronger

‘ than myself. My own force I knew, not yet
‘ measured with thine. The battle has taught
‘ me, that thou art the greater commander; but
‘ I hold it no trivial satisfaction, to rank second.’
To the appeal from Alexander which followed :
“ What dost thou consider, that I, as a victor,
“ ought to determine respecting thee?” Porus
answered: ‘ Let this day instruct thee, by
‘ which thou seest how precarious is prosperity.’
Such an admonition availed him more than
entreaty. Struck by his magnanimity, and
fearless spirit, which adversity could not touch,
Alexander esteemed him worthy to be enter-
tained, not only kindly, but honourably. His
attentions to him under recovery, were such as
if he had bled in his service. Contrary to uni-
versal expectation, he enrolled him among his
friends. Soon afterwards, he elevated him, by
enlarging his kingdom. Nothing seemed more
constitutional and uniform in Alexander’s dis-
position, than admiration of real greatness.
Nevertheless, the Macedonian was more just in
the arbitration of renown to an enemy, than to
a subject: inasmuch as he apprehended, that
the celebrity of his officers might interfere with
his own, and that his own fame would be illus-
trious in proportion to the majestic reputation
of the vanquished.

QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK IX.

THE MACEDONIANS REFUSE TO PASS THE HYPASIS.
VOYAGE DOWN THE INDUS. NEARCHIUS DETACHED,
ALEXANDER RETURNS BY LAND TO PERSIA.

CHAP. I.

Alexander directs a navy to be prepared, and advances to the Hypasis. Engagements with several Indian tribes. Submission of Sophites and Pregelas.

1. JOYOUSLY affected by so memorable a victory, which he regarded as opening to him the limits of the East, Alexander offered sacrifices to the Sun. And, that his troops, whom he had assembled to receive his commendations, might execute with increased alacrity the remaining operations, he informed them, ' That the bulwark of India had been demolished by the recent battle. A magnificent booty

‘ awaited them. The riches most in esteem
‘ sprang up in the country to which they were
‘ marching. The superseded spoils of Persia
‘ had become comparatively worthless. They
‘ might count on filling, not their own houses
‘ merely; but Macedon and Greece, with gems
‘ and pearls, gold and ivory.’ The soldiers, as
eager for riches as glory, promised their services
unanimously, because his representations had
never deceived them.

The assembly dismissed with sanguine anticipations, he directed ships to be built, that when his troops should have overrun all Asia, he might explore the ocean surrounding the earth. The neighbouring mountains abounded with timber fit for naval architecture: as the workmen were felling it, they found serpents of uncommon dimensions*. On these ridges, the *rhinoceros* was also seen, a rare animal in other parts of India †. This name for the [nose-horned] monster, was introduced by the Greeks; the term for it in the Indian dialects has a different import.

Two cities founded, one on each bank of

* Diodorus, Ælian, and Arrian, state their length at sixteen cubits; Onesicritus, *apud Strabonem*, is so extravagant as to mention 120 and 210 feet, respectively, as the measure of two that were met with.

† Ante, p. 263.

the river, which the king had passed; he presented each of his generals with a chaplet and a thousand pieces of gold. The other officers he also rewarded, in proportion to their rank in the army, or their achievements.

Abisares, who previously to the battle with Porus had sent ambassadors to Alexander, now, by a second legation, conveyed an assurance, ' That he was ready to execute all the king's ' mandates, provided he were not required to ' surrender his person: for he would neither ' live without the regal dignity, nor reign a ' captive king.' Alexander replied: " Announce " to him, that if it will incommode him to at- " tend me, I will visit him." †

2. Having overcome another Porus, and passed the river [Acesines] he proceeded to the interior of the country. There, woods, containing trees eminently lofty, shaded an almost illimitable space: ramifications from the parent plant — large as the trunks of ordinary trees — bent down to the earth, shoot up again from the bed through which they had twisted, growing not like branches, but as stems from a root*. The temperature of the air is salubrious; as umbrageous screens mitigate the heat of the

* The Banian, or Burr tree. *Ficus Indicus*, LINN. " Each tree " is itself a grove."—FORBES'S *Oriental Memoirs*. So Theophrastus, *de plantis*, iv. 5, and Pliny, xii. 5.

sun, and lavish springs diffuse refreshing waters. Here also glided serpents, in astonishing multiplicity, whose scales returned gleams of gold: none are armed with more virulent poison; death quickly followed their bite, till an antidote was communicated by the inhabitants.

Hence Alexander passed through desert tracts to the river Hydraotes: skirting which was a dense grove, formed of trees not common elsewhere, and full of wild peacocks.

The camp removed, he, by a *military circle*, reduced a town not very distant: Receiving hostages, he imposed a tribute on the place. He proceeded to a city, considerable in regard to the territory, defended not only by a wall, but by a lake. The Barbarians met him with war-chariots fastened together: some had darts, some pikes, some battle-axes; they were seen actively leaping from car to car, to succour such combatants as were severely pressed. At first, this new way of fighting startled the Macedonians, as they were wounded before they could come to close action. At length, despising so irregular an armament, having surrounded the chariots, they began to spear their fierce adversaries. That these machines might be beset singly, the king ordered the ligaments by which they were connected to be cut. Eight thousand Indians having thus fallen, the rest

sought refuge in the town. On the following day, the Macedonians took the ramparts by escalade. Flight saved a few of the inhabitants, who, sensible that the place must fall, swam over the lake. These spread consternation through the neighbouring cities, reporting, that an invincible army of gods was come.

3. Having detached Perdiccas with a light division to ravage the country, and committed part of the army to Eumenes to compel several hordes to surrender, Alexander conducted his remaining force against a powerful city, in which the inhabitants of other places had also taken refuge. The townspeople, having sent deputies to entreat Alexander, nevertheless prepared for war; suddenly divided by conflicting counsels; these preferring any hardship to submission, and those deeming resistance unavailing. But while nothing was regulated by concert, the party urgent for surrender, opened the gates to the enemy.

Notwithstanding the king might have justly punished the instigators to hostilities, yet he pardoned all, and, having taken hostages, marched to the next city. Conducted at the van of the army, the hostages were recognized, by the inhabitants from the walls, to belong to the same nation, and were summoned to a parley. By a representation of the king's

clemency and power, they induced them to surrender. And, in a similar manner, the king received other towns into allegiance.

Hence he advanced into the kingdom of Sophites. This nation, considered as Barbarian, excels in wisdom, and is governed by salutary customs. The children are not reared and educated according to the decision of the parents, but of officers appointed to examine the conformation of infants; who, if they observe any to be monsters or defective in their limbs, cause them to be killed*. These people, in contracting marriage, are not influenced by the tribe and nobility of the parties, but by a choice beauty of exterior, because this is prized in children.

4. In the city to which Alexander had led his army, Sophites himself resided. The gates were closed, but no soldiers appeared on the walls or towers; and the Macedonians were in doubt, whether the inhabitants had evacuated the place, or lay there insidiously concealed. On a sudden, the gate opens, and the rajah ap-

* As we have found, in other parts of India, in the systems of native philosophers, metaphysical varieties, corresponding to the conclusions of European speculators; so it might have been expected that in the Upper Punjab, travellers would find some traces still remaining, of a parallel to one of the most remarkable institutions of Lycurgus. But there is reason to think, that the race of people described in the text have since emigrated to successive seats more eastward. — See ADDITIONAL NOTES (Y).

proaches with his two adult sons. He far surpassed all the Barbarians in manly beauty. Of purple and embroidered gold was his vest, which covered even his legs : his golden sandals were studded with gems : from the shoulders to each wrist, he was ornamented with pearls : the pendants from his ears, were pearls of extraordinary whiteness and magnitude : he carried a truncheon of gold set with beryls. Having delivered this to Alexander, he surrendered himself, his children, and his country, praying that he would protect them.

This district produces excellent hunting-dogs : they are said to discontinue their cry when they see the game : they mostly unkenel the lion. To display their mettle to Alexander, the rajah caused a lion of uncommon size to be turned out before him, and four dogs, in all, to be set against it : they promptly fastened on the predatory beast. Then a menial, accustomed to such offices, pulled one of the dogs strongly by the leg : the dog not coming off, he began to sever the limb with a hanger : nor by this was the tenacity of the animal overcome : the keeper then proceeded to cut it in another part : and the dog not yet relaxing its hold, he hacked it to pieces, the animal dying with its teeth fixed in the lion. Such eagerness for their game has nature implanted in these animals, according to ancient writers. I con-

fess, that I transcribe more than I believe* ; for I cannot bring myself either to affirm particulars which I regard as doubtful, or to suppress transmitted accounts, interesting, if true.

Sophites left in his government,—Alexander has arrived at the river Hypasis; joined there by Hephæstion, who had subdued another province. Phegelas was rajah of the bordering district, who, having directed his subjects to continue cultivating their lands, met Alexander with presents, wholly disposed to obey his authority.

CHAP. II:

Report of the desert between the Hypasis and the Ganges; and of the kingdom of the Prasii and Gangaridæ. Alexander invites his soldiers to proceed.

5. AFTER remaining with this prince two days, on the third Alexander had intended to pass the river, difficult of transcending, from its expansive breadth, and from rocks in the channel. Applying, therefore, to Phegelas, for the requisite information, he obtained this report :

Yet the relation suspected by Curtius is given, with exact concurrence, by Diodorus, lib. xvii. Strabo, lib. xv. Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* viii. Pliny, viii. 4. Plutarch, *de Sol. Anim.* Similar barbarities have been practised on English bull-dogs, with similar results.

‘ Beyond the Hypasis lies a vast desert* of eleven days’ journey. Afterwards, the Ganges intercepts an invader, the largest river of all India. The farther bank is inhabited by the Gangaridæ and the Prasii†. Aggrammes,

* The plains of the Punjaub, with some trifling exceptions, belong to the Siks; and from the southern frontier of that country, there extends a sandy DESERT, almost to the gulph of Cutch. This desert, which is about four hundred miles broad from east to west, is in some places entirely uninhabited, and, in others, thinly scattered with villages and cultivation. The greater part, if not the whole of it, is composed of sand-hills, or still more barren plains of hard clay. The edge of it on the north is moderately fertile, and forms the banks of the Acesines. On the east it runs gradually into the well cultivated parts of India; and on the south it is separated from the sea by part of the country of Cutch. — *Elphinstone’s Caubul*, p. 89.

Tamerlane, in his march from Adjodijn to Balnir, experienced that the country between the lower parts of the Hypasis and the Ganges, has a DESERT in it: as Major Rennell has remarked. Nadir Shah, after his successful invasion of India, A. D. 1738, in returning from Delhi, A. D. 1740, moved on a line not intersecting the desert; and in penetrating through the mountains to the north of India, and in conflicts with the fierce nations inhabiting the countries which stretch from the banks of the Oxus to the frontiers of Persia, though possessed of absolute power, and distinguished by eminent talents and long experience as a commander, he had the mortification to lose a great part of his forces.—See an account of his retreat and sufferings in the *Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurren*, a Cashmerian of distinction, who served in his army.

† “ By *Prachi*, (in Sanscrit) or “ the east,” is understood all the country from Allahabad to the easternmost limits of India. From *Prachi* is obviously derived the name of *Prasii*, which the Greeks gave to the inhabitants of this country. It is divided into two parts: the first comprehends all the country from Allahabad to Raj-mahal, and the western branch of the Ganges: the second includes Bengal, the greatest part of which is known in Sanscrit under the name of *Gancara-desa*, or “ country of *Gancara*,” from which the Greeks

‘ the king of those nations, guards his frontiers
 ‘ with twenty thousand horse and two hundred
 ‘ thousand foot: besides,’ said Phegelas, ‘ he
 ‘ drives to the field two thousand war chariots,
 ‘ and elephants, the most terrible of armaments,
 ‘ to the amount of three thousand.’

Alexander, to whom all these things appeared incredible, inquired of Porus, who was with him, whether they were true? Porus affirmed, ‘ That the natural defences and forces
 ‘ of that kingdom were not exaggerated.’ He added, ‘ that the individual on the throne, in
 ‘ no respect noble, was of the lowest extraction. His father had been a barber, who
 ‘ scarcely subsisted on his daily earnings, till
 ‘ his person recommended him to the queen*.
 ‘ Through her, the favourite was promoted to
 ‘ the most confidential office about the king.
 ‘ The abused king taken off by treason, he
 ‘ seized the sovereignty under the name of
 ‘ guardianship to the royal children. Having
 ‘ killed these, he had borne to him this Ag-
 ‘ grammes now reigning, amid the contempt
 ‘ and hatred of his subjects, on whom the
 ‘ father’s history made more impression than
 ‘ the son’s elevation.’

The corroboration of Porus filled Alexander

made ‘Gangari-das.’—Capt. WILFORD on the *Chronology of the Hindus*, ASIATIC RESEARCHES, vol. v. p. 269.

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (Z).

with deep solicitude. Alexander despised the enemy and the elephants: he feared the situation of the country and the rapidity of the rivers. Arduous it appeared, to explore, and force from obscurity, nations withdrawn almost to the bounds of the habitable world. On the other hand; his ambition, never to be sated with power and fame, viewed no obstructions as insurmountable, and no regions as remote. Still, at intervals, he doubted, whether the Macedonians, having traversed so great a portion of the earth, having grown old in fighting and marching, would be willing to move toward so many rivers, and more repelling difficulties, interposed by nature. Rich with booty to incumbrance, they had rather enjoy what they had won, than toil for new acquisitions. From THEIR object, far dissimilar HIS. His mind embraced the world, yet at the beginning of his operations. The soldiers, exhausted with so many campaigns, desired — by taking whatever fruit was at hand — to terminate a course of peril.

6. Ambition triumphed over moderation; and to the convened Macedonian army he declaimed to this effect. “ I am aware, soldiers!
“ that the Indians have, these few last days,
“ rumoured many things designed to terrify
“ you. But you have not to learn the airiness
“ of fiction. Thus the defile of Cilicia, the

“ plains of Mesopotamia, were formidable in
“ the reports of the Persians; the Euphrates
“ over which we threw a bridge, the Tigris
“ which we forded, impassable. Fame never
“ describes correctly; when she is herald, all
“ is magnified. Our own glory, though it has
“ a real foundation, ascends, on the voices of
“ men, above our achievements.

“ But recently, who had believed that we
“ could pass the Hydaspes, overcome elephants
“ standing like bastions, and surmount other
“ obstacles, more terrible to hear of than to
“ encounter? We had long since fled from
“ Asia, if fables could vanquish us.

“ Think you, that there are greater herds
“ of elephants than of other cattle? a rare spe-
“ cies, not easily taken, and more difficult to
“ train. The same fabrication has assigned
“ the numbers of the enemy's infantry and
“ cavalry. Now regarding the river, in pro-
“ portion as it is broad, the stream must be
“ gentle; for a confined channel conduces to
“ shoal-waters and torrents. But all the peril
“ lies in landing from the boats in presence
“ of an enemy; whatever breadth of flood
“ intervene, the struggle is the same at climb-
“ ing the beach.

“ Let us, however, suppose all these reports
“ to be true.—What creates your terrors? the
“ magnitude of the beasts, or the multiplicity

“ of the men? With respect to the elephants,
“ we have just experienced, that they invade
“ their own lines more furiously than ours, and
“ that axes and bills can disable their vast
“ limbs. What does it concern us, whether
“ Aggrammes has the same number that Porus
“ had, or three thousand? Since we see, that
“ wound one or two, and the rest fly. Add,
“ that if it be difficult to manage a few, what
“ fierce collisions must occur among collected
“ thousands, unable, from terror, to stand be-
“ fore the enemy, with bodies unfit for evolu-
“ tion, and without room to retire! Indeed, I
“ so thoroughly despise them, that since I have
“ had elephants, I have not used them in the
“ field, convinced that they yield the sharper
“ annoyance to their friends.

“ But the multitude of horse and foot dis-
“ concerts you! because you have been used
“ to combat small bands; and now, for the
“ first time, you have to meet a disorderly
“ mass. The Granicus attests the invincible
“ energies of the Macedonians against a supe-
“ rior number; and Cilicia, inundated with
“ Persian blood; and the plains of Arbela,
“ covered with the bones of a routed host.
“ You begin too late to count the enemy, after
“ your victories have depopulated Asia. While
“ embarking at the Hellespont, then you should

“ have reflected on your small number :—Now
“ the Scythæ attend us, the Bactrians assist us,
“ the Dahæ and Sogdiani fight in our ranks.
“ Not, however, that I rely on this horde. I
“ look to my Macedonians; in your valour I
“ confide, as a pledge for the results which I
“ am at the point to achieve. While you will
“ stand in battalion at my side, I will enu-
“ merate neither my own, nor the enemy’s
“ army: only display, in co-operation with me,
“ unbounded cheerfulness and confidence. We
“ are now at the close of our work. We have
“ reached the ocean, and the place whence the
“ sun rises; and, unless inertness interpose, we
“ shall return thence victorious to our country,
“ the last region in the world subdued. Do not
“ imitate those cultivators, who indolently let
“ ripe fruit fall out of their hands. The reward
“ outweighs the danger. The kingdom is opu-
“ lent; the people unwarlike. Therefore I am
“ leading you, not so much to glory as to spoil.
“ You deserve to carry home the riches which
“ the Indian sea diffuses on the shore. It were
“ unworthy of you to leave, through fear, any
“ thing unattempted.

“ By your glory, in which you surpass
“ the most illustrious nations; by the offices,
“ for exchanged benefits, which we mutually
“ merit, a contest in which neither of us can

“ yield, — I implore and conjure you not to
“ abandon your nurtured champion, your fel-
“ low soldier, I will not say your king, ad-
“ vancing to the confines of human things.
“ Your previous exertions were tributes of
“ obedience. This one I am to owe to your
“ attachment. And he who is asking this,
“ never laid on you a command, without being
“ the first to present himself to danger: the
“ line he has often protected with his shield.
“ Nor blast the palm-branch in my hands,
“ through which, if envy can be repelled,
“ I shall equal Hercules and Bacchus. Grant
“ your king this boon, and break your obsti-
“ nate silence. Where is the shout expressive
“ of your ready zeal? where the intrepid coun-
“ tenance of my Macedonians? I cannot re-
“ cognize my own soldiers, nor seem I known
“ to them. My words play in deaf ears: I
“ am striving to stimulate alienated, insensible
“ minds.”

7. As their silence was persevering, and their faces remained directed to the ground: “ I am ignorant,” resumed he, “ what is my
“ inadvertent offence, for which you refuse to
“ turn your eyes upon me. I seem in a desert:
“ no one answers me, not even in the negative.
“ Have I any auditors? — — But what do I
“ require? We are rescuing your own great-

“ness and glory. Where are the men whom I
“saw recently contending for the prerogative
“of carrying their wounded king? I am abandoned,
“betrayed to the enemy. I will, however, proceed
“alone. Expose me to rivers, to elephants, and to
“tribes at whose names you tremble. Though you
“desert me, I shall find followers. The Scythæ and
“Bactrians will be my companions; not long since
“our enemies, now our soldiers. It were better to
“fall, than to be made your leader through entreaty.
“Go, return home; having abandoned your king, go
“thither triumphantly; while, in this region, I shall
“find either the victory of which you despair, or
“honourable death.”

CHAP. III.

The unwillingness of the troops to proceed expressed by Cœnos. Alexander erects, on the bank of the Hypasis, memorials of his expedition, and returns to the Acesines. He embarks on the Hydaspes.

BY no address could Alexander obtain an acclamation from the soldiers. They were waiting for the generals, and chief officers, to represent

to him, That, languid from wounds, and worn out with continual service, they did not refuse; but they were unequal to the duties of the expedition. Under the stupefaction of hesitating fear, their eyes were rivetted to the ground: the first expression from them was an impulsive murmur; then was poured out a groan half-stifled; by degrees their grief grew bolder, flowing in tears. His indignation yielding to sympathy, the king himself could not govern his suffused eyes. At length, while the whole assembly were weeping unrestrainedly, Cœnos alone had the firmness to approach the tribunal, intimating a desire to speak. As the soldiers saw him taking off his helmet, the customary prelude to addressing the king, they exhorted him to plead the cause of the army.

8. “ May the gods,” then began Cœnos, “ preserve us from impious thoughts; and they “ do preserve us. In your soldiers lives the “ same spirit that always lived—to march, to “ fight, to enterprise, as you command; and, “ by our blood, to enhance your name to posterity. Therefore, if you proceed,—we, un- “ armed, indeed, and naked, and pallid, will “ follow, or penetrate first, let your will point “ whithersoever. Nevertheless, sire! if you “ are willing to receive from your soldiers, not “ fabrications, but truths wrung out by the

“ last necessity, listen propitiously to the con-
 “ stant adherents of your government and for-
 “ tune. Sire! by stupendous exploits, you
 “ have vanquished not only your enemies, but
 “ your own soldiers: whatever mortals could
 “ effect, we have accomplished: to us the pro-
 “ perties of traversed seas and regions are bet-
 “ ter known than to the inhabitants and bor-
 “ derers: we stand almost on the frontier of
 “ the world. You are preparing to advance
 “ into another hemisphere*; to explore an
 “ India unknown to the Indians; to rouse from
 “ their lairs savages who live among wild
 “ beasts and serpents, that you may illumine
 “ by victories more tracts than the sun visits †.
 “ The design is suitable to your unbounded
 “ mind; but it is too large for ours. Your
 “ virtue will ever be in emanation: our vigour
 “ is nearly exhausted. Behold our pallid

* *In alium ORBEM parat ire.*—CURT. From a comparison of two passages in Pliny, he appears to use *orbs* in one, as equivalent to *circle*; hence the *orbem* of Curtius need not be construed more extensively than *hemisphere*. *CIRCUITU CXXV mill. passuum colligit.*—PLIN. lib. v. cap. 38. *lx passus plerique ORBE colligant.*—PLIN. lib. xii. cap. 11. And thus Milton:—

“ Now reigns full ORB'D the moon.”

† “ We halted next day at Zerghöm Khail; and it is remarkable that the hills were so high, and the valleys so deep in this march, that the surveyors could not see the sun to take an observation at noon-day.” —ELPHINSTONE'S *Cambul*, London, 4to. 1816, p. 42.

“ bodies, pierced with so many wounds, un-
“ sound with so many scars. Already our
“ weapons are blunted, our armour failing.
“ We wear Persian habits, because national
“ cannot be conveyed hither; we have de-
“ generated into foreign manners. Who has
“ a cuirass? who, a horse? Let it be inquired
“ —how many of us are attended by slaves?
“ how much booty any one has left? Con-
“ querors of the world, we are destitute of
“ every thing. Nor from luxury spring our
“ difficulties: we have worn out, in war, the
“ equipments and sinews of war. Will you
“ expose this most gallant army, unprovided,
“ to stupendous beasts? of which, though the
“ Barbarians may designedly exaggerate the
“ total, yet I infer, even from the false report,
“ that the number is great.

“ If still, sire! your intention be fixed on
“ penetrating India, the part trending south-
“ ward is less extensive; after its subjugation,
“ we may coast that sea which nature has
“ willed should bound the theatre of man.
“ Why strike circuitously at glory, when it
“ is seated near? Here as well the ocean
“ intercepts us. Unless you prefer to rove
“ without auspices, we have arrived whither
“ your fortune conducted.

“ I chose, sire! rather to repeat these things

“ in your audience, in this assembly, than
“ in your absence : not that I might ingra-
“ tiate myself with the listening army, but
“ that you might hear the voice of men boldly
“ speaking out, more satisfactory than the
“ groaning of men communicating in whis-
“ pers.”

9. As Cœnos closed this appeal, all around there burst out a shout with wailing ; intermingled voices calling king ! father ! sovereign lord ! And now other general officers, especially the senior, whose apology was the more graceful, and their application weightier, by reason of their venerable appearance, pleaded to the same effect.

Alexander could neither repress the pertinacious, nor soothe the vehement. Disconcerted, he leaped from the tribunal. He secluded himself in his pavilion : to all besides his retinue prohibiting admission. Having sacrificed two days to resentment, on the third he appeared publicly. He ordered to be erected, as monuments of his expedition, twelve altars* of hewn

* These were stupendous ; seventy-five feet high. *Diod.* lib. xvii. s. 95. Pliny, citing the *Itinerary* of Beton and Diognetes, and the *Letters* of Alexander, informs us, that the king passed to the eastern bank of the Hypasis, to erect them. Major Rennell has deduced their situation to have been near the confluence of the Hypasis and Hesudrus.

stone; the ramparts of his encampment to be extended; and beds to be left, of greater dimensions than corresponded with the ordinary proportions of man: designing a subject of false wonder to posterity.

Hence, remeasuring the space which he had traversed, he encamped on the doab of the Acesines*. Cœnos, attacked by sickness, here died. The king, indeed, mourned his death: nevertheless he remarked, ‘That, for a few days, Cœnos had made a long speech, as though he alone were to have revisited Macedon.’

Meanwhile Memnon had conducted from Thrace a reinforcement of six thousand cavalry; there arrived, besides, seven thousand infantry, which Harpalus had sent by him. Memnon also brought twenty-five thousand suits of arms, inlaid with gold and silver: Having distributed these, Alexander caused the old to be burned.

By this time, the fleet which he had directed should be built, was floating at anchor. Designing to proceed to the ocean with a thousand ships†, he left in their kingdoms Porus and

* *Ad flumen Acesinem locat castra.*—CURT. By understanding Alexander to encamp on the western bank of the Acesines, or territory between that river and the Hydaspes, Curtius may be reconciled with Arrian and Strabo, who make the latter river the scene of the sequent operations. The breadth of the doab, from ferry to ferry, is but 44 miles horizontal distance.—Lieut. MACARTNEY'S *Memoir*. ELPHINSTONE'S *Caubul*, pp. 660, 661.

† Arrian, following Ptolemy's narrative, makes the number nearly

Taxiles; having, when they were renewing ancient discords and feuds, established friendship between them, by a family-alliance. Both had been zealously instrumental to the building of his fleet.

He also rebuilt the two newly founded cities*: one he denominated Nicæa; the other, dedicating it to the memory of his horse, whom he had lost, he named Bucephalon

two thousand. As the Punjab country is full of navigable rivers, on which all the intercourse among the natives was carried on, it abounded with vessels ready constructed to the conqueror's hands. Could we credit the account [Diod. Sic. ii. 74.] of the invasion of India by Semiramis, no fewer than four thousand vessels were assembled on the Indus to oppose her fleet. It is remarkable, that when Mahmood of Gaznah invaded India, a fleet was collected on the Indus to repel him consisting of the same number. We learn from the *Ayeen Akberry*, [vol. ii. p. 143.] that the inhabitants of this part of India, continued, at the date of it, the communication with each other by water; and that the inhabitants of the Circar of Tatta alone, had not less than forty thousand vessels of various constructions.—ROBERTSON.

The vessels employed by Alexander appear to have been, partly collected on the Indus, and partly constructed for the occasion. They were:—1. Long ships for the purpose of war; 2. Round ships for carrying provisions, baggage, &c.; and, 3. Vessels for transporting horses. The Ionians, Cyprians, Phœnicians, and natives of other maritime nations, who followed the standard of Alexander, appear to have been his naval architects.—GILLIES.

Alexander had also, under his command, the skill and industry of the native ship-builders. Those of Bombay at this day rival the English.

* *He also built two cities.* CURT.—To the cities mentioned to be founded, ante, p. 302, no names are assigned. Those named above are probably the same, rebuilt, with some alteration of site; for it results, from comparing Curtius with Arrian and Strabo, that

Having ordered that the elephants* and baggage train should follow by land, he descended the second river†: proceeding every day about *sixty* ‡ stadia, that he might successively debark his forces at convenient places.

Olymp. cxiii. 2.

A. C. 326.

Ætat. Alex. 30.

Reg. 10.

Imp. 4.

Alexander established but two on the Hydaspes, nor more than three in the PUNJAB, fixing the third on the Acesines. Arrian informs us, that Nicæa and Bucephalon, having been destroyed by rains, were rebuilt. As military stations, it may appear surprising that they were liable to such accidents: the fortifications were, doubtless, IN PART, of solid materials, and impregnable to floods:—On this subject, a writer of great learning and research has the following judicious observation: it meets more than one objection.

No magnificent idea is requisite to conceive the building of cities in the East. A fort or citadel, with a mud wall to mark the circumference of the pettah or town, is all that falls to the share of the founder. The habitations are raised in a few days or hours. If the place be not commodious enough for civil purposes to invite inhabitants, they are supplied by force. Timour, as well as Alexander, built cities in two, three, or five days. The soldan of Egypt insults Timour by telling him: “The cities of the East are built of mud, and ephemeral: ours in Syria and Egypt are of stone, and eternal.” *Cheref-eddin.* VINCENT.—Subsequently, Alexander founded a city just above the territory of the Musicani, and two or three within the delta of the Indus. See, *infra*, chap. viii. 26, and x. 32.

* The army of one hundred and twenty thousand men had now received an accession of two hundred elephants. Arrian and Strabo represent a third division of the army to have been embarked. See, *infra*, chap. viii. sect. 25.

† *i. e.* the Hydaspes, the Indus being the first.

‡ *Forty.* CURT.—The objection by the commentators to *forty* was originally founded on an erroneous calculation of the whole distance of the navigation to the mouth of the Indus, combined with the time consumed in the voyage. The time exceeded nine months. The

CHAP. IV.

Reduction of the Sobii, and other tribes. Difficult navigation. Mutiny. Alexander disperses the army of the Oxydracæ and the Malli.

10. ALEXANDER had now reached the spot at which the Hydaspes falls into the Acesines. Hence the united stream runs along the borders of the Sobii. These people have a tradition, that their ancestors, belonging to the army of Hercules, falling sick, were left here, and took up the settlement of which themselves were in possession. For a covering, they had skins of beasts; and their weapon was a club. Although the Greek manners were nearly extinguished, yet many traces remained of their origin.

A debarkation here effected, he penetrated two hundred and fifty stadia, laid waste the country, and reduced the capital by a *military*

distance, instead of being 12,000 stadia, appears, from the researches of Major Rennell, to be about 8000 stadia, or 1000 British miles, by the course of the river. Five miles a day on the average, leaves for debarkations, skirmishes, sieges, and other occasional interruptions, a surplus of about eighty-five days; which seems scarcely sufficient. Add to this, that by comparing sections of the distance with Major Rennell's corrected map, the fleet would appear to have proceeded sixty miles in eight days. The translator has, therefore, followed a suggestion of Dr. Vincent, in his *Nearchus*, to read LX instead of XL, supposing the sum to have been expressed by NUMERAL

circle. On the bank of the rivers*, another nation mustering forty thousand infantry, had stood arrayed for opposition. He passed over the river, compelled them to fly, and stormed the fortress in which they shut themselves. The adult males slain, the other inhabitants were sold.

Afterwards, commencing an assault on another city, [lower down the river,] the Macedonians were gallantly repulsed by the besieged, and lost a number of men. But as Alexander persevered in a close investment, the townspeople, despairing of safety, fired their habitations. Their children, with themselves and their wives, they are devoting to the flames. These, as the invaders strove to extinguish, the incendiaries were desirous to spread: a contention of a new species, the inhabitants are destroying the city, and the enemy rescuing it; so war inverts the institutes of nature †.

In the citadel, which had received no damage, the king left a garrison. He was navigated round the citadel; for three rivers, the

* *In ripa fluminum.* CURT.—This may mean, either the *bank of the united stream*; or what is now called in Hindostan a *doab*, or tract of land between two rivers, for to the west of the Acesines flowed the Indus, and to the east either the Hydraotes, or the Hyspatis, according to the place at which the descent was made.—DIODORUS, lib. XVII. s. 96, calls this nation the *Agalessenses*.

† A town of Bramins. This desperate self-devotion has been practised in our own times. See ORME'S *Indostan*, vol. ii. p. 255.

largest in India, except the Ganges, direct their streams so as to form a foss to the fort. The Indus washes it on the north: On the south, flows the water of the Acesines and Hydaspes, since their junction confounded in name*.

11. At their confluence, the rivers are agitated like the surf of the sea. By a mass of heavy slime, successively displaced by the meeting streams, the passage for ships is reduced to a narrow *khore*. As the countless surges, rolling in, assailed the vessels, here on the prow, and there at the side, the mariners began to haul away: but terror, and the rapidity of the torrents, prevented them from working with effect. Two of the larger vessels foundered in view of the fleet: the smaller, which could in nowise be steered, were driven on shore, but without damage. The king's bark whirled, broaching sidelong, among the swiftest eddies, whose tortuous impetuosity made the rudder useless. The king had taken off his clothes in order to leap into the river; and his friends were swimming at hand, to receive him; but

* The modern topography of the place of junction can afford no criterion of the figure of the ancient place, so often does the Indus innovate in its course where the soil is yielding.—See *ELPHINSTONE'S Caubul*, p. 111. Otherwise, south of the point where the bed of rocks terminate, many such islands as here described occur; formed by branches from the Indus, which, after making a circuit, return to the principal trunk.

embracing the water seemed equally perilous with remaining on board. The crew therefore with mighty emulation plied the oars; and, by the highest exertion of human strength, rowed the ship out of the besieging dangers. The breakers appeared to be cleft, and the whirlpools to turn in a new direction: nevertheless, the ship could not be steered to the bank, but was stranded on the nearest shoal. The whole scene presented the idea of a war with the river. Having erected altars corresponding in number to the rivers, Alexander offered sacrifice, and proceeded thirty stadia.

12. Hence he marched into the region of the Oxydracæ and the Malli; whom, accustomed to wage mutual war, the partnership of danger had allied. They had collected an army of ninety thousand infantry, ten thousand cavalry; and nine hundred chariots.

The Macedonians, who had recently confided, that they were discharged from all danger, understanding that a fresh war with the fiercest tribes of India was impending, pervaded by sudden consternation, again murmured out seditious expressions against the king: ' True, ' they had not been compelled to descend the ' Ganges, and wander over whatever regions ' lay beyond: he had not, however, closed the ' war, but merely changed its direction. That

‘ their blood might purchase for him a passage
‘ to the ocean, they were exposed to savage
‘ hordes; carried beyond the genial influence
‘ of the sun and stars; forced to explore ex-
‘ panses which nature intended to withdraw
‘ from the survey of man. To batter the new
‘ weapons successively furnished them, new
‘ enemies were ever springing up. Were all
‘ these routed, what reward awaited them when
‘ they could advance no farther? Mist, and
‘ darkness, and eternal night brooding on the
‘ deep; a sea replete with monsters; stagnant
‘ waters, where nature seems to be expiring.’

Devoid of solicitude for himself, perplexed by the agitation of the soldiers, Alexander assembled, informed, exhorted them: “ The
“ people whom you dread are unwarlike. Af-
“ ter these tribes, there is nothing to impede
“ our advancing to the extremity of the coast,
“ and reaching at once the end of our fatigues
“ and of the earth. On account of your fore-
“ bodings, I have relinquished the Ganges, and
“ the numerous nations beyond it; and have
“ diverted my career toward a province, where
“ there is equal glory and less danger. The
“ ocean is already in sight; gentle breezes thence
“ already refresh us. Envy me not the renown
“ which I covet, and which you will participate:
“ On the point of passing the bounds of Her-

“ cules and Bacchus, you will, at a light cost
“ to yourselves, confer immortal fame on your
“ king. Suffer me, at least, to lead you in
“ safety out of India; nor think of retiring as
“ fugitives.”

13. The will of a multitude, especially of a military body, turns on a smooth pivot; so that if a small thing causes a mutiny, a small thing appeases it. Never was a more cheerful response shouted from the army: “ Under divine
“ auspices, lead on; and march, in glory, the
“ demi-gods whom you emulate.” Well pleased with these acclamations, Alexander advanced against the enemy. The two nations, the most intrepid in India, were preparing vigorously for war, and had elected a general of tried ability from the Oxydracæ. The Barbarian pitched his camp at the base of a mountain; displaying fires over a wide space, to magnify his army in appearance; and, repeatedly attempting to alarm the Macedonians, now at rest, by whoopings and yellings peculiarly hideous.

At dawn, the king, full of confidence and hope, ordered the eager soldiers to arms, and to form in line. But the Barbarians, seized with a panic, or rendered impotent by discord, suddenly fled for shelter to trackless ridges presenting no pass. Hunting in vain for the enemy, the king found only their baggage.

CHAP. V.

*Extraordinary adventure of Alexander at a city
of the Oxydracæ.*

14. THENCE he proceeded to a city of the Oxydracæ, in which many of the fugitives had rallied, confiding not less in their weapons, than in the fortifications.

The king was moving up : when a soothsayer warned him not to undertake, or at least to postpone, the siege, because danger to his life was portended. Looking at Demophoon, for that was the soothsayer's name : " If," said the king, " when thou art intent on thy mystery, inspecting the inwards, any one should interrupt thee, thou wouldst deem him, I cannot doubt, unprofitable and troublesome." Demophoon replied, that he certainly should. " Canst thou imagine," resumed the king, " that, to a mind occupied, not about a sheep's entrails, but with affairs of supreme importance, any thing can be more annoying than a superstitious, deluded, soothsayer?"

Having stopped only to pronounce this, he caused the scaling-ladders to be raised ; and, while his attendants were hesitating, mounted

the wall: the coping was narrow; no battlements crowned the wall as in other fortresses, but an unbroken parapet, carried round, fenced up the passage. Alexander, therefore, rather clung to the wall, than stood upon it; parrying with his shield the darts discharged at him from the towers around. Nor could the soldiers ascend, overwhelmed by a shower of missiles from above. At length, shame conquered the greatness of the peril; as they perceived that delay in them would deliver their leader to the enemy: but now their co-operation was retarded by injudicious haste; for while all strove to mount together, precipitated from the overcharged ladders, they disappointed the only hope of the king. In the presence of a numerous army, he stood as unsupported, as though he had been in a desert.

15. And now his left arm, circulating his shield to meet importunate attacks, was wearied. His friends calling out to him to leap down to them, stood prepared to receive him,—when he hazarded a procedure, unprecedented, and confounding belief; for personal temerity remarkable, far more than for illustrious generalship. With a furious spring, he threw himself into the fort crowded with enemies; although he could hardly expect to avoid, either dying without a conflict and unavenged, or being

overpowered and taken alive before he could rise. But, happily, he so balanced his body, that he pitched on his feet; and, remaining erect, proceeded to combat. Fortune had so provided, that he could not be surrounded: near the wall grew an old tree, whose arms, exuberant in foliage, extended themselves as to protect the king. Against its broad trunk planting himself, he received on his buckler the invading missiles; for though many concentrated their efforts on one, no assailant durst approach, and the branches intercepted more darts than reached his buckler. The awe inspired by a celebrated name fought, at first, effectually for the king. Afterwards, desperation prompted him to die charging heroically. But—enemies successively flowing around—his shield was already covered with darts; his helmet fractured with stones; his knees, oppressed through continual exertion, succumbent on the ground. Hereupon, those nearest, with incautious triumph, rushed in: on his sword received, two of these fell lifeless before him: after which, no one having the boldness to press close, the enemy assailed him with javelins and arrows.

16. Exposed to the attacks of all, supported with difficulty on his knees, he defended himself until an Indian so launched an arrow two

cubits long, that it entered his corslet a little above the right side. Distressed by this wound, the blood copiously spouting, Alexander dropped his arms like one expiring; and so enfeebled was he, that his right hand was incompetent to dislodge the arrow. The assailant who had wounded, ran up with hasty joy to despoil him. As Alexander felt the plunderer's touch, it would seem, that disdain of the last dishonour to a warrior recalled his swooning spirit: with his sword, applied underneath, he pierced the enemy's naked side.

Three corsees lay round the king: his living enemies stood aloof as thunderstruck. He, desirous to exhale his last respiration fighting, endeavoured to raise himself by his buckler, till he had not strength for another effort: afterwards, grasping the impending branches, he strove to stand up. Nor, so aided, vigorous enough to remain standing, he once more sunk upon his knees, defying with his hand any of the Indians to close fight.

17. At length Peucestas, having in another part beat off the besieged, followed the course of the wall till he reached the king. Regarding his arrival not as the rescue of life, but as consolation in death, the king leaned his languid body against his shield. Then Timæus effected

his ascent; and soon after Leonnatus, followed by Aristonus.

At the cry that Alexander was within the ramparts, the Indians generally deserted other places, to rush hither; and were pressing his defenders. Of these Timæus, having received many wounds in front, fell after a glorious conflict. Peucestas, pierced thrice with darts, nevertheless, neglecting himself, covered the king with the Ilian ægis. Leonnatus, while actively repelling the Barbarians, struck grievously on the neck, sunk half-dead at the king's feet. Now Peucestas, faint from wounds, had dropped the shield. The last reliance is on Aristonus — severely gashed, this single opponent can sustain no longer the inroad of the enemy.

Meanwhile a report that the king was killed, reached the Macedonians. What would have terrified others inflamed their courage; for, reckless of every peril, they broke the wall with pickaxes, rushed through the opening into the city, and slaughtered the Indians, more of whom fled in crowds than dared to engage. The storming troops spared neither the aged, nor women, nor children; regarding whom they soever met, as the person who had wounded their king. At length the extermination of the enemy has satisfied their rage.

Clitarchus, as well as Timagenes, represents Ptolemy, who was subsequently a sovereign, to have been present at this assault; but Ptolemy, truly no detractor from his own glory, relates that he was absent, detached on an expedition. Of framers of ancient histories, such is the negligence, — or, an equal blemish, the credulity.

18. The king having been borne into his tent, the surgeons sawed off the wooden shaft of the javelin implanted in his body, so as not to agitate the iron head: baring the flesh to inspect this, they found that the point was barbed, and could not be extracted with safety without cutting a larger wound. They feared, however, that a profuse hemorrhage would arrest the knife; as the massy arrow had apparently entered the noble parts. Critobulus, the most skilful of the surgeons, rendered timid by the perilous case, trembled to operate, lest, if the result should not be happy, it might be visited on his head.

Perceiving his tears and hesitation, and the pale anxiety seated on his countenance: “For what,” said Alexander, “do you wait? why not at once free me from this agony which alone menaces speedy death? Do you fear to be impeached, because I may have received an incurable wound?” Now relieved from,

or dissembling, apprehension, Critobulus simply pressed the king, ‘ To allow himself to be held, while he extracted the barb, because a slight movement of his body would be of pernicious consequence.’—“ It is not necessary,” said Alexander, “ to confine a man who can confine himself.” And, as had been prescribed, he kept his body under the knife motionless. The wound laid open, and the barbed point extracted, an immoderate hemorrhage commenced. The usual styptics were applied without effect. The king fainted, his eyes clouded with floating gloom, he lay extended as in the lap of death. From his friends, deeming him to have expired, escaped at once shouts and wailings. At length the bleeding stopped: Alexander, gradually regaining external consciousness, began to know his attendants. To the close of day, and during the following night, the troops under arms invested his tent, unanimously exclaiming that their lives depended on his breath; nor would they retire till they were informed that he had tasted sleep: with a more assured hope of his recovery, they then returned to camp*.

* The scene of the preceding extravagant act of valour, is laid by Strabo and Arrian in Sangala, a city of the Malli. Lucian and Pausanias agree with Curtius.

C H A P. VI.

Interview between Alexander, convalescent, and his chief officers.

19. AFTER seven days, the surgeon's attentions still continued, nor had the king's wound cicatrized, when he was informed that a rumour of his death prevailed among the Barbarians. In the centre of two ships joined by a platform, he caused his pavilion to be fixed, that he might show himself to those who believed him to have fallen. Conspicuous to the inhabitants, he crushed the confidence which the enemy had derived from a fiction.

Hence he descended with the stream; leading before the rest of the fleet at a small distance, lest the quiet necessary for his languid body should be invaded by the dashing of the oars.

On the fourth day after embarking, he reached a country which was deserted indeed by the natives, but abounded in corn and cattle. He deemed it an opportune seat of repose for himself and the army.

It was the custom for the king's chief friends, and the guards of the presence, to

watch in front of the pavilion, whenever the king was indisposed. Assembled on this duty, they entered his apartment together. Expecting some great incident had produced their sudden visit, he inquired, ‘ Whether they had to announce some unexpected attack by combined enemies?’

20. Craterus, commissioned by Alexander’s friends to be the organ of their application, replied: “ Can you, sire! imagine that an attack from the enemy, though he were within our trenches, would affect us so much as our concern for your safety, however lightly valued by yourself? Let an universal conspiracy of nations come against us, covering the earth with armies, and the sea with fleets, presenting new monsters trained to trample men,— you will lead us through victorious. But which of the gods shall assure to Macedonia the continuance of its pillar and star, if you so eagerly expose your person to manifest dangers, forgetting that when you are in a critical situation, so are the lives of all the citizens. Who amongst us desires to be, or can be, your successor? Under your guardian power, we have penetrated thus far, whence none but yourself can conduct us home.

“ Had you still to contend with Darius for the Persian empire, we should not be sur-

“prised to see, though no one would cordially
“see, you so intrepidly embracing perils of
“every shape; for where the risk is equalled
“by the reward, triumph is more joyous, the
“consolation for an afflicting incident greater.
“But an obscure town to be bought by your
“life! Is the thought to be endured by one of
“your soldiers, or by a Barbarian who knows
“your greatness? I shudder—to review what
“we recently witnessed; to reflect, that sordid
“hands would have torn spoils from your in-
“vincible person, unless fortune, commise-
“rating us, had interposed.

“As many of us as could not follow our
“king, so many of us are deserters and traitors.
“You may justly degrade all your soldiers; no
“one will refuse to atone, by suffering expul-
“sion from your side, who must admit that he
“did not show himself there. Suffer us, how-
“ever, in another manner, to be of small account
“before you, while we go whithersoever you
“command. We demand for ourselves all ob-
“scure sieges, all the battles with inglorious
“troops. Reserve yourself for illustrious dan-
“gers worthy of your greatness. Glory soon
“dies among contemptible enemies; nor is
“ought more unfitting, than that her lamp
“should burn out, where the rays will be un-
“seen.”

Ptolemy spoke nearly in the same strain; and then, the other officers. Afterwards, mingling their voices, they with tears entreated Alexander, 'To set limits to his overflowing renown; and to cherish his own, or rather the public safety.

21. Well pleased with the dutiful attachment of his friends, the king embraced them; every one, with unusual freedom, bidding them sit down: "O my most faithful subjects! my most affectionate friends!" said he, rising above the colloquial tone, "I pay, and yet acknowledge to owe, you thanks, not for this only, that you prize my safety above your own, but that from the commencement of the war, you have omitted neither assurances nor proofs of good disposition toward me; so that, I confess, I begin to value life as I have never before valued it, that I may long enjoy your friendship.

"Not that of myself—who deem that I deserve your attachment only by bravery—and of the generous men who wish to die for me, the conclusions fully coincide: For you covet to participate with me a long, perhaps a perennial, season of enjoyment: whereas I measure my felicity, not by the scale of age, but the scale of glory! Content with my paternal inheritance, I might, at ease, within

“ the bounds of Macedon, in tedious obscurity,
“ have been now looking forward to an in-
“ glorious old age. Although the indolent,
“ indeed; are not the directors of their own
“ destiny; for premature death often inter-
“ cepts those who court longevity as the chief
“ good.

“ Counting not years, but victories, if I
“ rightly estimate the favours of fortune, I
“ have lived a long time. Commencing my
“ empire in Macedon, I influence Greece: have
“ subdued the Thracians and Illyrians: govern
“ the Triballi; nay, the whole of Mœsia: and
“ hold Asia from the Hellespont to the Ery-
“ thræan. I am not now far from the frontier
“ of the earth*: which having passed, I design
“ to explore another domain of nature, to open
“ to myself a new sphere. I passed from Asia
“ to Europe in a short hour †; conqueror of
“ both regions, in the ninth year of my reign,
“ and the eight-and-twentieth year of my age.
“ Think you; that I can cease to augment, till
“ it be consummate, the glory to which I have
“ solely devoted myself? No, I will never
“ cease to augment it: and wherever I am

* Alluding, perhaps, to the tropic of Cancer; for the ancients imagined the torrid zone to be uninhabitable. Alexander appears to have expected to prove this opinion to be false, by his own discoveries.

† Compare, *ante*, p. 186, with p. 198.

“ fighting, shall regard myself, as in the theatre
“ of the watching world. To obscure places I
“ shall give distinction; opening to the know-
“ ledge of mankind, countries which nature
“ has placed ultimately remote. To perish
“ amid these my labours, if it be my lot, it is a
“ glorious lot. Descended from such a stock;
“ it becomes me to desire to live greatly rather
“ than long.

“ Recollect, I pray you, that we are
“ come into a land, where a woman’s name, a
“ woman’s heroism, is supremely celebrated:
“ What cities did Semiramis found! how many
“ nations subjugate! what stupendous works
“ project! Not yet rivalling a woman in fame,
“ are we oppressed with renown?

“ Be the gods auspicious: and greater
“ achievements than hers, remain for us. Dis-
“ tricts which we have not yet touched will
“ surrender to us, if we treat nothing as incon-
“ siderable which presents an opportunity for
“ glory. On your parts, protect me from in-
“ testine perils, and domestic treasons, I will
“ fearlessly encounter all the dangers of battle;
“ In the field, Philip was safer than in the
“ theatre: he had often parried the sword of his
“ enemies; to fall by the dagger of an attend-
“ ant. And if you review in history the exits
“ of kings, you will number more murdered by
“ their subjects than slain by their enemies.

“ A favourite desire which I have long entertained, I shall take this occasion to disclose: know then, that to me, it were the highest return for my toils and works, to have my mother Olympias enrolled among the goddesses, whenever she shall have quitted the society of mortals. Her apotheosis I shall solemnize myself, if fate permit: if not, remember that I commit it to you.”

He then dismissed his friends. He here kept his camp stationary several days,

CHAP. VII.

Sedition in Bactriana. Embassy from the Ox-dracæ and the Malli. Duel between Corrhagus and Dioxiippus.

22. DURING these transactions in India, the Greek soldiers, lately planted in the colonies around Bactra, after discords had arisen among themselves, revolted from Alexander, not so much from disaffection to him, as through fear of punishment. Several officers were slain by certain of the common soldiers: The stronger

party prepared for war, seized the citadel of Bactra, by accident too negligently guarded; and drew the Barbarians to join in the rebellion. Athenodorus, their leader, had assumed the title of king, less from a desire of reigning, than of returning to his native land, with those who owned his authority. But Bicon, his fellow-countryman, envying his distinction, conspired against him, and, at a banquet to which he had invited, slew him by the agency of Boxus, a Memacanian.

On the following day, Bicon, in a general assembly, persuaded the majority, that the perfidious contrivance of Athenodorus had recoiled on himself. But others considered the treachery to have been confined to Bicon; and, by degrees, this suspicion extended to the majority. The Greek soldiers, in consequence, take arms, intending to kill Bicon, if an opportunity should occur. The leaders, however, appeased the fury of the mass. Snatched, contrary to his fears, from impending danger, Bicon, soon afterwards, plotted against the authors of his safety: but, the machination transpiring, they arrested him and Boxus. It was voted, that the latter should be immediately slain, and that Bicon should die by the torture. As the executioners were on the point to apply the cruel machines, the Greek soldiers, from some unexplained cause, ran to

arms, like affrighted maniacs. Those who had been ordered to torment him, regarding the clamour of the tumultuary as a countermand, let him go. Bicon, naked as he was, repaired to the Greeks; the wretchedness seated in the face of the condemned man, effected a sudden change in their dispositions, and they ordered him to be released. Having thus twice escaped punishment, he returned to his country, with such others as left the settlements assigned by the king. These transactions occurred near Bactra and the borders of Scythia.

23. Meanwhile, from the two nations mentioned in a recent chapter, came a hundred ambassadors to Alexander. These rode each in a chariot: were of superior stature, graceful in their air, and wore garments of cotton lawn*, interwoven with gold, and adorned with purple

* *Linæ vestes.* CURT.—Fine linen is conjectured, with some probability, to have been called by the ancients *sendon*, from the name of the river Sindus, or Indus, near which it was wrought in the highest perfection. ROBERTSON, after SIR WILLIAM JONES.—The question here recurs, what are we to understand by *linen* in ancient writers; uniformly, cloth of which the basis is *flax*,—or, generally, any web of *thread*, so limited, however, in its application by custom, as to *exclude woollen* ? See, ante, p. 264, 265, notes. And, as a small accession to the lightest scale, add, that linens are at this day exported from the Guzerat.

Dr. Vincent has remarked, that the *butz*, HEBR. [*byssus*, LAT.] of the scriptures, by the English version every where rendered *fine lincn*, is supposed every where to be *cotton*.

embroidery. ‘To him,’ they proclaimed, ‘they
 ‘surrendered themselves, their cities, and their
 ‘lands: he was the first to whom they confided
 ‘the protection of their liberty, preserved in-
 ‘volute through so many ages. The gods had
 ‘counselled their submission, not fear; inas-
 ‘much as though they embraced his yoke, their
 ‘power was un^ottouched*.’

Having deliberated with his council, the king received them into his protection; imposing on each nation the same tribute which it paid to the Arachosians †; and requiring, besides, two thousand five hundred horse: services which the Barbarians punctually rendered.

* How untouched, when one of their cities was taken by storm? From the election of a general, ante, p. 329, and from the number of ambassadors, the Oxydracæ and the Malli would appear to have been, like the modern Seiks, confederations of small independent states. The deputies came from districts not yet invaded. See Alexander’s argument, ante, p. 342, l. 17.

† Here are two difficulties. 1. Independent nations paying a tribute. Let the great states who pay a tribute to the dey of Algiers discuss this. 2. The Arachosians were themselves vassals to the Persians. So is the dey of Algiers to the Porte.

Dr. Vincent observes: Whether the Persians penetrated beyond the Indus, must be left in doubt. They, however, reckoned Arachosia and several tracts, west of the Indus, as part of India; and they received, directly or indirectly, from India, properly or improperly so called, a tribute nearly equal to a third of the whole revenue of the empire.—Robertson’s *India*, p. 12.

He then invited the ambassadors and the chieftains of the two nations to a splendid entertainment. A hundred couches of gold were ranged at moderate intervals. Extended round the couches, tapestries of purple and gold dazzled the eye. At this banquet, Alexander displayed all the ancient luxury of the Persians, and all the new inventions of the corrupted Macedonians, blending the vices of both nations.

Among the company, was Dioxippus the Athenian, a famous athleta, and, on account of his invincible strength, noticed with favour by Alexander. Some of the envious aimed sallies between jest and earnest: "It is well to rely upon a useless monster with a stuffed body." "—When we are going to battle, he anoints his belly to prepare for a feast." Corrhagus, a Macedonian, already inebriated, concluded similar scurrilities with a challenge: "If thou be a man, fight me tomorrow with the sword; and of my temerity, or thy cowardice, let the king be judge." Dioxippus, contemptuously rallying the martial insolence of the other, accepted the condition.

24. On the following day, each more eagerly demanding the trial, the king, because he could not deter them, suffered the appointed meeting. An imposing concourse of the mili-

tary were spectators; including the Greeks, who took part with Dioxippus.

The Macedonian had taken the regular arms; holding with his left hand a brazen shield and the pike called *sarissa*; poising in his right a javelin; carrying at his side a sword: equipped as though he were to encounter several. Dioxippus, wearing a chaplet, and shining with oil, presented, on his left arm a scarlet cloak; with his right hand, a strong knotty club. The scene filled the beholders with uneasy expectations: for nudity to combat well-appointed arms, seemed not rashness, but phrensy. Corrhagus, relying that he could kill his antagonist at a distance, threw his javelin; which the Athenian avoided by a slight curvature of the body; and before the other could transfer the long pike to the right hand, sprang up, and broke it with his club. Deprived of both spears*, the Macedonian was drawing his sword: but Dioxippus, by a close embrace, prevented him; and, supplanting his feet, drove him to the ground. Having snatched his sword, he stood with his foot on his neck, his club lifted to crush the vanquished champion, if he be not prevented by the king.

The event of this exhibition was, not only to the Macedonians, but to Alexander, mortify-

* This may serve as a practical illustration of the argument in vol. i. ADD. NOTE (I). The two spears seem to be an incumbrance.

ing; chiefly because the Barbarians were present; as he feared that the blazoned valour of the Macedonians would sink into derision. Hence the royal ear was open to the accusations of the envious. A few days afterwards, at a feast, a cup was, by a concerted wile, secretly conveyed away; and the officers made a representation to the king, as though they had lost what they had concealed. Innocence is often armed with less assurance than guilt. Dioxippus could not endure glances from so many concurring eyes, by which he was marked out as a thief. After he had withdrawn from the entertainment, having written a letter to the king, he fell by his own sword. Alexander was concerned at his death, contemplating it as evincing indignation, not remorse. And, indeed, the excessive joy of his enemies, afterwards, showed that he had been accused falsely.

CHAP. VIII.

Presents from the Oxydracæ and Malli. Submission of the Sambracæ and other tribes. Ptolemy wounded by a poisoned sword.

25. HAVING been dismissed to their states, in a few days, the Indian ambassadors returned with presents: They brought three hundred chariots, drawn each by four horses; some

garments of lawn or muslin; a thousand Indian shields; one hundred talents [about two tons and a half] of tin*; a number of lions and tigers, extremely large, and disciplined to gentleness; lizard skins of stupendous dimensions; and tortoise shells.

Alexander then ordered Craterus to march, with the forces under him, in the vicinity of the river down which he had appointed to sail: but the king placed in the transports the troops usually accompanying him; and he descended to the coast of the Malli. Thence he came to the Sambracæ †, a powerful nation not governed by kings, but by as many democracies as tribes ‡. They mustered sixty thousand infantry, and six thou-

* *Ferri candidi.* CURT.—If we find the tin of Britain conveyed to Malabar in the earliest period of history, we find the spices of Malabar in Britain in an age when the course of communication with India was probably as little known as the existence of America. The venerable Bede, who died A.D. 735, had in his cell at Weirmouth, pepper, cinnamon, and frankincense. Tin is mentioned in the *Periplus*, as an import into Africa, Arabia, Scindi, and the coast of Malabar. Brought out of Britain, and conveyed to all the countries on the Mediterranean, successively by the Gauls, Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans,—from the Mediterranean it was transported to the Indian ocean. In all ages an article of commerce, it is only within these few years that it has found its way in British vessels, into China, where it becomes an article of such magnitude as greatly to diminish the quantity of specie necessary for that market.—*Navigations of the Ancients*, passim.

† By inference, the modern Behker. *Vincent.*

‡ For a specimen of practical equality among the Siks, see ELPHINSTONE'S *Cambul*, p. 76.

sand horse, followed by five hundred armed chariots: and had elected three leaders of tried military skill. But the inhabitants of districts near the river, (whose numerous villages were seated chiefly on the bank,) as they perceived the Indus, wherever it stretched in prospect, covered with vessels, and reflecting gleams from the arms of myriads of men,—concluded that there was approaching an army of demigods, a second Bacchus, a name renowned in India. Then the acclamations of soldiers, the strokes of rowers, the animated hailings of sailors, engaged their listening awe. In a body, they run to their armed countrymen, crying out: “It were
“phrensy to contend with gods; the ships
“which carry the invincibles cannot be num-
“bered.” This report so oppressed the army of the Sambracæ with consternation, that they sent ambassadors to surrender the nation to Alexander.

26. These admitted to allegiance,—he, on the fourth day, came to other tribes, who proved not more intrepid. Having founded a city, which he ordered to be called Alexandria, he entered the territory of the Musicani*.

Here he gave judicial audience to individuals of the Parapamisadæ, who accused Terioltes, the satrap appointed over them. This go-

* By inference, the modern Sewee, Vincent.

vernor, convicted of multifold acts of peculation and tyranny, was, by Alexander, sentenced to die. Impeached at the same time, Oxartes, administrator of Bactriana, was not only acquitted, but deservedly had the limits of his government enlarged.

The Musicani compelled to submission, Alexander stationed a garrison in their capital. Thence he proceeded against the Præsti*, a distinct Indian tribe: Oxycanus, their king, had shut himself, with a great body of men, in a fortified city. This Alexander reduced after a siege of three days; and Oxycanus, as he retired into the citadel, sent to the conqueror ambassadors to treat for his surrender: But before these could reach Alexander, two towers fell with a stupendous crash; ascending on the ruins, the Macedonians captured the citadel; and Oxycanus, with a few who offered resistance, was killed.

The fort demolished, and the captives sold, Alexander entered the territories† of Sabus rajah. Having accepted the submission of several towns, he took the strongest city by a tunnel formed by his miners. As though they had seen a prodigy, the Barbarians, untaught in

* By inference, situated on the west of Sewee, at the foot of the mountains. *Vincent.*

† By inference, situated on the Lukhy mountains approaching the Indus at Sewee. *Vincent.*

engineering, were confounded, when their enemies appeared almost in the middle of the city, rising from a subterraneous passage, of which no trace was previously seen. Clitarchus writes, that in this region eighty thousand Indians were slain, and a great number of captives sold to slavery.

27. Again in arms, the Musicani revolted. To suppress them, Pithon was detached. This officer took prisoner, and brought to Alexander, the prince of this tribe; whom, as he was the mover of the revolt, Alexander caused to be crucified.

The king then marched retrogradely to the river, where he had ordered his fleet to wait for him. Thence descending the river, he came, on the fourth day, to a town through which was a road to the dominions of Sabus. The rajah had recently submitted: but the citizens, refusing to obey Alexander, shut the gates. The king, despising their small number, ordered five hundred Agrians to advance under the fortifications, and then, gradually retiring, to entice out the enemy, ready, doubtless, to pursue, should they believe the flight to be real. The Agrians, as instructed, having insulted the enemy, suddenly turned to retreat: chasing these with eager disorder, the Barbarians fell in with another body under the king's personal command. In the

renewed fight, out of three thousand Indians, five hundred were slain, and a thousand taken prisoners: the remainder took refuge in the town.

But the result of the victory was not completely felicitous; for the Barbarians had poisoned their swords. The wounded expired suddenly: nor could the physicians detect the cause that made the deaths so precipitate, and slight gashes incurable. The Indians sanguinely hoped, that the king, habitually rash, was one of the wounded: combating among the most exposed, he was yet happily unhurt.

28. Ptolemy, wounded in the left shoulder, not indeed deeply, but, it was evident, dangerously, attracted the chief anxiety of the king. Related by consanguinity to Alexander, he was considered by some as a son of Philip, having been born of one of his concubines [given, when pregnant, in marriage to Lagus]. A guard of the presence, a most intrepid soldier, yet more highly accomplished in the arts of peace, of moderate and courteous manners, liberal in the highest degree, easy of access, he had assumed nothing of princely state. It was problematical, whether these qualities endeared him more to the king, or to the common soldiery. On this critical occasion, was first expressed the affection of his fellow-countrymen. A presage of

his subsequent elevation, the care of the Macedonians on account of Ptolemy emulated that of the king; who, overcome by the labours of the field and by anxiety, in order to remain in the apartment with the patient, caused his own couch to be lifted in. As soon as he had extended himself on it, Alexander sunk into a profound sleep. He declared, on awaking, 'That, in a dream, a dragon had appeared to him, presenting a herb in its mouth, as an antidote to the poison.' He described the colour of the plant, affirming his readiness to identify, if any one should find it. The search, prosecuted at once by numbers, was not unsuccessful; and the king applied the remedy. Ptolemy's wound became immediately divested of anguish, and in a short time was perfectly healed.

As the first hope of the Barbarians was frustrated, they surrendered themselves and their city.

Thence Alexander proceeded to Pattala*, the seat of a neighbouring tribe. The rajah Mœris, from the evacuated city, had fled to the

Olymp. cxiii. 3.
A. C. 326, July.
Ætat. Alex. 31.
Reg. 11.
Imp. 5.

* The site of the city is assigned by most geographers to the place of the modern Tatta, at the beginning of the lower delta, formed by the diverging streams of the Indus. Tatta is situated, according to the idea of a gentleman who resided there, about 125 miles from the sea, by the course of the river. — RENNELL'S *Mem.* 2d edit. p. 179.

There is a tradition among the people of Sindi, that Alexander

mountains. Alexander took possession of the metropolis, and ravaged the country. The pillagers carried away a vast spoil, in flocks and herds, and in corn, accidentally discovered. Having taken guides conversant with the navigation, he descended to an island, formed by accretions, in the middle nearly of the channel.

CHAP. IX.

*Progress from Pattala to the ocean. Fleet
stranded by the Bore.*

29. AS the guides had escaped from relaxed custody, Alexander was obliged to protract his stay. Parties sent to bring in other guides could not find any. His uncontrolled desire — to see the ocean, and the limits of the earth, — induced him to commit, without local pilots, the lives of himself and his brave men to an unknown river. The navigators were unacquainted with the channels through which they were borne, nor knew the distance of the sea, nor what tribes inhabited the shores, nor whether the estuary was free from shoal-water, and calculated for long ships; in every thing dependent on blind conjecture. Their consolation for

crossed the Indus, on his return to Persia, at a point considerably higher than Tatta. If the tradition is to be relied on, Pattala, therefore, stood in the superior delta.—RENNELL'S *Memoir*, p. 367.

their superior's temerity, was his unvarying success.

They had advanced four hundred stadia, when the marine commanders reported, that a sea-breeze was perceptible, and that they did not consider the ocean to be very distant. Alexander, with joyous emotion, exhorted the crews to row diligently: 'The consummation of labour, sought by the prayers and vows of the Macedonians, was approaching. Nothing would be wanting to their glory; nothing remain for bravery to subdue; the world would be won without another combat. Nor would nature's territories extend beyond theirs. Ready to open on their view, were places known only to the gods*.'

Alexander, however, debarked on the coast a small detachment, instructed to make captives from the wandering savages, from whom he hoped to learn particulars approaching accurate intelligence. To the question, 'How distant is the sea?' the Barbarians replied: "We have never heard any sea so much as

* Ignorance of the true form of the earth gave birth to the wildest conceptions: but the extravagances of the text are nobler than those which peopled the ulterior of ancient geography, with men with horses' heads, and other varieties of the human species, which still remain to be discovered.—*See Sequel to the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.*

“ named ; but, in three days, you will come to
“ bitter water, which corrupts the sweet.” It
might be collected, that, ignorant of its nature,
they spoke of the sea. The mariners, therefore,
bend over the oars with robust alacrity ; and
as each day carried them nearer the object of
their hopes, their ardour rose. On the third
day the insinuations of the sea were perceptible
in the river, blending their unequal waves by a
gentle influx*.

To the second island, seated in the middle
of the river, the navigators were then borne
somewhat more slowly, because the stream was
counteracted by the tide. They moor their
vessels, and separate in parties to forage, with-
out a presentiment of the disaster which over-
takes mariners locally uninstructed.

30. About the third hour †, the ocean, ac-
cording to a regular alternation, began to flow
in furiously, driving back the river. The river
— at first arrested ; then, impressed with a new
force — rushed upward with more impetuosity
than torrents descend a precipitous channel.
The mass on board, unacquainted with the na-

* Hence may be calculated the present distance of the fleet from
the ocean. It is a remarkable circumstance, that the tides should
not be visible in this river at a greater distance than sixty or sixty-
five miles from the sea. — RENNELL'S *Memoir*, 2d edit. p. 181.

† Nearly answering to our nine o'clock, A. M.

ture of the tide, saw only prodigies and symbols of the wrath of the gods. Ever and anon, the sea swelled; and, on plains recently dry, descended a diffused flood. The vessels lifted from their stations, and the whole fleet dispersed,—those who had debarked, in terror and astonishment at the calamity, ran from all quarters toward the ships. But tumultuous hurry is slow. These, with boat-hooks, are hauling up their gallies: these, while fixing their seats, prevent the oars from being paired: some, hastening to sail, without waiting for the complement of mariners, impel sluggish hulls, and unmanageable, crippled in the wings of navigation: other transports could not hold those who inconsiderately pressed into them: deficient, or redundant, numbers equally obstructed the impatient. Here was clamoured, “Lay to:”—here, “Row off.” Dissonant voices, circulating inconsistent orders, prevented the multitude from acting by their own observation, or from hearing the general command. Nor availed the pilots; whose directions were either undistinguished in the tumult, or disobeyed by terrified and promiscuous crews.

Vessels dash together; and oars are by turns snatched away, to impel other gallies. A spectator would not imagine a fleet carrying the same army, but hostile navies commencing a

battle. Prows strike against sterns; on the invading vessels, others drive aft. The fury of altercation carried the mariners to blows.

31. Now the tide had inundated all the fields skirting the river, only tops of knolls rising above it like little islands: to these, from the evacuated ships, the majority swam in consternation.

The dispersed fleet was, partly, riding in deep water, where the land was depressed into dells; and, partly, resting on shoals, where the flood had covered elevated ground:—Suddenly breaks on the Macedonians a new alarm, more vivid than the former. The sea began to ebb; the deluge, with a violent drain, to retreat into the frith, disclosing tracts just before deeply buried. Unbuoyed, the ships pitched, some upon their prows, others upon their sides. The fields were strewed with baggage, arms, loose planks, and fragments of oars. The soldiers, neither daring to descend to the ground, nor reconciling themselves to stay in the transports, awaited what calamities could follow heavier than the present. They scarcely believed what they suffered, and witnessed—shipwrecks on dry land, the sea in a river. Nor yet ended their unhappiness; for, ignorant that the speedy return of the tide would set their ships afloat, they predicted to themselves famine and death.

Terrifying monsters, too, left by the waves, were gliding about at random*.

Now night approached; and the desperate circumstances touched the king with concern: but no anxieties could overwhelm his invincible courage. All night, he superintended the watches: he sent forward horsemen to the mouth of the river, to bring intelligence when the access of the tide commenced †. Mean-

* Probably, for the most part, aquatic serpents. Upon approaching the mouths of the Indus, [Vincent's *Periplus*, INDIA, V.] the sea is white; and the sign of land, before it is seen, is a multitude of snakes, called *grai*, floating on the surface. This circumstance, which seemed fabulous to the ancients, and some of the moderns, is now known to be a fact that takes place down the whole coast of Malabar, as well as on the approach to the Indus. There might be alligators, too, among the *amphibia*. M. de St. Croix, *Examen Critique*, édit. 2de. p. 411, after translating the *belluæ* of Curtius by "*des monstres*," seems to doubt the fact — as if in Natural History there were no chapter for amphibious animals: but adds, "Monstrous fishes could scarcely swim about, for want of water, on the shore." At Madras, soon after the opening of the bar in October, 1815, a great shoal of sea snakes entered the river; and many natives in fording it were bitten, some on the very margin of the land. From two to three hundred snakes of various species were caught alive by the fishermen.—*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xiii. p. 329.

† As from two passages above, it would appear that the mass of Alexander's soldiers were wholly unacquainted with the phenomenon of the tide; so from this and another below, it is evident that Alexander had a previous knowledge of such a phenomenon, as it occurred in some other places, but was unapprised of the magnitude of the tides in the Indian sea. Although the tides are hardly perceptible in the Mediterranean, yet Alexander, and his officers, who were men of education, might have read in Herodotus, [lib. ii. c. 11.], 'That in the Red Sea, there was a regular ebb and flow of the tide every day.'

while, he ordered the shattered ships to be refitted, the overset to be propped up; and the mariners to be prepared, and attentive, against the flux of the tide.

32. The night consumed in vigilance and exhortations, the horsemen are descried, flying back in full career, followed by the tide. By a gradual diffusion, the inundation began to raise the ships; presently, flooding all the fields, it set the fleet in motion. Along the banks, resounded from the soldiers and mariners shouts of boundless joy, celebrating an unhopéd deliverance. ‘Whence reissued suddenly so great a sea? Whither the day before had it retreated? What were the nature of the element, elsewhere refusing, and here acknowledging, periodical laws?’ with wonder they inquired.

From what had happened, the king conjectured the appointed time of the flux to be just after sunrise. To anticipate the tide, he, at midnight, descended the river with a few

This notice of the phenomenon, without description or explanation, is all that is given by Herodotus. In the rivers which fall into the Indian ocean, the *bore*s are highest about the equinoxes, and at the middle periods between them cease altogether. — Lord TEIGNMOUTH’S *Life of Sir Wm. Jones*, p. 286, n.

That sort of tide called the *bore*, is met with in some European harbours on the Atlantic, as well as in India. Its violence cannot be truly described, without an appearance of hyperbole. No anchors are a security.

vessels; and, passing its mouth, advanced four hundred stadia into the sea. A favourite object accomplished, he sacrificed to Neptune and the local deities, and returned to the fleet

CHAP. X.

Nearchus detached to navigate the ocean. Distress of Alexander's army in Gedrosia. Bacchanalian procession in Carmania.

THE fleet then ascended the river; and, on the next day, anchored in the vicinity of a salt lake: the properties of the water unknown, it deceived great numbers who rashly bathed in it. These were attacked with cutaneous eruptions, and the contagious disease circulated among their companions: oil was the specific remedy.

Leonnatus was then sent forward, in order to sink wells in the inhospitably arid country, through which the appointed line of march for the army lay. Alexander, with the halted forces, awaited the recurrence of *spring**: and founded,

* Calculating the voyage to have commenced about the 1st of October, and to have taken up nearly ten months, the time of Alexander's arrival at Pattala must be assigned to the end of July; and

meanwhile, [between the branches of the river] some cities and harbours †. Nearchus and

as each Olympiad begins at the new moon which follows the summer solstice, the date of the year will be *Olymp.* cxiii. 3. A. C. 326. By a comparison of Strabo with Arrian, Nearchus appears to have set sail about the 1st of October following; Alexander's departure from India by land had preceded, and cannot be dated later in September than the autumnal equinox, which then fell on the 27th.

Two different grounds may be imagined for Curtius' mistake in detaining Alexander till *spring*. 1. He had erroneously stated, ante, p. 262, that the *times* of the seasons in India are inverted; a phenomenon which takes place, geographically, only in countries which are Antaci to each other: but Rome and Pattala are both north of the ecliptic. Believing, however, the preceding representation himself, he would consistently call the season, which in India is coincident with the end of September, the beginning of spring. 2. There are local variations in the weather, dependent on the monsoons, which, though they would be improperly referred to distinct seasons, resemble spring and winter in their effects on the voyager and traveller. Though we say the monsoons are alternate, six months each way, we ought to subtract one month from the beginning and ending of each, which are not only fluctuating, but tempestuous. The south-westerly monsoon is not finally settled till the beginning of June, a little earlier, or later, according to the full or change of the moon; and still it is to be observed, that during June and July the weather is so bad, that navigation is in some degree impracticable. In August it is more moderate, and in September the weather is still fairer.—*Oriental Navigator*, p. 211.

† *Urbes plerasque*.—Freinshemius thinks this an error of the copies, and proposes to read *urbes portusque*; which the Translator has followed. From Justin, Diodorus, Arrian, and Pliny, the names of three have been deduced: *Barce*, *Potana*, and *Xylenopolis*. Neither Diodorus, nor Curtius, notice the voyage down the *left* branch of the Indus, which Arrian represents Alexander to have performed during this interval.—See ADDITIONAL NOTES (AA).

Onesicritus, proficient in the naval art, he commissioned, [as admiral and first pilot of the fleet,]
 ‘ To conduct the stoutest ships into the ocean,
 ‘ and penetrate as far as they could with safety,
 ‘ in order to ascertain the nature of the sea.
 ‘ When they designed returning to him, they
 ‘ might ascend either the Indus, or the Eu-
 ‘ phrates.’

33. The stormy weather moderated, he fired the unserviceable ships, and conducted the army by land. In nine days he reached the territory of the Arabitæ; thence, in an equal time, the country of the Gedrosii*. This free nation, after holding a council, accepted his protection; from such as thus submitted he exacted only provisions.

A march of five days brought him to the river Arabus †. A desert destitute of water obstructed his circuit: this traversed, he penetrated to the Horitæ. The greater part of the army he here transferred to Hephæstion;

* The Gedrosia [Proper] of Strabo and Curtius, is situate inland. The Gedrosia [Latiore] of Arrian, comprehends the Arabitæ, the Oritæ, the Ichthyophagi, and the Gedrosii or Gedrosia Proper.

† The course of Alexander is explained on the map. By a circuit, sometimes nearly retrograde and apparently involved, he probably proposed fully to explore this difficult country; with a view to establish, through it, a military road from Persia to India; an attempt which the recorded loss of armies under Semiramis and Cyrus might forbid, or stimulate, according to the character of a leader.

and, with Ptolemy and Leonnatus, divided the command of the light forces. The three detachments, simultaneously ravaging India*, carried off considerable spoils. Ptolemy vexed the coast; the king, contiguous places; and Leonnatus, the upper district. In this country Alexander founded a city; to people which, Arachosians were brought.

Hence he passed to the Maritime-Indians [the Ichthyophagi]. A horde dispersed along a barren expanse, they never intermingle with their neighbours in the fraternities of commerce; and solitude has aggravated their natural wildness. Their protending nails are never pared; their ropy locks grow equally neglected. They garnish their huts with shells, and other recrements of the sea; cover themselves with the skins of beasts; and feed on fishes dried in the sun, or monsters which the swell discharges.

In consequence, the Macedonians, having consumed their provisions, first suffered scarcity, and afterwards extreme famine. The roots of the palm, the only tree there produced, they everywhere dug out for food. This resource exhausted, they proceeded to kill the beasts of burden, nor spared even their horses. As it

* The country westward from the Arabus is not, geographically, India: but it might be then India, as it is now Persia. The territory which the Macedonians are reducing partly answers to Beloochistan.

became impossible to transport their baggage; they burnt the spoils for which they had penetrated to the ulterior regions of the East.

34. Pestilence stalked in the rear of famine. The new juices of insalutary aliments, together with the fatigue of marching, and the soreness of anxiety, induced contagious diseases; and to remain, or to proceed, was to embrace destruction. Famine preyed more on the halting; infection more on the advanced. With the corpses which strewed the plains, mingled, and equally countless, lay the supine half-dead. Those whom slighter sickness oppressed could not keep the rapid step of the main division; for every one deemed himself nearer the hope of safety, in proportion as his speed left the infected behind. Such as had sunk down, implored passing intimates and strangers to assist them to rise. But there were no beasts of burden to receive the disabled; and the persevering soldier with difficulty carried his arms. The spectre of impending destruction hovered in every eye. Individuals, repeatedly invoked to return, could not summon humanity to look back on their friends; for all pity was extinguished in chilling horror. By the public temples, by the witnessing gods, — the prone, forsaken wretches conjured the king to relieve them. Pathetic importunities were wasted on

deaf ears; rage succeeded despair; and the dying wished him such an end as theirs, such friends and companions as their deserters.

Grief and shame stung Alexander, conscious that he had occasioned this waste of lives. To Phrataphernes, satrap of Parthia, he sent an order to bring cooked provisions on camels; and to the governors of other neighbouring provinces announced his distress. Nor were these tardy in conveying relief. The army, thus rescued at least from famine, at length touched [at a farther point] the frontiers of Gedrosia Proper. Of all Gedrosia, this district is alone liberally fertile. In this Alexander prolonged his encampment, to reinvigorate, by repose, the harassed troops*. Here he received intelligence from Leonnatus, that that officer had combated eight thousand foot and five hundred horse of

* Arrian, who paints a scene of distress from drought, similar to that in p. 169, ante, states this march, distinguished by unexampled hardships, to have lasted two months, reckoned only from the time of quitting the Oritæ. Plutarch says, that it cost Alexander near one hundred thousand men: but, from his own data, Dr. Gillies, with reason, pronounces this a palpable exaggeration. The Greek biographer estimates the WHOLE army, at its departure from India, to have amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse:—a part was embarked with Nearchus; a considerable division marched, under Craterus, through the territories of the Arachosii and Drangæ, to meet Alexander in Carmania. Whether the reader estimate the deaths at thirty, or ten, or twenty, thousand,—the impression on the mind is painful.

the Horitæ, and gained a victory*. From Craterus, a messenger announced, that Ordones and Zariaspes, Persian noblemen, while moving a revolt, [in Arachosia], had been seized by him, and were retained in custody.

35. The king, in consequence, nominated Sibyrtius administrator of that province, in the room of Menon, lately dead. He then advanced into Carmania. Aspastes, its satrap, was suspected to have meditated innovations during the king's absence in India. Alexander, whom he came to meet, veiled his dissatisfaction under a courteous reception; and continued him in his dignity, till he could investigate the charges against him.

Meanwhile, the governments of India, having sent, in conformity to his requisition, from every province under his dominion, a great contribution of horses, beasts of burden, and draught-cattle,—he filled the vacancies in the baggage train. The arms were restored to splendour; for the forces were not far from Persis, which enjoyed peace and opulence.

Emulating Bacchus, not only in the glory derived from conquering these countries, but in

* After the departure of Alexander, the Horitæ, rebelling, had risen upon the detachment under Leonnatus, and killed, with momentary impunity, a number not inconsiderable.

the fame of his triumphant procession, (whether that were a pageant appointed by Bacchus, or a frolic of his train,) Alexander, ambitious to surpass human grandeur, willed to return in the same manner. ' Cars to hold large parties ' of soldiers, ornamented as booths, some with ' white curtains, and some with silk,' (he directed) ' to be prepared;—The villages through ' which his route lay, to be strewed with flowers ' and garlands;—goblets and large vases, ' filled with wine, to be set at the doors of ' the houses.'

The *Friends* and the royal cohort led the procession, crowned with variegated flowers. Here was heard the bold chant of the trumpets; here the soft lay of the lyre. In furnished vehicles, one for every captain's band, rode the army devoted to revel: arms, tastefully superb, hung around the cars. A chariot, piled with bowls and massy flagons of gold, carried the king and his convivals. Thus, during seven days, paraded this column of bacchanals; a prey ready for seizure, if the conquered have courage to strike the rioters — a thousand sober men may overwhelm them in their triumph, oppressed by a seven days' debauch. But fortune, which decrees the reputation and value of things, turned this stain on the military

character into glory. The contemporary age heard, and posterity have read, with incredulous astonishment, of this reeling procession through countries imperfectly subdued. But the Barbarians construed temerity into confidence.

The executioner attended the spectacle: and Aspastes, above mentioned, the satrap of the province, was ordered to be killed. Thus neither cruelty interrupts luxury, nor luxury obstructs cruelty.

QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK X.

THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER. THE ELEVATION OF ARIDÆUS. THE DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE AMONG THE LEADING CAPTAINS.

CHAP. I.

Great officers of Media imprisoned. Nearchus sent back to prosecute the voyage to Babylon. Alexander's designs. Abisares dies. Orsines and Phradates executed. Catastrophe of Zopyrio. Flight of Harpalus.

1. ABOUT this time, arrived Cleander and Sitalces, Agathon and Hericon, who had been actors in killing Parmenio under the king's order: with them, came five thousand foot and a thousand horse. They were followed by accusers from the province, in the government of which they had held departments. To coun-

terbalance their numerous perpetrations, their subserviency in an execution eminently grateful to the king, was inadequate. They had invaded every secular depositary of wealth; nor had the temples been spared from pillage; virgins and married princesses, who had endured their violations, were weeping under their insults. The avarice and lust of these officers had made the Macedonian name odious to the Barbarians. Cleander, transcendant in outrage, had given a ravished virgin of rank, as a concubine, to his slave.

The major part of Alexander's friends, contemplating the atrocious offences charged against the arraigned, less vividly than they recollected, that Cleander and his colleagues had slain Parmenio, (which alone pleaded for these with the king,) rejoiced that his vengeance must fall upon its own ministers. Nor is power acquired by vassalage to crime ever permanent.

In pronouncing on the allegations, Alexander observed: "The accusing have omitted the
" principal delinquency of the accused, a pre-
" sumption that their sovereign would perish;
" for they had never adventured on such enormities, had they wished, or believed, that I
" should return from India." Indeed, he con-

signed these governors to chains*, and six hundred soldiers, who had been the instruments of their cruelty, to death. The same day, the movers of a revolt †, whom Craterus had brought in, were executed.

2. Not long subsequently, arrived Nearchus and Onesicritus, whom the king had instructed to proceed in the navigation of the ocean. They reported, first, their own discoveries and observations: “ The island seated below the mouth
“ of the Indus, abounds in gold, but is destitute
“ of horses. Each horse, which persons from
“ the continent have the boldness to transport
“ thither, is purchased at a talent. The sea
“ is full of whales, which follow the course of
“ the tide; their bulk rivals that of large ships:
“ They will follow the fleet: but, terrified by
“ the fierce notes of the trumpet, plunge under
“ the waves, and as sinking vessels, make the
“ displaced sea roar.”

These other representations were derived from inhabitants of the coast. “ The Red Sea ‡
“ was named, not from its colour, as most are
“ ready to suppose, but from king Erythras.

* Except Heracon, who was acquitted, they were ordered to execution. Heracon, soon afterward, was convicted at Susa of plundering a temple, and was punished. — *Arrian, Plutarch, and Justin.*

† Ordonez and Zariaspes, ante, p. 369. The junction of the forces under Craterus had taken place in Carmanian.

‡ Correspondent is p. 263, ante, line 2.

“ Contiguous to the continent [of Carmania] is
 “ an island*, planted with numerous palm-
 “ trees; in the middle of the grove rises a co-
 “ lumn erected to the memory of Erythras,
 “ with an inscription in the characters of his
 “ nation.” They added: “ Such merchant-
 “ ships as the masters have carried into the
 “ island [of Nosala], drawn by the fame of its
 “ gold, having never been seen to return.”

Alexander, impatient to obtain increased information, “ again sent out his navigators,
 “ instructed to coast along till the fleet reached
 “ the Euphrates, and to ascend that river to
 “ Babylon.”

As soon as he should have subdued all the shores of the East, his vast designs embraced an expedition from Syria into Africa Proper; for Carthage had incensed him †. Afterwards, having traversed the deserts of Numidia,—from Gades, where tradition placed one of the columns of Hercules, he proposed to march through Spain, which the Greeks, from the river Iberus, call *Iberia*; and to pass thence, over the Alps, to the coast of Italy. The transit to Epirus would be short.

* The *Oaracta* of Arrian in *Indicis*. Dr. Vincent identifies *Oaracta* with the modern Kismis; then *Tyrina* will appear to correspond with Ormuz, as *Organa* is concluded to be Arek.—*Nearchus*, 2d edit. p. 348.

† Vol. i. pp. 356, 367, 376.

He therefore directed his administrators in Mesopotamia—to fell timber in mount Libanus; to convey it to Thapsacus, a city in Syria; and to lay down keels there of the largest rates: all the septiremes, when completed, were to drop down to Babylon. The kings of Cyprus were commanded to supply copper, hemp, and sails.

Amidst these arrangements, letters to Alexander, from the sovereigns Porus and Taxiles, announce, that Abisares was dead from illness, and Philip, the viceroy [over the Oxydracæ and the Malli], from a wound; and that those [insurgent mercenaries] who killed him had been crushed. In consequence, Alexander substituted for Philip, Eudemon, general of the Thracians; and delivered the kingdom of Abisares to his son.

3. The king then advanced to Persagadæ. Of this Persic district the satrap was Orsines, in nobility and riches pre-eminent among the Barbaric princes. He traced his pedigree from Cyrus; to treasures inherited from his ancestors, he had accumulated accessions during a long continuance in authority. He met the king, with presents of every descriptions, designed not only for his majesty, but for his friends,—studs of trained horses; chariots with silver and gold devices; costly house-furniture;

transcendant jewels; massy vessels of gold; wardrobes of purple; and four thousand talents in coined silver.

This striking liberality occasioned his death; for, while he courted all the king's friends with gifts surpassing their expectations, he demonstrated no respect to Bagoas the eunuch, who had enslaved Alexander by abominable obsequiousness. Reminded by some persons how strongly this submenial possessed Alexander's favour, he answered: "I honour the king's friends, but not his corrupters; nor is it the custom of Persians to compliment apostates from humanity." Acquainted with this reply, Bagoas exerted, with his influence, contrivances, only less detestable, to destroy a high-minded and innocent prince. He armed some worthless wretches of the same nation with fabricated charges, instructed not to prefer them till he should dictate. Meanwhile, as often as he was alone with the king, he deposited aspersions in his credulous ears; concealing the cause of this hostility, to give the prelude to impeachment greater weight. Not yet suspected by Alexander, Orsines was sinking from favour; secretly maligned, and ignorant of his danger. And the revengeful eunuch never forgot his purpose, even in his most grovelling prostrations; whenever Alexander was absurdly pos-

essed by the perdition of his influence, introducing allegations, now of avarice, and now of disloyalty, against Orsines.

4. The machination to circumvent the guiltless was matured ; and destiny was fulfilling one of its inevitable appointments. The tomb of Cyrus Alexander incidentally caused to be opened, to burn sacrifices before the embalmed corse. From a tradition among the Persians, he had believed it to be full of gold and silver ; but, besides a rotten buckler, two Scythian bows, and a scimitar, nothing was found. Having, however, placed on the coffin a crown of gold, he covered it with the mantle which he had been used to wear ; apparently surprised that so illustrious a prince, who left behind immense treasures, should not have funereal appendages more costly than a private person. Bagoas, who stood at the king's elbow ; turning to him, said : “ What wonder that the se-
“ pulchres of our monarchs should be empty,
“ when the palaces of the satraps cannot con-
“ tain the gold thence derived ? As to my per-
“ sonal knowledge, I have not seen the tomb
“ before ; but from Darius I. received the ac-
“ count, that three thousand talents had been
“ buried with Cyrus. Hence that generosity
“ toward you ; that what Orsines could not

“ possess with impunity, might, dispersed in presents, procure him favour.”

He had already excited the king's anger; when those to whom he had committed the affair appeared. Bagoas, on one side, and the false witnesses, suborned by him, on the other, engrossed the attention of the king. Orsines, before he could surmise himself to be impeached, is in chains. The minion, not satisfied with the death of an innocent man, struck him going to execution. Looking indignantly at him, “ I had heard,” said Orsines, “ that, in past times, women have reigned in Asia: but it is new, that a eunuch should reign.” This was the undeserved end of the highest nobleman of Persia, who, on the altar of liberality, had offered uncommon riches to the king.

5. Phradates, suspected to aim at regal dignity, was, at the same time, put to death. Alexander had become precipitate in crediting accusers and commissioning the axe. Prosperity certainly has the power to transform the disposition; and rarely is any one sufficiently circumspect amid surrounding felicities. Thus the same man who, not long before, could not prevail with himself to condemn Alexander the Lyncestean impeached by two witnesses; who suffered the arraigned of inferior rank to be li-

berated, contrary to his own inclination, because they appeared to the rest innocent; who had restored kingdoms to vanquished enemies; — at length so far degenerated from himself, that in dereliction of his personal sentiments, at the caprice of a Cinædopolite, he surprised those individuals with viceroyalties, and from these snatched their lives.

About this time, he received letters stating the transactions in Europe and Asia Minor, while he had been subduing India. Zopyrio, his lieutenant over Thrace, in an expedition against the Getæ, by adversities and commotions suddenly rising, had been overwhelmed with his whole army. Informed of the slaughter, Seuthes had stimulated the Odryssians, his fellow countrymen, to revolt. Thus is Thrace nearly lost:

Nor indeed remained Greece* unconvulsed. — For several of Alexander's satraps, while his arms had been detained in the distant sphere of India, had, by a course of most heinous tyranny, oppressed his provincial subjects: the punishment of particular governors animated the terrors of the others, expecting the same retribution for delinquency. The latter — either confided themselves to the attachment of the

mercenary troops, intending, if summoned to execution, to defend themselves by their arms; or, had begun to fly with what money they could levy. On report of this, letters are despatched to the commanders throughout Asia; on sight of which, they are enjoined immediately to disband all the foreign stipendiary troops. Among the criminal, was Harpalus; whom, on account of his former banishment by Philip, incurred through devotion to Alexander, this prince numbered among his most faithful friends; and, after the death of Mazæus, had conferred on him the satrapy of Babylon, and the custody of the treasures. When this governor had dissipated his reliance on the affluent favour of the king, by the multitude of his enormities, he took out of the royal treasury five thousand talents, hired a band of six thousand mercenaries, and escaped to Europe. For a long time before, carried headlong in excess by unrestrained appetites, he had despaired of his master's pardon; and, for a refuge from his anger, looking round to foreign aid, had assiduously courted the Athenians, whose power was far from contemptible, and whose influence over the other Greeks, as well as their secret antipathy to the Macedonians, he knew. He buoyed his adherents to hope, that the Athenians, on his arrival, witnessing the display of his forces

and treasures, would immediately confederate their arms and councils: For he considered, that among an undiscerning, fickle people, led by unprincipled and venal men, he might, by largesses, effect every thing.

6. Harpalus*, with his party, in thirty ships, passed to Sunium, a promontory, in Attica, whence his plan was to steer for the harbour of the city. Discovering the correspondence, Alexander, equally incensed against Harpalus and the Athenians, ordered a fleet to be prepared, intending to sail to Athens. While he was meditating this procedure, letters announce, ' That Harpalus had indeed entered Athens, ' and, by a lavish policy, had won the chief ' citizens. Soon afterwards, commanded by ' an assembly of the people to quit the city, he ' retired to his Greek soldiers, who would not ' receive him. He was at length slain [in Crete], ' by the treachery of [Thimbron,†] one of the ' confidential companions of his journey.'

Well pleased, Alexander rescinded the design of moving to Europe. He, however, enjoined all the cities of Greece, to recal their exiles, except such as were stained with civic blood shed in insurrection.

* Curtius, resumed.

† Diocl. lib. XVII. s. 106

The mass of Greek states, not daring to disobey his mandate, although they esteemed it the commencement of a dissolution of their laws, restored to the deprived their property where it could be recognized.

The Athenians, alone assertors of their own and the general liberty, unaccustomed to regal control over their public votes and customs, warned from their frontiers the refuse of men, because they were indisposed to order. The Athenians were prepared to endure extremities, rather than readmit reprobates, now, in the seats of exile, sunk as low as, formerly, in the city.

CHAP. II.

Alexander pays the debts of the army. The dismissal of the veterans causes a sedition.

THE senior soldiers discharged to march home, the king appointed a selection of thirteen thousand foot, and two thousand horse; to remain with him in Asia; deeming a contracted army sufficient to secure Asia, supported by the garrisons which he had numerously distributed, and by colonies planted in the newly founded cities, ready to repress innovation.

7. Before, however, he separated those to be retained, his edict required all the soldiers openly to state what sums they owed. He was apprised that the greater part were immersed in debt; which, however it were incurred through luxury, he had willed to discharge. They, suspecting an experiment, to distinguish at once the profuse from the economical, again and again procrastinated. The king, persuaded that delicacy, not insensibility, prevented the disclosure, caused counting tables to be distributed through the camp, and delivered out ten thousand talents. At length the soldiers gave in faithful lists; nor of the vast devoted treasure were more than one hundred and thirty talents left. So that an army, which had subdued so many affluent nations, carried from Asia a greater share of honour than spoil.

As soon as it transpired, that some were to be sent home and some retained, the troops concluded that he would establish the seat of empire in Asia. Frantic, and inattentive to military discipline, they filled the camp with stormy eloquence; and, besieging the king more insolently than at any previous time, all at once demanded their discharge, showing their scarred fronts and grey hairs. Impressed neither by the correction of the officers, nor by respect for the king, with popular cries and

martial fierceness, they interrupted his offers to speak, declaring they would never march a step thence, unless toward their country.

At length—silence made, rather because they supposed him to be affected, than because themselves could be moved—they waited to know what he designed to do. “Why,” inquired Alexander, “this sudden sedition? what is this insolent disorder to deprecate? I hesitate to pronounce my will. You have openly assailed my authority. I am a king maintained by entreaty, to whom you have not left the prerogative to animate, to understand, to counsel you, or to turn on you a guardian eye. And, strange indeed! when I had arranged to dismiss some to our country, and to bring the remainder myself shortly afterwards, I hear the same outcries from those now to go, as from those with whom I appointed to follow. What is this to express? this unanimity in clamour from motives in conflict? I desire to know, whether the bands who depart, or the bands reserved, intend to complain?”

8. To an auditor, the uproar of all would have appeared to come from a single throat, so equally the whole assembly cried: ‘We all complain.’—“That all should fall together into a tone of discontent, from the pretext

“ seized, I cannot be persuaded ;” said Alexander ; “ the pretext cannot affect the major part
“ of the army ; for I release more than I re-
“ tain. Doubtless, the evil must be seated
“ more deeply, that steals you all from me.
“ When, in fact, has an entire army deserted
“ their king ? Slaves do not in a body run
“ from their masters : round a master aban-
“ doned by others, shame retains some who
“ had else been renegades.

“ But, forgetting the character of this tu-
“ mult, I am tempering incurable rage. My
“ cherished hope of you, was a profligate illu-
“ sion. Nor as my companion in arms, which
“ you are no longer, have I resolved to treat
“ you, but as I ought the eminently ungrateful.
“ Entranced by affluent felicities, you forget
“ what condition, through my offices, you
“ quitted—in which you might worthily have
“ grown grey : for you govern yourselves bet-
“ ter in adversity than in prosperity. The
“ tributaries, within memory, to Illyria and to
“ Persia*, at length disdain the dominion of
“ Asia, and the spoils of uncounted nations.
“ The half-naked bands of Philip trample on
“ purple mantles. Silver and gold are offensive
“ to their eyes ; they long for wooden vessels ;
“ basket bucklers, and rusty swords. Thus
“ gallantly equipped, I received you, and five

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (B B).

“ hundred talents of debt : when all the regal
“ furniture, the foundation for my works, did
“ not exceed sixty talents. With these, how-
“ ever, (invidious estimations apart,) I have
“ raised an empire, embracing the greatest
“ part of the earth. Are you weary of Asia,
“ the scene of glorious achievements, which
“ have rendered you peers of gods? From
“ your forsaken king you are impatient to fly
“ to Europe, although the majority would be
“ now destitute of travelling equipments, un-
“ less I had satisfied private creditors with the
“ despised Asiatic treasures. Carrying about
“ in that abyss, the belly, the spoils of con-
“ quered kingdoms, you are not ashamed of
“ wishing to return to your wives and children,
“ although few can display at home the prizes
“ of victory; for the rest, anticipating your
“ hoped discharge, have mortgaged your splen-
“ did arms.

“ But I shall miss such hearty soldiers, and
“ the concubines upon whom the poor remnant
“ of their riches is lavished. Be every barrier
“ open to my fugitives! Hence, break away
“ swiftly! I and the Persians will protect your
“ rear. I detain no one: relieve my insulted
“ eyes, ye ungrateful citizens! Joyous parents
“ and children will embrace you returning
“ without your king; will crowd the ways to
“ meet traitors and renegades!

“ Over your desertion I will triumph, by
“ Hercules! in every province will avenge it,
“ by cherishing these with whom you leave
“ me, and preferring them to you. Soon you
“ will know what an army can effect without
“ a leader, and what my single presence might
“ avail.”

9. Gnashing with rage, he sprang from the tribunal, and threw himself into the midst of the armed: having marked the boldest revilers*, he seized with his own hand one and another; and delivered thirteen, none adventuring resistance, to the custody of the body-guards.

CHAP. III.

The mutiny subsides. Alexander addresses the foreign troops, and delivers to the Persian nobles the principal military commands.

WHO could anticipate that the ferocious assembly would be abruptly hushed by fear? When every one saw men dragged to punish-

* Some cried, ‘ That he had no farther use for *them*: his father Hammon could fight his battles.’ The scene of these trying incidents was at Opis on the Tigris.—GILLIES after ARRIAN.

ment daring no weightier things than their comrades,—the prodigal clamour and menacing violence of the soldiers became repressed—not merely so that none withstood the king rushing among them; but all, palsied by dread, as thunderstruck, awaited his decision respecting themselves. Awed—whether by the attribute of majesty, which nations, obeying kings, worship among their deities; or, by personal veneration for Alexander; or, by his intrepid exercise of the energy of power—the concourse displayed a pattern of singular docility. They were so far from incensed at the punishment of their companions, when they knew them to have been executed at the approach of night, that they omitted no act by which individuals could express heightened obedience and attachment. Next day, denied admission into the palace, while it was granted to the Asiatic soldiers, they proclaimed their penitence in the mournful camp: ‘They would cease to live if the king persisted to be angry.’

Olymp. cxiii. 4.

A. C. 324.

Ætat. Alex. 32.

Reg. 12.

Imp. 6.

The Macedonians restricted to their camp,—Alexander, pertinaciously constant to whatever he had meditated, summoned an assembly of the foreign troops; and thus addressed them by the medium of an interpreter:

10. “ When I planned to pass from Europe
“ into Asia, I expected to add to my empire
“ many renowned countries, and powerful com-
“ munities of men. Nor in crediting fame
“ concerning these, was I deceived. Around
“ me I see men brave, beyond her representa-
“ tions, and of invincible piety toward their
“ kings. I had imagined every thing here to
“ be dissolved in luxury ; every thing, through
“ excessive opulence, immersed in pleasures.
“ But you discharge all the military duties
“ with surmounting vigour of mind and body,
“ and cheerful diligence ; and, while support-
“ ing a reputation for courage, do not culti-
“ vate it more than loyalty. I declare this now
“ for the first time : I have known it long ; and
“ therefore selected your young men, and incor-
“ porated them with my soldiers. Your habili-
“ ments and arms are the same ; but your ready
“ obedience to orders far surpasses theirs. ”

“ Thus estimating my new subjects, I was
“ induced to wed the daughter of Oxartes, the
“ Persian ; not disdainng to raise children from
“ a captive. Desirous, by numerous branches, to
“ multiply my lineage, soon afterwards I took
“ in marriage the daughter of Darius. I encou-
“ raged my most valued friends, to become the
“ heads of families born of Persian mothers,
“ that, by this sacred connexion, I might anni-

“ hilate the difference between the vanquish-
“ ed and the victors*. Consider yourselves,
“ therefore, in respect to me, natural-born, not
“ adopted, subjects. Asia and Europe consti-
“ tute one state. I arm you as Macedonians.
“ Alien noviciates I have veteranized; and you
“ are my freemen, my soldiers: all things are
“ taking a uniform complexion. It is no
“ dishonour for Macdeonians to assume the
“ Persian manners, nor for Persians to imitate
“ the Macedonians. Equal rights ought those
“ to enjoy, who live under the same king.”

[After thus speaking, he distributed to Persian nobles the principal military commands, distinguished particular bodies of Persian infantry and cavalry by the appellation “royal,” selected from them an armed retinue, and committed to Persians the guard of his body. As Barbarian officers were leading to execution several Macedonians who had kindled the sedition, one of the latter, distinguished by rank and seniority, is reported thus to have addressed the king.]

* In the palace of Susa, Alexander publicly espoused Statira, and bestowed her sister Drypetis on Hephæstion, saying, that he wished their children to be kinsmen. Perdikkas, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and other generals, intermarried with illustrious female Persians. The soldiers followed the example; and above ten thousand Greeks and Macedonians, a catalogue of whose names was presented to the king, married Asiatic women.—*Gillies' Greece*, chap. 39.

C H A P. IV.

Reconciliation of Alexander and the Macedonians. Antipater recalled. Death of Hephestion. Expedition against the Cossæans. Despising the warning of the soothsayers, Alexander enters Babylon. Navigates the Pallacopas. His return to Babylon, and sickness.

11. "HOW long, sir, will you gratify your
" anger, by executions conducted in a foreign
" manner? Your own soldiers, your fellow-
" citizens, without being allowed to plead, are
" hauled to punishment by their captives. If
" you deem us to merit death, at least change
" our executioners."

Alexander had received the friendly remonstrance, could he have borne with truth: but his rage had proceeded to madness. Therefore, he ordered those who had charge of the prisoners, because they had paused a moment, to plunge them into the river, chained as they were. Nor did this unusual punishment raise a second mutiny: but, repairing in companies to the chief officers and royal favourites, the soldiers desired, ' That if the king yet judged any others to be implicated in the past offence,

‘ that he would order them to be killed: and
‘ they offered their own bodies to his ven-
‘ geance,’

Apprised*, at length, that he had transferred their posts to the Persians, and that the Barbarians were formed into regiments under Macedonian denominations, while they had been ignominiously discarded, their grief almost overcame their reason. All at once they flock to the palace, deposit their armour at the gate; and, standing in their shirts, ready for punishment, with tears demanded admission. ‘ They
‘ prayed to be relieved, not from expiating their
‘ guilty obstinacy, but from the king’s anger,
‘ to them more intolerable than death.’ And though their wretched cries and deportment, not remitted after the sun had withdrawn, proved their contrition, the king’s resentment stood out against their entreaties two days. On the third, vanquished by their perseverance, Alexander appeared; and, slightly reproving the waywardness of the army, declared, while both parties shed tears, that he was reconciled.

This issue appeared worthy to be consecrated by the higher sacrifices. After solemn offerings, he called to a banquet the principal Macedonians and Persians. Nine thousand

* SUPPLEMENT of Freinshemius, revised.

guests, at the king's invitation, tasted libations from a common flagon: while, in concert, the Grecian and Barbarian priests, leading and blessing the invocations, which the assembly repeated, prayed, that the union of the empires might be eternal.

This solemnity was followed by a disbanding of the invalids. To some of the senior FRIENDS, he also gave leave of absence; including Clitus surnamed Albus, Gorgias, Polydamas, and Antigenes. To the arrears of pay, he added a talent for each discharged soldier, under the name of a travelling-provision. Their children, by Asiatic wives, about ten thousand, he ordered to be left with him, lest, transported into Macedon with the father, and mixed with his antecedent wife and offspring, they should fill every family with discord: Alexander undertaking, as a charge on himself, that the infants should be nurtured in Macedonian customs, and instructed in the military art. Thus he dismissed ten thousand veterans: Craterus, an intimate of his confidence, was nominated to conduct them back: if that officer's death should supervene, they were to obey Polysperchon. At the same time, he wrote to Antipater to this effect: " Honour the victors in pensioned retirement: " let them, wearing chaplets, have the first " seats at the public games and spectacles. On

“ their decease, continue their pay to their
“ children. It is my will, that Craterus be
“ viceroy of Macedon, with the countries de-
“ pendent on its government: while, in his
“ place, you will repair to me with the re-
“ cruits.”

Alexander was apprehensive that the embittered dissensions between Olympias and Antipater would provoke some disastrous consequence. For, in their successive letters, one alternately accused the other of conduct tending to sully the king's dignity at home, or weaken its foundation. It was invidiously represented, that, an idle rumour which had slain Alexander, penetrating to Pella, his mother and his sister Cleopatra were seized with consternation, and Olympias flew to Epirus, her paternal country. While letters of this kind were passing, it happened that Hephæstion, an associate in all the secrets of the king, was looking over with Alexander the correspondence unsealed by him. Nor did the king forbid him, but drawing his seal from his finger, pressed it on the mouth of the reader, intimating, that no hint of what those lines ask must transpire. The king is reported to have blamed both; and, moved with the haughtiness of his mother, to have cried, ‘That for the ten months’ dwelling which she gave him in her womb, she demanded a

‘ heavy reward.’ Nevertheless, against Antipater he entertained the imputation, that the victory over the Spartans, and the delegation of power prolonged to him so many years, had rendered him arrogant, and elated above the condition of a lieutenant. Therefore, when some attendants were expatiating on that officer’s prudence and integrity, he remarked, “ White he appears, indeed, externally; but, “ if you could look within, he is all purple.” Alexander, however, drew the mask over his suspicion, nor betrayed any further symptom of an alienated mind.

Weighty authorities deny, and numerous writers affirm, that Antipater, concluding that he was summoned away in order to be sacrificed, was the known director of wicked machinations, to which should be ascribed the death of the king, which soon followed.

Meanwhile Alexander, at once repairing the waste of the army, and assimilating the manners of his subjects, adopted into the Macedonian ranks the best of the Persian soldiers: to a superior thousand, separated from the excellent, he gave the intimate station of body-guards: another, a band of not less than ten thousand spearmen, he appointed to watch round his pavilion. On the other hand, he introduced, into Barbarian corps, Greeks and Macedonians,

in the proportion of four Europeans to twelve Asiatics*. Amid these arrangements, Peucestas arrived with twenty thousand slingers and archers, levied in his province, which were distributed through the army.

The king repeatedly visited several cities of the central provinces. Moving from Susa across the Tigris, he encamped successively at Sittacæ, at Carrhæ, at Sambana, and at Celonæ. This town was inhabited by a colony of emigrants from Bœotia, which Xerxes had conveyed thither. They preserved the evidence of their origin in their dialect, composed for the most part of Grecian words; although, from the necessity of intercourse, they used the language of the neighbouring Barbarians. Thence he entered Bagistames, a country of pleasant orchards; in the simple aliments essential to life, and in delicacies which flatter the palate, equally abounding.

About this time happened a vehement feud between Eumenes and Hephæstion. The servants of Eumenes having pre-occupied quarters for their master, Hephæstion expelled them, that Evius, a flute-player, might be entertained there. Afterwards, the repösing rancour between the king's secretary and the king's first friend was awakened by a new quarrel; sallies of

* Arrian, lib. vii. p. 158.

defiance and bitter reproaches were interchanged. This exhibition of their enmity was arrested by the interference and authority of Alexander: he even threatened Hephæstion, and more perseveringly withdrew his countenance from Eumenes, desirous to be reinstated in his favour.

The army proceeded to the plains of Media, where lordly herds of horses were grazing, of distinguished size and beauty, denominated *nisæi*. In this region of pasture, Alexander obtained fifty thousand steeds. Their number formerly, was thrice as many: but, during the convulsions of war, marauders had carried off the greater part. To the king, who remained here thirty days, Atropates, satrap of Media, conducted a hundred female Barbarians, expert equestrians, armed with half-moon shields, and battle-axes: whom some have believed to be the remains of a nation of Amazons.

In seven days, Alexander reached Ecbatana, the capital of the province. Here he solemnized sacrifices to the gods, proclaimed musical and gymnastic games; and, to recreate his mind for new cares and operations, resolved to unbend the time in festivity. He had collected from Greece three thousand players and musicians*.

* Plut. *de fortun. Alexand.*

He prepares to meet in the theatre the heroes of Sophocles: fate forces on his attention another scene. He was viewing some boys contending in a race, when it was announced that his best beloved friend, Hephæstion, was dying: indisposition, contracted by a drunken vigil, had confined Hephæstion to his couch seven days. Alexander rose in alarm, and hastened to the quarters of his friend, who had expired before he arrived.

The intemperance of his tears and complaints declare this to have been felt by Alexander as the most adverse incident of his life. Subdued by the weight of his grief, he gave many proofs of an abdicated mind. During three days and nights, he neither changed his apparel, nor tasted food. Meditating for the corpse the most honourable obsequies, he would not have it interred at Ecbatana: but to Babylon, whither himself was preparing to remove, appointed Perdicas to convey it. There he, afterwards, built a monument, at the unprecedented expense of twelve thousand talents. He ordered a general mourning throughout the empire; and, in funeral games in the great cities, employed the three thousand performers previously collected. To the cavalry of the allies which Hephæstion had commanded, Alexander nominated no other leader, but decreed that it

should be called the cavalry of Hephæstion, and that the banners should not be changed. His friends, eager candidates for his favour, vied in inventing offerings to the memory of the deceased, to sustain it with greater lustre. Eumenes, who imagined that, by his dispute with the favourite, he had incurred the king's displeasure, dedicated himself and armour to Hephæstion, and contributed largely from his treasures to grace the funeral: and many officers followed his example. At length the effrontery of flattery persuaded the king, frantic with sorrow, that Hephæstion was a demigod.

At this time, Agathocles of Samos, one of the captains, fell into great danger, because he was seen, in passing Hephæstion's grave, to weep. Perdiccas, however, feigning the manes to have appeared to himself evoking it, swore, by all the gods, and by Hephæstion, '*That, from the spirit of the hero, he knew, that Agathocles had not mourned him as a dead man, idly decked with the glories of a false divinity, but had been, from the recollection of past social hours, unable to restrain his tears.*' But for this, a brave officer, meriting well of the king, had received on his innocent head a heavy retribution for affection to his friend.

To divert his melancholy, Alexander undertook an expedition against the Cossæans. A

fierce and untamed tribe, inhabiting a mountainous district on the southern frontier of Media, the Cossæans subsist by plunder. By an annual tribute, the satraps of the adjoining provinces had been accustomed to compound a peace with them, lest these, descending from their ridges, should make the lower country the seat of their ravages. The attempts of the Persic armies, the Cossæans had easily foiled, defended by rugged fastnesses, into which they retired whenever they were defeated in a skirmish. At the periodical return of the court from the summer-palace of Ecbatana to Babylon, the great king had habitually conciliated them by presents, to obtain an undisturbed passage through their defiles.

Assailing these Barbarians with the army in two divisions, in forty days Alexander and Ptolemy completely subdued them. Repeatedly forced, the surviving Cossæans, to recover their prisoners, surrendered their last recesses. At suitable points, the king erected fortresses, lest the obedience of this untractable horde should expire, as soon as his army had withdrawn.

The march toward Babylon Alexander conducted slowly, to refresh the wearied troops. Scarcely now thirty stadia from the city, he was met by Nearchus, whom he had sent thither

by the ocean and the lower Euphrates. Nearchus besought him, 'Not to enter a city, in that case fatal to him, as he had learnt from the Chaldæans, the certitude of whose art had been established by the repeated coincidence of events with their predictions.' Impressed by his friend's earnestness, and by the reputation of the priests, Alexander detached the greater part of his attendants into the city; and passing, by another road, beyond Babylon, encamped distant thence two hundred stadia.

Soon afterwards, stimulated by Anaxarchus, in contempt of the dehortation of the Chaldæans, whose learning he pronounced shallow and useless, he entered the city. There, in audiences, he gave many days of dignified attention, as the acknowledged master of the world, to a confluence of ambassadors from Spain, and various nations in Italy*, from Carthage, Libya, and Ethiopia, from the Celts, from the Scythians, and from remote countries in Asia. He then

* The Brutti, Lucani, and Tyrrheni or Tuscans. Many authorities give these names. According to Clitarchus, as cited by Pliny, lib. III. cap. 9. other deputies came even from Rome; and Aristus and Asclepiades relate, that Alexander, having informed himself of the manners, and political institutions of this people, predicted their future greatness. Arrian preserves this, from the two latter; but treats of the occurrence as rather improbable. Diodorus, lib. xvii. s. 112, says generally, that all those who inhabited the countries between the northern coast of the Adriatic Gulf and the Columns of Hercules, sent embassies:

resigned his thoughts to the obsequies of Hephæstion, which, through the emulous devotedness of all, were so solemnized, that, in richness of cost, and combinations of pageantry, they had never been exceeded by the funeral sacrifices of any king that had lived*.

The king was now desirous to navigate through the canal Pallacopas to the borders of Arabia. Conveyed thither, discovering an eligible site, he founded a city, which he peopled with invalid Greeks, and other Greeks whom inclination detained from their country. Secure now of the future, he ridiculed the Chaldæans, because he not only had entered Babylon in safety, but had gone out of it in health. His return, however, through the turbid lakes, which the Euphrates, distributed by the Pallacopas, forms, was attended by a malign omen: as he was steering his own vessel, some overhanging boughs swept the diadem from his brow into the flood: after which, he wore on-board a sailor's cap. Other portents have been related. Calanus, the only Brahmin who could be induced to follow him from India, fell sick in Persia: Before the eastern sage was carried to the pyre, on which he had resolved to devote himself, Alex-

* Casbin (*Kazveen*) is famous as the burial-place of Hephæstion. It was afterwards one of the chief cities of the Parthian empire; and has since been the residence of many Persian kings.

ander visited him : Calanus embraced the rest at the interview ; but refused to take leave of his royal friend, saying, ‘ That he should see ‘ him again in Babylon.’ Robbed of serenity by superstitious fears, the king offered daily sacrifices, according both to the Grecian and Barbarian rites, to conciliate the menacing gods.

Having, with recovered confidence, returned to Babylon, he received delegates bringing crowns of gold from the Grecian republics. As a prelude to distant enterprises, he reviewed his troops and gallees. From a splendid entertainment which he had given to Nearchus and the captains of the fleet, Alexander, retiring to rest, was met by Medius of Larissa. This officer, prolonging at his own board a separate feast to his friends, strenuously invited the king to honour the sitting. Alexander remained with the party of Medius the rest of the night, and all the following day, in the course of which he drank a cup to each of the twenty guests*. The indisposition under which he was carried from this scene of excess, incessantly increased in violence ; and, on the sixth day, disease had nearly exhausted in him the powers of nature. Meanwhile, the anxious soldiers obtained admission to his presence †.

* Plutarch and Athenæus.

† The *Supplement* of Freinshemius ends with the chapter.

CHAP. V.

Death of Alexander. Grief of the Macedonians and Persians. Sisymbis dies by abstinence. Character of Alexander.

12. AS they saw him, their tears springing, they presented the appearance, not of an army of visitors to their king, but of mourners over his grave. Of the circle round his bed the grief was eminently full: as Alexander beheld them, "When I am gone, where," said he, "will you find a king worthy of such men?"

It transcends belief, that in the sitting posture to which he had raised himself when the troops were admitted, he remained till the whole army, to the last man, had saluted him. The multitude dismissed, as discharged from the last debt of life, he threw back his weary frame,

His friends having been bidden to approach close, for his voice began now to fail, his signet drawn from his finger he delivered to Perdicas, accompanied with an injunction to convey his body to Hammon. To those inquiring, 'To whom he devised the empire,' he answered: "To the most worthy* — I already fore-

* Diodorus represents his answer to have been, "To the bravest, or strongest." And Le Tellier is anxious to construe the "optimus" of Curtius in that sense. But is it not painting Alexander little better than a fiend, thus to make him deliberately leave to his

“ see, in that debate, mighty funeral games prepared for me.” Asked by Perdicas, ‘ When he willed that divine honours should be paid him,’ he replied, “ When themselves were happy.” These were the last words of the king: Soon afterwards he expired*.

Olymp. cxiv. 1.
A. C. 324.
Ætat. Alex. 33.
Reg. 13.
Imp. 7.

lieutenants only a legacy of social war? Justin has it, unambiguously, “ To the most worthy.”

The translator supposes—that Alexander, in the signet, meant to confer the supremacy on Perdicas; that, surprised and offended at the subsequent question, ‘ To whom he left the empire,’ his answer “ To the most worthy” implied, “ Have I not already disposed of it?” and that “ *certamen*,” in the translation represented by “ debate,” does not allude to an *armed contest*, which Alexander, according to the general construction, was instituting, and connected with which the word “ foresee” is inapposite, but alludes to *bustling symptoms of cabal*, which he overheard among the rivals of Perdicas while they were still round his pillow.

*. On 28. Dæsius.—*Diary of EUM. and DIOD. apud ATHEN.* lib. x. p. 434. Usher makes the 28th of Dæsius, in this year, answer to 22. May of the Julian Kalendar; M. de Sainte-Croix, to 18. August. The impossibility of determining the month in which the event fell, prevents the year from being assigned with certainty.

It may be useful to recapitulate here the times at which the different eras commence, omitting that of the Christian, as universally known.

The OLYMPIAD, or space of four years between each recurrence of the Olympic games, begins on the *first new moon after the summer-solstice, which then fell about June 27.*

ALEXANDER WAS BORN 21. July? Plutarch commemorates, that the Macedonian month Loüs answered — at that era — to the Attic month Hecatombæon, which — governed by the new moon — began on the 16th July,

In the first fit of grief, the whole palace resounded with lamentations and with smittings of the breast:—anon all things lay, as in a desert, couched in dreary silence; anguish diverted to the contemplation of what was to follow.

The young nobles accustomed to guard his person; with ungoverned distress; passed out of the palace, and, wandering like maniacs, filled the city with sorrow and complaint; nor omitted any extravagance which mournful emotions could prompt.

13. The guards, who had stood without the palace, as well Barbarians as Macedonians, in consequence rushed in; nor, in the common distraction, could the vanquished be distinguished from the victors. The Persians invoking their most just and most merciful master;

in that year. A letter of Philip written about eighteen years after the birth of Alexander—preserved in Demosthenes' Oration on the Crown—distinctly states, that Louis, *at that time*, corresponded with the Attic month Boëdromion. Hence many have dated Alexander's birth on 20th September.

ALEXANDER began to REIGN OVER MACEDON, 24. September.

———— began to REIGN OVER PERSIA some time in July.

The sum which Aristobulus, *apud* ARRIAN. lib. VII. cap. 28, assigns to Alexander's age, is thirty-two years and eight months; and Cicero says: "Did not Alexander the Macedonian die in his thirty-third year?" *Philipp. V. c. 7.*

See ADDITIONAL NOTES (C C).

the Macedonians their greatest, bravest king,— it seemed a contest in wretchedness. The voices were, also, heard of passionate murmurers: “ So happy a prince, in the blossom-
“ ing of life and fortune, snatched, from the
“ government of men, by the envy of the gods.” The vigor and countenance with which he led engagements, commenced sieges, mounted in escalades, and assembled the troops to reward the brave, were present to their imaginations. Then the Macedonians expressed regret, for their refusal to him of celestial honours; and termed themselves undutiful, ungrateful, inasmuch as they had wronged his ears of his due title. After they had long continued telling, now of their veneration for the king, now of their attachment to him, their compassion turned upon themselves. Marched from distant Macedonia beyond the Euphrates, they perceived themselves to be unsupported in the midst of enemies who despised their new empire; and that in the deficiency of a determinate heir to the king’s dominions, every general would attract to himself a part of the forces. They foreboded the civil wars which afterwards occurred. Their blood must once more flow, their scars be opened by new wounds, not to win the empire of Asia, but to decide who should be their master. Aged, infirm, having just demanded dismissal from their rightful

sovereign, they must be sacrificed for the elevation of some, perhaps, ignoble satellite.

14. As they were revolving these apprehensions, night surprised them, and increased their terror: the troops watched under arms: the Babylonians stood, some on the walls, others on the tops of the houses, inquisitively looking, as expecting decisive things. None dared to employ lights; and as vision was suspended, the ear, devoted to the din, analysed every sound. Great numbers, roving panic-struck, encountered in bye-alleys; borne along, mutually suspected and anxious.

The Persians, their heads, according to their manner, shaven, habited in mourning, with their wives and children, forgetting how recently the conqueror had been an enemy, bewailed him, with true affection, as their lawful king. Accustomed to live under a monarch, they confessed that they had never had a ruler worthier to be remembered. Nor was their grief circumscribed by the city-walls: with the report of its calamitous cause, it spread to the adjoining country, and afterwards pervaded that large section of Asia on this side the Euphrates.

The news flew to Dariüs' mother. Her usual attire rent, and replaced by melancholy weeds, she, with torn tresses, flung herself on the ground. Sitting near her, was one of her grand-daughters, lamenting her husband He-

phæstion, lately lost: with the public grief, she was retracing her personal sorrows. But Sisygambis alone was marshalling all the ills of her family:—she wept her own lot, she wept the condition of her grand-children: the new afflictions revived the past. It might be imagined that Darius had died only now, and that the same day witnessed the obsequies of two sons of this disconsolate. She mourned the dead and the living. “Who would protect her girls? “who would be another Alexander? They “were again captives, again fallen from the “pinnacle of majesty. Their father dead, “they had found a guardian; after Alexander, “doomed to find no commiserating friend.” During the utterance of these reflections, it assailed her mind—That eighty of her brethren had been butchered, in one day, by that cruellest of kings, Ochus, who added the immolation of her father to the slaughter of his children:—Of seven children which herself had borne, but one survived:—Darius had flourished a while to meet a terrible extinction.

At length she sunk under her sorrows: her head veiled, turned away from her granddaughter and grand-son, who were kneeling at her feet, she refused equally food and light. On the fifth day, after abjuring life, she expired.

The exit of this princess, is a strong argument of Alexander's courtesy to her, and cle-

ment treatment of all the captives: she who could endure to survive Darius, revolted from surviving Alexander.

15. And, indisputably, to persons justly estimating Alexander, it is plain, that his great qualities were parts of his nature; his bad traits, either vitiations of prosperity, or ebullitions of youth*. Half-incredulous, we wonder at the force of his spirit; his perseverance in labour, abstinence, and watching; almost to excess; his bravery transcending that of other kings, and even of men without another endowment — death, which appals mankind, he habitually despised. His bounty frequently imparted more than the sanguine ask of the gods. How many kingdoms did his moderation and beneficence, to the vanquished, restore or give! His too great love of applause and renown, is venial in a young man who had performed such achievements. If filial fondness proposed to enshrine Olympias as a goddess, filial duty had avenged Philip. His courtesy entertained al-

* The translator has been guided by the context, independent of which, such is the ambiguity of "*fortuna, vel ætatis*," that the passage might be paraphrased, "his vices, owing to casual circumstances, or the character of the age." On such sentimental blanching, the translator would observe, that if man is indeed the creature of circumstances, let one of the circumstances thrown round him be a severe reprobation of crimes — not a false and pernicious system of accommodating ethics, which will extinguish improvement and animate degeneracy.

most all his officers; his benevolence embraced the army. Equally with magnanimity, he displayed wisdom, and an early policy which mature years sustained. Immoderate appetites he had tempered to a mean; long he observed the institutes of nature; and never invaded the conjugal rights of another. These were great qualities.—The stains of his prosperity were—Requiring divine honours, in emulation of the gods; crediting oracles which had instigated such extravagancies; discharging inequitable vengeance on those who would not stoop to adore him*; taking an effeminate foreign dress; adopting the degenerate manners of the vanquished, which, before the battle of Arbela, he had despised. As to his proneness to anger, and love of wine, as fervid youth had increased, so sedate age might have moderated, these faults. It must, after all, be confessed, that he was indebted, how much soever to great endowments, still more to fortune, which he,

* The modern apologists for Alexander are more tenacious of his reputation: "Had he remitted," says Dr. Gillies, "formalities consecrated by the practice of ages, he must insensibly have lost the respect of his Asiatic subjects." But were not the Macedonian customs equally venerable; and was not the respect of freemen as important as that of the slaves whom they had conquered? Or would the Persians, who had witnessed the fate of Darius and Bessus, deem that invincibility and divinity necessarily enshrined a monarch who received the ceremony of prostration?

alone of all mankind, seemed to lead in his train. How often did she rescue him from death! how often, with constant favour, shield him rashly committed to peril! To his life, and his glory, she assigned one period. The fates delayed until—the East subdued, and the Ocean attained—he had effected as much as a mortal could effect.

To this great king and leader, a successor is wished: but the weight is more than any individual can support. His name, and the fame of his achievements, distributed kings, and apportioned kingdoms, over well-nigh all the world; and illustrious were accounted the inheritors of minor proportions of such greatness.

CHAP. VI.

Deliberations respecting a Successor to Alexander.

16. AT Babylon, whence began our digression, the guards of the presence convened, in the palace, the principal courtiers and leaders of the army: there followed a concourse of soldiers, eager to know on whom Alexander's dominion would devolve. As an impenetrable crowd excluded many officers from admission, a herald proclaimed that none should approach

besides those called by name: but the precarious regulation was despised. A strong wailing burst out, subsided, and was reëxcited. At length, the tears of the multitude repressed, expectation held them silent.

The regal chair, in which were the diadem, the robes, and the arms of Alexander, exposed to public view, Perdiccas then deposited in the chair the signet which the king had given him the day before. On seeing these vacant ensigns, the assembly once more wept.

“ I here,” said Perdiccas, “ surrender to you
“ the ring delivered by the king himself to me,
“ with which he was used to seal his acts of
“ power. Although to match the calamity,
“ with which we are afflicted, not one could
“ be devised by incensed gods; yet the vast-
“ ness of his achievements justifies us in be-
“ lieving, that the celestials lent such a man to
“ human affairs, and that, their destination’s ac-
“ complished, they have suddenly taken back
“ their offspring. Since, therefore, nothing re-
“ mains of him, more than ’is always shut out
“ from immortality, let us, as soon as possible,
“ discharge the last duties to his corse and
“ name; mindful in what city, among what
“ people, we are, and of what a king and cham-
“ pion we have been deprived.

“ Our present deliberations, fellow-soldiers!

“ must embrace measures to keep the conquest
 “ won among the conquerors. A head is in-
 “ dispensable: to constitute this, either single
 “ or multifold, is now in your power. But it
 “ behoves you to know, that a military mass
 “ without a leader, is a body without the intel-
 “ ligent principle. Roxana’s declared preg-
 “ nancy has proceeded six months: we pray,
 “ that she may bear a son: become an adult,
 “ his shall be the kingdom, the gods assenting.
 “ By whom ye will be governed meanwhile,
 “ now determine.” Thus, Perdiccas.

17. Then Nearchus spoke: “ That the blood
 “ and lineage of Alexander will alone grace the
 “ imperial dignity, no one can deny — — But
 “ to wait for a king not yet born, and to pass
 “ by one already in existence, suits neither the
 “ inclination of the Macedonians, nor this
 “ crisis: there is a son of the king by Barsiné:
 “ to him let us yield the diadem*.”—This

* By the name *Barsiné*, Arrian designates Darius’ elder daughter, whom Curtius, Justin, and Plutarch, call *Statira*. Eusebius, after Porphyry, makes *Barsiné* daughter of *Pharmabazus*; Plutarch, daughter of *Artabazus*, and widow of *Memnon* the Rhodian, taken captive at *Danascus*: [Curtius, book iii. chap. 13.] As Arrian himself attests the ready agreement of Alexander’s generals to set aside his son *Hercules* by *Barsiné*, it is probable that she was not the daughter of *Darius*, nor had been treated as a queen, nor married to the king as *Roxana* and *Statira*. The variation of the other writers respecting the father of *Barsiné*, is an additional argument that her birth was comparatively obscure.

speech pleased no one: the soldiers, therefore, in their manner, clashing their spears and shields, perseveringly interrupted it; and had nearly proceeded to tumult, because Nearchus stubbornly maintained his opinion.

“ An offspring entirely worthy to rule the
“ Macedonian nation,” then observed Ptolemy,
“ is the son either of Roxana or Barsiné! it
“ will grate Europé to pronounce the name of
“ a king, having so much captive blood in his
“ composition. Have we subdued the Persians
“ to serve their progeny; which those rightful
“ lords of the East; Xerxes and Darius, with
“ armed myriads, and powerful fleets, in vain re-
“ quired us to do? My proposition is, that,
“ Alexander’s throne fixed in his pavilion,
“ those who were associated to his councils
“ there meet, as often as it be needful to deli-
“ berate in common: and as to any point which
“ the majority of these decree, let it stand a so-
“ vereign act: let the generals and viceroys obey
“ these.” With Ptolemy some agreed, but the
greater number with Perdicas.

Then Aristonus arose to speak: “ When
“ consulted as to whom he left the kingdom,
“ Alexander willed that the most worthy should
“ be elected. His disposal of the signet, shows
“ that himself adjudged Perdicas the most
“ worthy. Nor was this companion of the dy-

“ing king alone with him : but the king, casting his eyes round, singled, from a crowd of friends, this, to whom he delivered his ring. It pleased him, therefore, to confer the supremacy on Perdiccas.”

The assembly entertained no doubt that Aristonus had rightly construed Alexander's last act ; they therefore unanimously desired Perdiccas to step forth, and take up the royal signet. Perdiccas hesitated between avidity and bashfulness ; and imagined that the more modestly he approached the object which his wishes were embracing, the more it would be pressed upon his acceptance. After lingering long undetermined how to act, he retired behind those who sat next.

But Meleager, one of the captains, whom the indecision of Perdiccas had elated, began with fortified spirit : “ The gods can never permit the fortune of Alexander, the dignity of such power, to descend on those shoulders : men, assuredly, will never suffer it. I speak not of individuals more ennobled than he is, but of any consciously men : by whose revolting minds there is no obligation that it should be endured. Nor does it concern us, whether we have, for a king, the son of Roxana, whenever he shall be produced, or Perdiccas, since the latter, under the title of

“ protector, will seize the sovereignty. Hence
“ it is, that he will hear of no king, unless it
“ be one in embryo : and while it were just and
“ requisite that all things be expeditiously set-
“ tled, he alone is waiting the full term of
“ months, having already divined that a boy is
“ conceived : do you doubt that Perdiccas is
“ prepared at least to substitute one? If so-
“ lemnly adjuring us, Alexander had left us
“ this man for a king, this alone of all his com-
“ mands, I should judge it right to disobey.
“ Why, Macedonians ! do you not separate to
“ pillage the treasuries ; for to these imperial
“ riches the people is heir.” Having thus
spoken, Meleager broke away through the
armed crowd ; and those who had opened for
him to pass, followed to the promised spoil.

CHAP. VII.

*Aridæus is saluted king under the name of Philip.
Opposite measures of the nobles. Skirmish in
the apartment containing Alexander's corse.
Submission of Perdiccas.*

18. A DENSE volume of soldiers gathered about Meleager, the assembly having been diverted to tumult and discord : when there now

spoke one of the lowest class, unknown to the greater part of the Macedonians: "What need of arms and civil war, when you have with you the king whom you seek? Aridæus, son of Philip, brother of the late king Alexander, his companion in the sacred ceremonies, now his sole heir, is passed over by you. What is his demerit; what crime has he committed; why is he excluded from the public law of nations? If you seek the equal of Alexander, you will never find him; if the next in right, Aridæus is the person." Having heard this, the multitude, at first, remained silent, as awed by authority. Afterwards, they all at once clamoured: "Let Aridæus be called; they deserve death who would hold the assembly without him."

Pithon, then, commenced an appeal with profuse tears: "Now it appears how deeply Alexander ought to be mourned, torn from the service and society of such citizens and soldiers, who are so absorbed in contemplating the name and memory of their late king, that they are blind to other things." A sarcasm, not ambiguously, aimed at the young prince to whom the empire was about to be assigned. But Pithon excited more hostile blood against himself, than contempt for Aridæus; because the military, while sympathizing with

Aridæus' misfortune, began to feel as partisans. They, therefore, declare, with steady acclamation, 'That they will suffer to reign, none except him who had been born to that hope.' They order him to be sent for. Meleager, hating and hated by Perdiccas, promptly brought Aridæus into the palace; and the troops conjointly saluted him—Philip! king!

19. This was the vote of the vulgar; different, the determination of the nobles. Pithon, in execution of the project of Perdiccas, appointed Perdiccas and Leonnatus, who were of the royal lineage, guardians to the expected son of Roxana. He subjoined a stipulation, 'That, in Europe, Craterus and Antipater should administer the government.' Then from every individual was exacted an oath, that he would hold true allegiance to the issue of Alexander.

Meleager, not without cause, apprehensive of punishment, seceded from his party. Bringing Philip again with him, he, soon afterwards, rushed into the palace, exclaiming: "The public hopes conceived of the new king are supported by his vigorous manhood. Let us make an experiment of Philip's offspring, the son and brother of our last two kings; and let us put most confidence in our own judgment."

The deepest sea, the most disturbed estuary, has not more fluctuations than popular caprice, wherever it can wanton in the exercise of a new liberty to last but an interval. A few voted the empire to Perdiccas; far many more than Philip had expected pronounced it to be his. They neither approved, nor rejected, any thing long. Now they repented of their own purpose; now of their penitence. At length, however, they settled in a favourable disposition to the royal line.

Awed by the power of the leading nobility, Aridæus had withdrawn from the assembly. During his absence, the soldiers' partiality had been rather quiet than languid. Aridæus, summoned back; is invested with his brother's mantle, the same which had been laid upon the throne. And Meleager, in his corslet, took arms, and followed the new king, as captain of the body-guard. Clanging their shields against their spears, the phalanx menaced: " We must
" have atonement, from the blood of those
" who reached at dominion no wise belonging
" to them. In the same house and family, the
" command of the state shall remain; we will
" rescue hereditary power," and the royal line:
" as our fathers, we venerate the name of ma-
" jesty; and no one shall assume it, unless born
" to reign."

20. In alarm, Perdiccas caused the barricaded hall, where the king's body lay, to be locked. Six hundred men were with him, of tried courage. Ptolemy had also joined him, and the band of young noblemen. It was not, however, difficult for so many thousands of the phalanx to break to pieces the door. Surrounded by his guards, who were led by Meleager, the king likewise rushed in. Perdiccas, indignant, called for such to come over as would defend Alexander's corse: but those who had broke in launched darts at him. Numbers wounded, at length the seniors of the phalanx, taking off their helmets to be better recognised, entreated that the adherents of Perdiccas would desist from hostilities, and submit to the king and the majority. Perdiccas laid down his arms, and was followed by his party. Invited by Meleager to remain with the corse of Alexander, these, deeming that an opportunity for treachery was sought, went out at another part of the palace, and flew to the precinct of the Euphrates. The cavalry, consisting of the most distinguished young men, in a strong body, followed Perdiccas and Leonnatus. It was agreed to quit the city, and encamp in the field—except by Perdiccas, who did not despair of the accession of the infantry to his standard: he therefore

remained in the city, lest, by withdrawing with the horse, he should appear to have severed himself from the rest of the army.

CHAP. VIII.

Perdiccas intimidates the guards sent to apprehend him, and repairs to Leonnatus. Forlorn air of the court. Blockade of the city. Aridæus summons the cavalry. Reunion of the army.

MEANWHILE, Meleager never ceased to represent to Aridæus, ‘ That the death of Perdiccas was necessary to confirm his sovereignty. Unless that uncontrollable spirit were prevented, he would unsettle the succession. He could not forget what retribution he deserved from his king; and no man is faithful to him whom he distrusts.’ The silence of Aridæus, who rather suffered than assented to these suggestions, Meleager understood as a command. In the king’s name, by a party of guards, he sent for Perdiccas, and charged them to kill him, should he hesitate

to come. Apprised of their mission, Perdiccas posted himself at the door of his house, accompanied by sixteen, in all, of the royal band of youths. The messengers, whom, in a severe rebuke, he addressed as Meleager's slaves, he so awed by his determined spirit and countenance, that they fled in a panic. Perdiccas directed the young nobles to mount their horses, and proceeded to Leonnatus with a few adherents: his guard reinforced, he was now ready to repel any violence.

21. Next day, the Macedonian infantry viewed it as a flagitious affair, that Perdiccas' life was brought into danger; and they resolved to apply, under arms, for vengeance on the temerity of Meleager. The satellite, having foreseen the sedition, when they appeared before the king, asked him, 'Whether he had ordered that Perdiccas should be apprehended?' Aridæus answered: "I ordered it, by your advice: but the troops ought to dismiss alarm; for Perdiccas lives."

The assembly thus dissolved, Meleager, terrified at the separation of the horse, seeing no expedient, as he had incurred the displeasure of the foot by endeavouring to direct it against his enemy, spent three days in revolving unstable schemes.

During these transactions, the form of a

court was preserved; the ambassadors of the nations continued to present themselves before the king; the chiefs of the army, to attend; and body-guards and lance-bearers filled the area before the palace. But impulsive gloom sat on every face, the index of the last despair; mutually distrustful, the courtiers durst neither associate nor converse; each ruminating alone. A comparison with the new king, awakened regret for their departed leader — — Where is he whose power and auspices we followed hither? Disaffected, untamed, nations, as they can seize opportunity, will avenge themselves on their unsupported conquerors.

While such thoughts were gnawing away their courage, it was announced, that the cavalry under Perdiccas, possessed of the avenues, obstructed the carriage of corn to the city. Hence scarcity began to be felt, and then famine. The forces within the walls voted, that a reconciliation with Perdiccas must be negotiated, or battle given.

22. It had happened, that the rural inhabitants of Babylonia, apprehensive that the farms and villages would be plundered, took refuge in the city, and the towns-people, as their provisions failed, repaired to the open country: to each party change of situation appearing safer. The Macedonian infantry, afraid

of the convulsion attending these migrations, assembled in the palace, and delivered their opinions. It was decreed, that deputies should be sent to the horse to demand the cessation of discord and the surrender of their arms. Pasa, the Thessalian, Amissas, the Megalopolitan, and Perilaüs, dispatched in consequence, by the king, bore back this answer to his orders: "The cavalry will not lay down their arms, unless the movers of the sedition are delivered up." On this being announced, the soldiers, unbidden, ran to arms.

"There is no need for this tumult," said Aridæus, whom the uproar had drawn from the palace; "the prize for which the combatants will be slaughtered, will fall to such as shall have remained inactive. Remember, no less, that the dispute is with your fellow-countrymen; and to take from them suddenly the hope of accommodation, is precipitating social war. Let us try, by another embassy, whether they are to be conciliated: I am persuaded that they will all unite, as Alexander's remains are not yet buried, to discharge the last solemnities. For myself, I had rather resign this dignity, than maintain it by the blood of my countrymen. And if there is no other excitement to concord, elect, I entreat you, a more popular leader." Then,

while tears started, he took the diadem from his head; holding it out in his right hand, that any might take it who deemed himself worthier.

This attempered speech excited great expectations from his talents, hitherto eclipsed by his brother's celebrity. All, therefore, pressed him to prosecute whatever he designed. He commissioned the same negociators, to claim from the cavalry their acceptance of Meleager among them as third general. This was obtained without difficulty; for Perdiccas was desirous to remove Meleager from the king; and he considered that one could not cope with two.

Meleager, in consequence, leading out the phalanx, was met by Perdiccas conducting the horse. The columns, after mutual salutation, unite, permanently established, as they suppose, in harmony and tranquillity.

CHAP. IX.

Perdiccas circumvents Meleager.

23. **BUT** the fates were now scattering on the Macedonian nation civil wars. The crown, which will not endure partners, is sought by

many competitors. First, the leaders concentrated their forces, then distributed them. As they had loaded the trunk with more than it could support, the limbs began to decay; and that empire which under one sovereign might have subsisted, under the grasp of many falls to ruin.

It is therefore with due gratitude, that the Roman people ascribe their salvation to their prince*; who, on the night which we had nearly dated as our last, shone on us a new star. Incontestably, the rising of this sun restored light to the shadowed world, when the divided members of the state were trembling without a head. How many fire-brands did he extinguish! how many swords, sheath! what a tempest dissipate, by interposed serenity! Hence the reinvigorated empire flourishes. May envy never touch him; may he live through the age; be his house established, his line perpetual!

To proceed in the order from which a contemplation on our public happiness diverted me:—Perdiccas reposed all his hope of personal safety in the death of Meleager: this man, giddy at once and perfidious, always meditating sudden changes, and paramouly hostile to him-

* Claudius probably. See the Preface.

self, it was his purpose to arrest. This purpose Perdiccas buried in the depth of dissimulation, that he might surprise him unguarded. Among the forces under his command, he suborned individuals, who openly complained, as without his knowledge, that Meleager was made equal to Perdiccas.

On a report of their discourse, Meleager, agitated with rage, communicated to Perdiccas what he had heard. As alarmed by an unexpected circumstance, the latter began to express wonder and sorrow, assuming the aspect of a person hurt. He ultimately consented, that the authors of such seditious expressions should be apprehended. Meleager thanked Perdiccas, and embracing him, extolled his fidelity and generosity toward himself. Then they concerted measures for crushing the guilty; it was agreed to purify the army in the national manner: and the recent division was made the ostensible cause.

24. The kings of Macedon were accustomed thus to purify the troops. At the extremities of the field into which the army was to be led, the inwards of a bitch, cut in two, were deposited by each party. In the intermediate space ranged all the forces, the cavalry on one side, the phalanx on the other.

On the day appointed for this ceremony, the

king, with the horse and elephants, had posted himself opposite the foot, which was commanded by Meleager. The cavalry now began to move; the phalanx under sudden terror on account of the late sedition, anticipating some procedure not purely friendly, deliberated a moment whether they should withdraw into the city, inasmuch as the plain was favourable to the horse. Ashamed, however, lightly to impeach the fidelity of their fellow-soldiers, they remained, with minds prepared for conflict, if attacked.

The approaching lines were divided but by a small interval; when the king, at the head of one of the wings, rode up to the foot; demanding for execution, by Perdiccas' advice, the principals of the sedition, whom he ought to have protected; and he threatened to fall upon the refractory with his squadrons and elephants. The infantry were confounded by the unforeseen evil; nor in Meleager himself prevailed superior courage or counsel: they deemed it safer rather to await their lot than provoke it. Then Perdiccas, seeing them torpid and stooping to the lash, drew out about three hundred, who had followed Meleager sallying from the first assembly held after Alexander's death, and cast them to the elephants in the sight of the army. The ponderous beasts trod them to

death; and Philip neither forbade nor authorized the scene, watching to challenge that procedure only for his own, which the event should justify.

To the Macedonians this was the presage and source of civil wars. Meleager, too late comprehending the artifice of Perdiccas, remained quiet with the phalanx, as no violence was then offered to his person. Afterwards, despairing of safety, when he perceived his enemies pervert to his ruin the name of that prince whom he himself had made king, he took refuge in a temple, where he was slain, unsheltered by the sanctity of the place.

CHAP. X.

Division of the empire under the supremacy of Aridaeus. Alexander's corse embalmed. Rumour noticed, that Alexander had been poisoned. His remains finally deposited at Alexandria.

25. **PERDICCAS**, having conducted the army into the city, held a council with the purpled leaders, [Leonnatus, Aristonus, Ptolemy, Lysi-

machus, Pithon, Seleucus, Eumenes, Nearchus]. It was voted, that the empire should be divided, but that Philip Aridæus should retain the supremacy:—Ptolemy obtained the viceroyalty of Egypt, and of all the African nations under Macedonian jurisdiction: Syria, with Phœnicia, was assigned to Laomedon: Cilicia, to Philotas: they confirmed Antigonus in the government of the Greater Phrygia, with Lycia and Pamphylia: Cassander was sent into Caria: Menander, into Lydia: the Minor Phrygia, adjoining the Hellespont, was accepted by Leonnatus: Cappadocia and Paphlagonia fell, in this partition, to Eumenes, who was enjoined to guard the borders as far as Trapezus, and to make war on Ariarathes, who, alone, refused the imperial yoke: [the Nine confirmed Peucestas in the satrapy of Persis. Craterus was associated to Antipater in the administration of Greece and Macedon:] Pithon was appointed to Media: Lysimachus received Thrace, with the contiguous Pontic tribes; the vicegerents presiding over India, Bactriana, Sogdiana, and the coasts of the Erythræan, were established in their dominions with the accustomed limitations*:—Perdiccas stipulated to remain with Philip Ari-

* The names of these governors might be collected from the preceding *History*: but the reader will find them with less trouble in the *Synopsis of the division of Alexander's empire*, subjoined, TABLE II.

dæus, and to command the forces which followed the sovereign. It has been believed by some, that the provinces were thus distributed by the will of Alexander: but we discover this report, though transmitted by several authors, to be unfounded*.

Each lieutenant was intent to grasp his estate in the apportioned empire: all might have established their power, could moderation have controlled ambition; recently the king's servants, they had now, under colour of upholding the authority of another, possessed themselves of large kingdoms: causes of war seemed removed, as they were commanders of one nation, and the bounds of their jurisdiction defined. But it was difficult to be content with what fortune had presented; for the first boons are despised, when greater are expected. All thought to augment their dominions more expeditiously than they acquired them.

26. Seven days Alexander's remains were lying trestled on a bier; the cares of the nobles diverted from his obsequies to the constitution of a government. No climate is more sultry than that of Mesopotamia; in its zenith, the estival sun kills the greater part of animals, not

* According to Diodorus, lib. xx. 81, Alexander had deposited in the city of Rhodes a testament by which he disposed of his whole dominion: but if such a document had existed, those interested in suppressing it, took care that it should not appear.

under shelter: so intensely torrid is the air, that every thing is scorched as by a fire: un-failing springs are so rare, that the inhabitants draw from them by stealth, and conceal them by artifice from strangers*. When, at length, Alexander's friends had leisure to attend the corse, they perceived no symptom of corruption: the vivid hue of life had not left it. The Egyptians and Chaldæans, appointed to embalm it, durst not, at first, operate on a body appearing to breathe. Afterwards, entreating that it might be lawful for mortal hands to touch his relicks, they proceeded to purify them: costly aromatics filled the coffin of gold, and the ensign of majesty was placed on the head of the embalmed.

Most persons believed Alexander to have died from poison †, and that one of the attendants of his table, Jollas, a son of Antipater, administered it, by his father's order. It is certain, that Alexander had been frequently heard to say: "Antipater aspires after royalty: he is

* These wells are all lined with masonry. The natives have a way of covering them with boards, heaped with sand, which effectually conceals them from an enemy. — ELPHINSTONE'S *Cambul*, Introduction, p. 6.

† Arrian, after mentioning this, and correspondent reports, observes: "These I have recorded, rather that I might appear not to be ignorant that they were then circulated, than that I deem them worthy of credit." Plutarch asserts, that the tale of the poisoned cup was not heard of till some years afterwards, when Olympias wished to render the family of Antipater odious.

“ too powerful for a lieutenant; inflated with
“ that mottoed plume, *The Spartan victory*, he
“ challenges, as his due, all the honours which
“ I bestow.” It was surmised too, that the mis-
sion of Craterus, when he conducted home the
band of veterans, was to take off Antipater.
Such is the virus of a poison made up in Mace-
don, that it dissolves iron, and can be contained
only in a vessel formed of a beast’s hoof. The
source of the pestiferous venom is the Arcadian
Styx. Cassander brought some of this water,
and delivered it to his brother Jollas, who in-
fused it into the king’s last cup. However these
reports originated, they were soon stifled by
the power of those whom their prevalence ar-
raigned. For Antipater seized the kingdom of
Macedon and the government of Greece; his
son succeeded to his power, and slaughtered
those who, by consanguinity, however remote,
were allied to Alexander. [Intercepting the
funeral procession travelling, after a delay of
two years, from Babylon to Hammon,] Ptolemy,
to whom Egypt had devolved, conveyed Alex-
ander’s body to Memphis, and thence, subse-
quently, to Alexandria, where [was erected to
the founder of the city, a magnificent temple,
surrounded by a grove for the celebration of mi-
litary games and sacrifices, and where] all heroic
honour is continued to his memory and name.

SYNOPSIS
OF THE
DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER.

In Two Alphabetical Tables;

THE FIRST ARRANGED BY THE NAMES OF
HIS RELATIVES AND OFFICERS;

THE SECOND, OF
THE PROVINCES:

Illustrated by a
CONCISE NARRATIVE UP TO THE BATTLE OF IPSUS.*

TABLE I.

The first Partition is implied, when no other is indicated.

ALEXANDER ÆGUS, posthumous son of Alexander by Roxana, was proclaimed legitimate co-heir with Philip Aridæus. In his thirteenth year, and six years after the death of Aridæus, it was stipulated in a treaty between Antigonus and Demetrius with Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, that Cassander should deliver up to the young prince the throne of

* The *Tables* are translations from the learned *Collation of Authorities* by Freinshemius, corrected and enlarged: the *Narrative* is founded on ancient authorities, and the luminous result of modern researches, particularly Gillies' *History of the World*, chapters ii.—vii.

Macedon, at the expiration of his minority. The execrable Cassander soon afterwards secretly murdered Alexander Ægus and his mother Roxana, by the agency of Glaucias, keeper of the citadel of Amphipolis, in which they were confined.

AMPHIMACHUS, *on the second partition*, succeeded Arcesilaus, lieutenant over Mesopotamia.

AMYNTAS (one of the satraps designated in Curtius, book x. chap. x. 25, by the names or situation of their provinces) was continued in the government of Sogdiana and Hither Bactriana.

ANTIGENES, commander of the Argyraspides, *in the second division by Antipater*, obtained a nomination to the satrapy of Susiana, which was renewed by Polysperchon.

ANTIGONUS, remotely allied to the royal house of Macedon, was confirmed in viceregal dominion over Lycia, Pamphylia, and the Greater Phrygia, with Lycaonia.—See his subsequent imperial greatness and fall in the *Narrative*.

ANTIPATER was associated with Craterus in the administration of Greece and Macedon; of which, on Craterus' death, he resumed the entire dominion. Soon after the fall of Perdiccas, he was elected by the controlling army protector of the empire, which he settled anew.

ARCESILAUS acquired the viceroyalty of Mesopotamia.

ARCHON, the Pellæan, was satrap of Babylonia.

ARIDÆUS, son of Philip, and king after Alexander.—See PHILIP ARIDÆUS.

ARIDÆUS, the general, who conducted Alexander's remains to Egypt; after Perdiccas' death, sometime joint-protector with Pithon; *in the second division of the empire*, received from Antipater Hellespontian Phrygia.

ARISTONUS, a leader of the *companions* and a *guard of the presence*, assisted the counsels of Perdiccas, and afterwards attended Antipater to Europe.

ASANDER, whose relations, as lieutenant of Caria—alternately pacific and hostile toward other satraps—show him to

have been a devoted adherent to Antipater's house, was probably sub-governor and afterwards viceroy under Cassander. — See the *Narrative*, section 10, note.

ASCLEPIODORUS, *on the third partition by Antigonus*, succeeded Pēucestas as governor of Persis.

ATROPATES, a Median nobleman, who had a daughter married to Perdiccas, had been made governor of his native country by Alexander. When at length Pithon obtained a sufficient detachment to take possession of the Greater Media, Atropates, by permission of the Macedonians, reserved the northern district, which he afterwards maintained in defiance of them, and transmitted to his descendants. From him the dissevered province acquired the name of Atropatena.

BLITER, *on the third partition*, obtained Mesopotamia.

CASSANDER was sent into Caria. *At the second partition*, his father Antipater set him over the *equestrian companions*. He died possessed of the kingdom of Macedonia.

CLEOMENES, who under Alexander had been superintendent of the building of Alexandria, and treasurer of the revenues of Egypt and Africa Proper, was associated to Ptolemy as second governor of Egypt.

CLEOPATRA, Alexander's full-sister, widow of Alexander of Epirus; courted, after Alexander's death, successively by ambitious generals who had derided her licentious character; was assassinated by the contrivance of Antigonus when on the point of marriage with Ptolemy.

CLITUS, a conspicuous naval commander, *at the second partition*, obtained Lydia from Antipater.

CRATERUS, of Orestis, while marching to supersede Antipater, received an appointment to be joint-viceroy of Macedonia, and guardian of Aridaeus' hereditary kingdom.

CYNNA; daughter of Philip by an Illyrian woman, and widow of Amyntas, an unfortunate competitor with Alexander for the crown; in the army, which she followed to Asia, admired as a heroine; was assassinated by Perdiccas the regent.

EVAGORAS, after the *third partition*, administered the viceroyalty of Persis, perhaps as deputy to Asclepiodorus.

EUDAMUS was joint-superintendent of the Indian provinces, with Pithon the son of Agenor.

EUMENES, of Cărdia, was appointed to subdue and govern the united satrapy of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia.—See his subsequent acquisitions in the *Narrative*.

EURIDICE, grand-daughter of Perdiccas III. Philip's eldest brother, was married to Philip Aridæus. She was the daughter of Amyntas and Cynna.

HERCULES, son of Alexander by Barsiné, widow of Memnon, more than four years old when Alexander died, was set aside on account of his illegitimacy. On the death of Alexander Ægus, about thirteen years afterwards, he sailed from Pergamus into the Peloponnesus, to join Polysperchon, who invited him to claim the vacant throne. When the opposing forces were ready to engage on the borders of Macedon, Polysperchon, influenced by the bribes and promises of Cassander, murdered Hercules.

LAOMEDON, of Mitylene, received the government of Syria with Phœnicia. Although confirmed by Antipater, he was expelled by Ptolemy.

LEONNATUS, of Pella, remotely descended from the royal house of Macedon, obtained Hellespontian Phrygia.

LYSIMACHUS, of Pella, had assigned to him, Thrace and the bordering Pontic tribes.

MELEAGER, son of Neoptolemus, was slain before the first division of the empire.

MENANDER resumed the dominion of Lydia.

NEARCHUS, of Crete, the celebrated navigator, governed Lycia and Pamphylia, not by the appointment of the parties voting the first partition, but as the lieutenant of Antigonus.

NEOPTOLEMUS was nominated satrap of Armenia. Orontes is known to have held that dignity; whether in opposition to Neoptolemus, or as his successor, is uncertain.

NICANOR, in *Antipater's division*, was substituted for Eumenes, over Cappadocia: but the power of Eumenes annulled the appointment. Nicanor, afterwards, under Antigonus, succeeded Hipparstratus in the command of a Macedonian force in Media, to control Orontobates.

NICATOR, *the victor*, a surname of SELEUCUS.

OLYMPIAS, after a career of intrigue and hideous crime, met a tragic death.—See the *Narrative*, sect. 18.

ORONTES, after Neoptolemus was killed in battle, governed in Armenia.

ORONTOBATES, a Mede, *at the third partition*, was raised, by Antigonus, to the government of his native province, controlled by a Macedonian army under Hipparstratus.

OXARTES, father-in-law to Alexander, governed the Parapamisadæ with Ulterior Bactriana.

PERDICCAS, of Orestis, allied by remote descent to the royal house of Macedon, exercised paramount sovereignty in the name of Philip Aridæus, and afterwards of the kings, and was commander-in-chief of the imperial army. He was leader of the *companions*, and seems to have held the satrapy of Susiana by a lieutenant.

PEUCESTAS was confirmed in the government of Persis.

PHILIP ARIDÆUS, half-brother of Alexander, was elected king, but deemed incompetent to govern without a protector. His power was strengthened by a marriage with Euridice. His titular sovereignty was divided with Alexander Ægus.—See his catastrophe in the *Narrative*, sect. 18.

PHILIP, the general, *in the second partition*, received Parthia.

PHILOTAS obtained Cilicia.

PHILOXENUS, *on the second division*, succeeded Philotas, who appears to have fallen, in hostilities with Eumenes.

PHRATAPHERNES held the dominion of Hyrcania, with the districts of the Tapuri and the Mardi.

PITHON, son of Agenor.—See PYTHON.

PITHON, son of Crateas, was nominated to the viceroyalty of Media.

POLYSPERCHON acted in Macedon as the lieutenant of Craterus and Antipater; nominated by the latter to succeed him as protector of the kings, he gradually sunk from unmerited power into obscurity.

PORUS, one of the Indian kings, retained his enlarged territories.

PTOLEMY, reputed son of Philip, received Egypt and its African dependencies, with part of Arabia.

PYTHON, son of Agenor, seems to have presided over the tract between Arachosia and the Indus. In conjunction with Eudamus, he superintended the Indian colonies and satraps.

SELEUCUS had been placed, by Perdiccas as his lieutenant, over the *equestrian companions*. In the *second partition*, he was constituted, by Antipater, satrap of Babylonia, and general of the *companions*. He was surnamed **NICATOR**, and founded the Greek dynasty in Upper Asia.—See, in the *Narrative*, his acquisitions up to the battle of Ipsus; and see *Ariana*, in the second Table.

SIBYRTIUS retained the provinces of Arachosia and Gedrosia.

STASANDER, of Cyprus, in the *second division*, obtained Aria and Drangiana.

STASANOR, of Soli in Cyprus, in lieu of the provinces transferred to Stasander, received, on the *new settlement by Antipater*, Sogdiana and Hither Bactriana.

TAXILES retained his sovereignty in India.

THESSALONICA, half-sister of Alexander, taken prisoner, seven years after his death, at the reduction of Pydna by Cassander, was compelled to intermarry with the subverter of her house. One and twenty years after this marriage, Cassander having died, and his eldest son Philip, and Antipater and Alexander disputing the succession, she abetted the cause of the youngest. Amidst rapid reverses, in a moment of victory, the

abominable Antipater shocked the Macedonians, habituated to spectacles of blood, by refusing life to his mother, who conjured him, to spare her, by the breasts which had nourished him. The last of Alexander's relatives—if we exclude Ptolemy, and some collaterals of the maternal line surviving, it might be, in Epirus—thus perished Thessalonica.

TRIPOLITANUS had ratified to him the satrapy of Carmania.

TABLE II.

The first Partition is implied, when no other is indicated.

ADIABENE, including the district of Arbela, obeyed the satrap of Mesopotamia.

The *African* dependencies, including Marmarica, Cyrené and Lybia, or Africa Proper, over some of which the Macedonian jurisdiction was nominal, devolved, with Egypt, to Ptolemy.

Agria was committed to Antipater and his colleague, as an appendage to Macedon.

Arabia, contiguous to Egypt, as far as it had been subdued, was consigned to Ptolemy. Arabia, bordering on Chaldæa, AFTER THE FOURTH PARTITION, was awed by the arms of Seleucus.

Arachosia continued under Sibyrtius.

Aria was committed successively to Stasanor and Stasander.

Ariana; a region comprehending Media, Persis, Parthia, Hyrcania, Margiana, Sogdiana, Bactriana, Aria, Arachosia, Drangiana, Gedrosia, and Carmania; came ultimately under the supremacy of Seleucus, with Assyria, Asia Minor,

and the Indian satrapies. The era of the extinction of the Greek empire under the Selucidæ is marked in the *Narrative*, sect. 30.

Armenia, it appears, was successively governed by Neoptolemus and Orontes.

Asia Minor, SUBSEQUENTLY TO THE FOURTH DIVISION, was added to the empire of Seleucus, already established over Assyria and Ariana.

Assyria, comprehending Armenia, Mesopotamia, Adiabene, Susiana, Chaldæa, and Syria; was, IN THE FOURTH PARTITION, with the exception of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, guaranteed by Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, to Seleucus, who then held as well Ariana.

Babylonia was assigned successively to Archon and Seleucus.

Bactriana (Hither), on the removal of Amyntas, passed to Stasanor.

Bactriana (Ulterior) obeyed Oxartes.

Cappadocia was decreed to Eumenes.

Caria devolved as a viceroyalty from Cassander to Asander.

Carmania remained under Tlepolemus.

Cilicia was committed to Philoxenus, as the successor of Philotas.

Drangiana, with Aria, was transferred from Stasanor to Stasander.

Egypt, received as a province, Ptolemy transmitted to his descendants in full sovereignty.—See the era of its subjection to Rome, *Narrative*, sect. 30.

Gedrosia continued under the satrap of Arachosia.

Greece was disposed of as a dependency of Macedon.

Greek empire in Asia.—See *Ariana*.

Hyrcania was confirmed to Phrataphernes.

The *Indian feudatory kingdoms* remained under Taxiles, Porus, and the son of Abisares: the Macedonian colonies were superintended by Eudamus and Python.

Isaura revolted, with the adjoining district, *Laranda*, when the Pisidians slew *Balacrus*.

Lycaonia was added to the satrapies of *Antigonus*.

Lycia formed part of the government of *Antigonus*, under the sub-lieutenancy of *Nearchus*.

Lydia, after *Menander* had fallen, was committed to *Clitus*.

Macedon, under the nominal supremacy of *Philip Aridæus* and *Alexander Ægus*, was governed by *Craterus* and *Antipater*. *Cassander*, by the procedure related in the *Narrative*, sect. 16, *et seq.* acquired the dominion of *Macedon*. The era of the extinction of *Macedon*, as a kingdom, is specified in the *Narrative*, sect. 30.

The whole of *Media* continued under the sovereignty of *Atropates*, till the nomination of *Pithon*, son of *Crates*, in part, took effect.

Mesopotamia successively fell to *Arcesilaus*, *Amphimachus*, and *Bliter*.

Palestine, ultimately dismembered from *Syria*, obeyed *Ptolemy*.

Pamphylia was included in the allotment to *Antigonus*.

Paphlagonia followed the various appropriations of *Capadocia*.

The *Parapamasiæ* remained subject to *Oxartes*.

Parthia appears to have been transferred from *Phrathernes* to *Philip*.

Pattala had been confided to *Porus*.

Persia, as an empire, embracing *Asia Minor*, *Egypt*, *Assyria*, *Ariana*, and part of *India*, formed, with the kingdom and dependencies of *Macedon*, the titular dominions of *Philip Aridæus* and *Alexander Ægus*. All that had been conquered from *Darius*, except *Egypt* and part of *Syria*, at length fell under the sway of *Seleucus*. The era of the extinction of the Greek empire, under the *Seleucidæ*, is specified in the *Narrative*, sect. 30.

Persis remained under Peucestas till he was superseded by Asclepiodorus.

Phœnicia formed part of the satrapy of Syria.

Phrygia (the Greater) remained the chief province of Antigonus.

Phrygia (the Less), when Leonnatus had fallen, was given to Aridæus, a commander in the phalanx.

Pisidia, after its first rebellion, affected independence under Alcetas.

Sogdiana, on the removal of Amyntas, fell to Stasanor.

Susiana, on Perdiccas' death, was conferred on Antigonus.

Syria enjoyed a short tranquillity under Laomedon.

The *Tapurians* were included in the government of Phrathernes.

Thrace became an independent kingdom under Lysimachus.

— See the era of its extinction, in the *Narrative*, sect. 30.

NARRATIVE SKETCH

OF

THE SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.

Consequences of the First Partition.

Olymp. cxiv. 1. 1. AFTER the partition of the empire, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Leonnatus, proceeded without delay to their satrapies. While Perdiccas was procrastinating the investiture of other viceroys, and while rival generals were counteracting his design to govern in the name of Aridæus, many dependencies revolted. The Greek colonists, planted in new cities on the north-eastern frontier, participating impatient wishes to return to Greece, assembled for that object, and one armed body of twenty-three thousand

began their march. In the island of Rhodes, the citizens expelled the Macedonian garrison. The Athenians and Eto-lians asserted their independence. The Thracians prepared to resist Lysimachus. The Paphlagonians and Cappadocians to oppose Eumenes. The Pisidians, in rebellion, breathed defiance. The Bactrians and the Indians manifested an hostile inclination. Syria, however, and Persis, and the provinces nearer Babylon, readily transferred their allegiance to the new regency.

2. Well received in Egypt, Ptolemy cultivated the attachment of his subjects, and augmented the provincial fortifications, fleets, and armies. He appropriated eight thousand talents in the treasury at Alexandria, having destroyed Cleomenes under the pretext that he was a partisan of Perdiccas. Cyrené had been invaded by that Thimbron who slew Harpalus in the island of Crete: but all the places in which he had gained footing, with the rest of that kingdom, invaded by Ophellas, Ptolemy's general, became an appendage to Egypt.

3. Lysimachus, in Thrace, soon reduced the vale of Hebrus, and the level coast of the Euxine. On the other side of Hæmus, he extended his dominion to the Danube. The mountaineers, however, under Seuthes, obstructed the communication between the cultivated districts of Thrace.

4. After Meleager's death, Leonnatus had holden, for a few days, the regency with Perdiccas. This share of supreme power he resigned for the satrapy of Hellespontian Phrygia; by Olympias, ever intriguing against Antipater, he was allured to direct his views to the sovereignty of Macedon, and keep his forces prepared to land in Europe. Alexander's queen Roxana bore the expected son for whom the nobles had appointed guardians in Perdiccas and Leonnatus. The royal infant was proclaimed co-heir with Philip Aridæus.

5. Pithon was long prevented from entering on the government of Media. To check the migrating Greek colonists, Perdiccas draughted, by lot, from the army, three thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. The detachment, permitted to choose its commander, fixed on Pithon; and the neighbouring provinces were commanded to reinforce him, with ten thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry. Pithon showed a design of conciliating the armed Greeks, and enlisting them under his standard, that he might increase his forces to forty thousand, and secure Media, with some of the contiguous provinces. Perdiccas, to defeat this project, sent him PUBLIC orders: "The safety of the empire requires a great example; punish the rebellious emigrants, and divide the spoils among the soldiers." Subsequently, in a battle, part of the Greeks deserted to Pithon, who defeated the remainder, and granted them conditions, stipulating for their return to the allotted settlements. The treaty was ratified by oaths; regardless of which, and the authority of their general, the Macedonians, tempted by a rich booty, under colour of the orders from Perdiccas, surprised and massacred the confiding Greeks, now in the same camp. Pithon, mortified, retired, according to his instructions; transformed by impatient revenge into a secret enemy of the regent.

6. Under the Persian dynasty, the Less and the Greater Cappadocia had been HEREDITARY satrapies: the latter, with its dependency, Paphlagonia had, since the era of Smerdis the *Magus*, been exempted from tribute, as a remuneration to Anaphas, for assisting to destroy that usurper. Ariarathes, the present vassal king of Cappadocia, who might readily have submitted on the terms which had strengthened his allegiance to Darius and to Alexander, naturally opposed an appointment which required his own deposition. On intelligence that Ariarathes had levied a strong army, Perdiccas ordered Antigonus and Leonatus to assist Eumenes in reducing his province. Antigonus;

who had held his satrapies under a commission from Alexander, disdaining submission to Perdicas, and unwilling to have the able Eumenes for a neighbour, refused to support his pretensions. Eumenes then applied to Leonnatus, whose army exceeded twenty thousand men. In return for a confidential disclosure by Eumenes, of his antipathies and views, Leonnatus, who was on the point of leading an expedition into Thessaly, ostensibly to assist Antipater, imparted to Eumenes his real design: in consequence of overtures from Cleopatra, he intended to marry her at Pella, and, aided by the party of Olympias, to mount the throne of Macedon. Repelled by the wildness of the project, Eumenes seized an opportunity to escape to Perdicas with his troops, only five hundred men, and his treasures, amounting to five thousand talents. With the royal army, the protector then moved to establish Eumenes in his satrapy. With Ariarathes, who had collected thirty thousand infantry, and fifteen thousand cavalry, a single battle terminated the war; and Eumenes entered on his viceroyalty.

The protector then marched against the Pisidians, who had slain their governor Balacrus: nor was their obstinate resistance overcome, until the capital of one revolted district was taken, and another destroyed.

7. Meanwhile Ptolemy, jealous of Perdicas, had been secretly negotiating with Antipater, for mutual support. Perdicas, whose vigilance detected the transaction, employed his brother Alcetas to defeat it, by another treaty, in consequence of which he married Nicaea, a daughter of Antipater.

8. The decree, which Alexander had enforced, for the re-admission into Greece of the exiles from the various states, had given equal offence to the Athenians and to the Etolians. After his death, their dissatisfaction, which had brooded in sullenness, was openly expressed: they were apprehensive that dominion would be less mildly exercised by Alexander's suc-

cessors, whose mutual hostilities seemed to offer Greece an opportunity to regain independence. Phocion perceived, that the situation of Greece was not favourable to the attempt. But on the motion of Hyperides, the Attic people decreed, that their fleet and army should be equipped, and ambassadors dispatched to every city of Greece. Demosthenes, in banishment, joined some of the deputies, and inveighed against Macedonian oppression.

Many inferior cities, regardless of the authority of their ancient capitals, entered on their own account into a confederacy with the Athenians. But Thebes was extinct; Sparta rejected a league, of which Athens was the head; and the Achæans and Arcadians feared to engage in distant warfare, and trust their territories to the forbearance of Sparta.

Leosthenes, the Athenian general, enlisted eight thousand disbanded mercenaries returned from Asia. The Athenians levied about six thousand domestic troops; and when Leosthenes, with his army, approached Etolia, seven thousand, the finest young men of that nation, joined his standard: farther his emissaries procured successive reinforcements from the Dorians, Phocians, and Thessalians.

To arrest the invasion, Antipater, with only thirteen thousand foot, and six hundred horse, advanced into Thessaly: having summoned Leonnatus to his aid, and sent messengers to accelerate the return of Craterus. Each party aimed to anticipate the other in the possession of Thermopylæ. The Bœotians, apprehensive that a new revolution would compel them to relinquish lands acquired on the demolition of Thebes, opposed the Athenians on their march: but, reinforced by Leosthenes, who had already gained the straits, the Athenians vanquished and dispersed their unpatriotic adversaries. At Thermopylæ, the allied Greeks awaited Antipater's approach.

Antipater, struggling to force the pass, met with a severe check. Unable to renew the attack, or to regain Macedon,

he threw himself into Lamia, a Thessalian fortress. Leosthenes, after endeavours to storm the town, converted the siege into a blockade; during which the Etolians obtained permission to return home. On this, Antipater made a sally: valiantly repulsing him, Leosthenes fell. Antiphilus was elected to the vacant command.

Leonnatus now landed in Europe with three and twenty thousand men, including two thousand five hundred cavalry. The Greeks quitted their works at Lamia, and deposited their military engines, baggage, and ineffective followers, in neighbouring Thessalian castles. With a well-equipped light force, they marched to prevent the junction of Leonnatus with Antipater. Notwithstanding the defection of the Etolians, they mustered as many men as the enemy, whom in cavalry they exceeded by a thousand. A battle took place on the northern frontier of Thessaly. Conducted by Menon the Thessalian, the allied horse routed the cavalry led by Leonnatus, who fell in the charge: the Macedonian phalanx in disorder, took refuge on the bordering mountains. Antipater joined the vanquished forces, and receded toward Pella, across the ridges of Olympus.

Meanwhile, Clitus, the Macedonian naval commander in the Hellespont, had defeated the Athenian fleet under Eëtion.

At length Craterus arrived in Thessaly, with a thousand Persian archers, and fifteen hundred cavalry, in addition to the ten thousand veterans; and effected a junction with Antipater, to whom he resigned the chief command. The united force of the rallied Macedonians amounted to forty thousand heavy-armed, three thousand archers and slingers, and five thousand cavalry. Secessions similar to that of the Etolians had weakened the Greek army. Antiphilus and Menon, as long as possible, eluded an engagement. The Macedonian generals at length forced them into the unequal conflict, between the town of Cranon and the mountains of Cyncephalæ. The

Olymp. cxiv. 2.

B. C. 323.

Thessalian horse maintained their triumphs; but the Grecian infantry, after losing five hundred men, yielded to the shock of the Macedonian veterans, and retired to the neighbouring hills, where they were joined by the cavalry.

Antipater refusing to treat with the defeated Greeks in conjunction, by easy terms of peace detached the Thessalians from the confederacy. Meanwhile, Eëtion, the Athenian admiral, a second time defeated by Clitus, had lost great part of one hundred and seventy gallees.

To prevent Antipater from pursuing his march into Attica, the Athenians, till now refractory, sent Phocion, Demades, and Xenocrates, to supplicate, rather than to negotiate. The embassy met him near the ruins of Thebes. The Athenians agreed to new-model their government, to surrender Demosthenes and Hyperides, and to receive a Macedonian garrison into the fortified harbour Munychia. Meanwhile, Perdiccas, who interfered as regent, had decided for the reinstatement of the exiled Samians, the dispute between whom and the Athenians had occasioned the war.

Ten thousand fierce Etolians, blockaded in their hills and fastnesses by the Macedonians whom they had repulsed, were ultimately relieved by a peace, granted by Antipater and Craterus, in haste to depart into Asia to support Antigonus against Perdiccas. Encouraged by the latter, they afterwards renewed the war.

9. The marriage of Perdiccas with Antipater's daughter, Nicæa, neither pleased Olympias, nor was approved by Eumenes, Perdiccas' chief friend. Eumenes persuaded him, that an alliance with the house of Alexander was essential to his elevation: Cleopatra, Alexander's sister, had returned to Sardis; and Perdiccas, in order to marry her, repudiated Nicæa.

The Macedonian people were desirous to fortify the greatness of Philip Aridæus by an union with Euridice, lineal descendant of the elder brother of the great Philip. Her mo-

• ther, Cynna, in armour, had often fought in the first lines; and Euridice inherited this martial spirit. Cynna warmly supported her daughter's claim to share the throne. Perdiccas, alarmed, contrived the secret murder of Cynna; the suspicion of which so incensed the troops, that, to prevent a mutiny, he himself promoted the nuptials of Aridæus and Euridice.

Perdiccas, having recovered popularity in the camp, and relying on the support of the military leaders, Alcetas, Aristonus, Seleucus, Pithon, Eumenes, and of the high-admiral on the Syrian coast, Attalus, ventured to summon Antigonus to answer for disobedience to the royal mandate in the Cappadocian war. Antigonus, with his son Demetrius, and confidential adherents, escaped to Ephesus; and thence, in an Athenian vessel, to Macedon; where he exposed to Antipater and Craterus, Perdiccas' ambitious views, and tyrannical transactions. An embassy from Ptolemy seconded the representations of Antigonus. Preparatory to an expedition into Phrygia, the administration of Macedon was committed to Polysperchon; Phila, a daughter of Antipater, was given in marriage to Craterus; the confederates signed a treaty, stipulating that Antigonus should have his dominions restored and augmented, and that Craterus should succeed Perdiccas in the protectorship.

10. Meanwhile Perdiccas had annexed the forfeited satrapies of Antigonus to the government of Eumenes. On the invasion from Macedon, he deliberated, in a council of generals, whether it were expedient to meet Antipater and Craterus with the undivided controlling army, or, leaving a force sufficient to repel them, to march in person against Ptolemy. The latter course was adopted.

Arrived in Syria, he summoned the satrap of Egypt, to answer articles of impeachment before the royal army. Ptolemy appeared, and vindicated himself successfully. After his departure, the unsteady multitude revived the impeachment, with the additional article, that he had arrested the funeral convoy

of Alexander, and interred his remains at Alexandria, in opposition to the dying conqueror's solemn injunction.

Perdiccas advanced from Syria against Pelusium, attended by the fleet under Attalus. After elaborate approaches, from desperate assaults on Pelusium, and a fortress called the camels-wall, he successively retired foiled. He then made judicious arrangements for crossing the Nile at Memphis. Flanked above by elephants to break the force of the stream, and below by cavalry to pick up stragglers who might lose their footing, a division effected their passage. A sudden increase of depth, in the bed of the river, or the volume of water, prevented the rest of the army from following. Of those who attempted to swim back, two thousand were lost. Ptolemy treated the prisoners as his brethren, and buried the slain with honourable rites. In the moment of disaster and dissatisfaction, Pithon, in the royal camp, headed a conspiracy against Perdiccas. Surprised at night, the pavilion was entered by assassins, and the protector fell. Attalus now sailed from Pelusium with a view to wrest Caria from Cassander*. Intercepted by the naval forces of Rhodes, and defeated in a sea-fight, the remnant of his fleet in inactivity mouldered away.

11. Antipater and Craterus had antecedently crossed the Hellespont into Phrygia, unmolested in their debarkation. Eumenes was not cordially supported even by Alcetas, brother

* Perdiccas assigned Caria to CASSANDER, according to Curtius, Diodorus, Justin, Orosius, Arrian, lib. 1. in Phot.; to ASANDER, according to Dexippus, and Arrian, lib. 9. The satrap of Caria, whatever was his name, now the ally, and now the enemy, of Antigonus, is identified in interest with Antipater and his son. As the history proceeds, however, he may be distinguished from Cassander; and the compiler supposes, that Asander was lieutenant to Cassander as the viceroy of Caria, and became viceroi of Caria when Cassander acquired the throne of Macedon.

of Perdiccas: other officers were equally dissatisfied with his appointment as supreme commander in Lesser Asia: Neoptolemus conspired against his life, and, when detected, defied him in the field: totally defeated by him, he escaped to Antipater's camp with three hundred horse. Induced by the statement of Neoptolemus to divide their forces, Craterus marched to depose Eumenes, and Antipater toward the Cilician passes to support Ptolemy.

As Craterus was popular with the army, Eumenes sought to bring his Macedonians into action before they should learn that the enemy was Craterus. He reported, that Neoptolemus, at the head of some ill-accoutred Barbarians, was again in arms, and ordered that no messenger should be received from the rebel.

Eumenes' cavalry, six thousand, exceeded in nearly a treble proportion that of Craterus. The infantry on each side, was twenty thousand. The inferiority of Eumenes' troops consisted in a numerous mixture of Asiatics. He opposed his Asiatic horse to the enemy's right wing commanded by Craterus; and with a select band of three hundred cavalry, prepared to combat Neoptolemus in person. As the enemy descended from a hill near the Troad, the Paphlagonian cavalry, whom Eumenes had ordered neither to hear parley nor give quarter, rushed forward to the conflict. Craterus, fighting valiantly, was at length dismounted and trampled in the route. A few of his cavalry escaped to the protection of the phalanx. In the other wing, Eumenes and Neoptolemus, encountering with fierce animosity, were both dismounted in the shock. The latter first regained his feet: but the former, while down, by a desperate stroke, hamstrung his adversary. Supported on his knee, Neoptolemus fought on till, in the act of returning a severe, for a mortal, wound, he expired. Eumenes, hastening to his left-wing, testified to the dying Craterus, his regret that he had been obliged to treat him as an

Olymp. cxiv. 2.
B. C. 322.

enemy. The adverse phalanx, surrounded, obtained permission to disperse to the neighbouring hills for supplies: at night they dishonourably marched to join Antipater. Eumenes, who now controlled great part of Asia Minor, transferred his headquarters to Celænæ, and dispatched the joyous intelligence of his victory to Perdiccas, who, two days before the arrival of the messenger, was no more.

12. On the death of Perdiccas, Ptolemy, declining the office of protector, voted to him by the troops, recommended it to be conferred on Pithon, conjointly with Aridæus, the commander who had conducted Alexander's funeral procession into Egypt. The army ratified this nomination until the arrival of Antipater.

While Perdiccas held the regency, the turbulent spirit of Euridice, wife of Philip Aridæus, had been overawed. The influence of the colleagues was inferior to that of Perdiccas: and Pithon was personally disagreeable to her, on account of the oblique contumely which he had levelled against the prince, in the debate respecting a successor to Alexander. Counteracting their edicts by open interference, to which she was emboldened by conscious popularity, Euridice regulated the pay and promotions of the army. At length, the regents finding their authority annulled by her ascendancy, in a public assembly resigned their office.

The soldiers of Alexander were commanded by a woman, when Antipater arrived at Trisparadisus in Upper Syria. Euridice opposed the reestablishment of a regency, maintaining the competency of Philip Aridæus to direct the state and army. The Argyraspides and soldiers of the phalanx espoused her cause, and Antipater had nearly fallen a victim to their rage, in asserting the power delegated to him by the cavalry and officers. Antigonus and Seleucus, by harangues to the troops on "home" and "booty," and other welcome subjects, gained time for him to escape, across a bridge, to the division which

he had brought. Touched soon afterwards with compunction, the army recalled him to the supreme command.

Second Partition of the Empire.

13. **ANTIPATER** made a new settlement of the empire. He renewed the declaration, that Alexander Ægus was co-heir with Philip Aridæus. Eumenes, satrap of Cappadocia, was proscribed, *Olymp. cxiv. 3. B. C. 322.* and Nicanor appointed to succeed him. Menander and Philotas, governors of Lydia and Cilicia, had fallen, it is to be inferred, in hostilities with Eumenes: Clitus and Philoxenus were substituted for them. The satrapy of Babylonia was given to Seleucus, and that of Susiana to Antigenes. Pithon received a detachment to take possession of Media, which Atropates, a native, forcibly detained. Aridæus, the general, obtained Hellespontian Phrygia. As Antipater intended to reside in Macedon, and thence to issue his edicts in the name of the kings, he constituted Antigonus general of the empire in Asia, committing to him a great proportion of the royal army, and directed him to punish the proscribed satraps. He made Cassander general of the *companions*, the second post in the army.

Many officers of distinction, dissatisfied with the new apportionment of power, joined Alcetas and Attalus, who had established themselves in the strong-holds of Pisidia. Meanwhile, Alcetas and Attalus rejected overtures from Eumenes, to make a common cause with him.

14. Antigonus delayed to attack Eumenes, that, in the absence of Antipater, he might reap exclusively the advantages of success. Cassander reported to his father his suspicion, that Antigonus had ambitious designs. With confidence slightly shaken, Antipater continued him in his command, but

required that part of their armies should be exchanged, and then, carrying with himself the persons of the kings, and an army comprising seventy elephants, crossed the Hellespont.

Antigonus immediately took the field against Eumenes. A battle followed; Apollonides, who had been corrupted, deserted with the Paphlagonian horse, and the Cappadocian army was defeated with great slaughter. Antigonus continued the pursuit to an unusual distance; while Eumenes by a secret path returned, and burnt on two large pyres the bodies of his slain. Having lost eight thousand men, he was disabled from again facing Antigonus: but, acquainted with the intricate avenues of Taurus, he occasionally harrassed his pursuers. Finding his troops too few for combat, and too numerous for flight, he disbanded the majority, fixing a rendezvous for them to re-join his standard, should a favourable crisis occur. With six hundred horse unalterably devoted to him, he threw himself into the impregnable fortress of Nora: exceedingly steep at the sides, and two furlongs in circuit, this place produced corn, wood, and water. At an interview under the security of hostages, in answer to overtures from Antigonus, Eumenes declared, that he would never acknowledge a superior except in the family of Alexander.

Antigonus left Nora blockaded, and by a rapid march surprised the Pisidians before they could occupy the passes. The Pisidian Macedonian leaders were defeated. Attalus and Docimus, with Laomedon, a fugitive from his satrapy of Syria, were taken prisoners; and Alcetas eluded the vindictive pursuit of Antigonus by suicide.

15. Meanwhile Ptolemy conquered Syria, and Antipater died. Cassander, having soon quitted his uneasy station as second in command in Asia, *Olymp. cxv. 2.* had been employed, during his father's sickness, in the administration of Macedon and Greece. Antipater had, however, nominated Polysperchon to be regent of the empire. *B. C. 319.*

To counterbalance the troublesome influence of Euridice, the new regent recalled Olympias, from the honourable exile in Epirus in which Antipater had placed her.

16. Cassander, unwilling to be a cipher under Polysperchon, sent instructions to Nicanor, one of his partisans, to take the command of the Macedonian garrison, in the Athenian harbour Munychia. While resident on his estates, he completed arrangements for progressive movements in Macedon and Greece; then, under the pretext of going to a hunting-match in Phrygia, he crossed the Hellespont. From Antigonus, to whom he applied for aid, he obtained thirty-five war-gallies and six thousand veterans.

To undermine Cassander's established interest in Greece, Polysperchon published an imperial edict, restoring in every city the ancient democratic form of government, on condition that the inhabitants engaged never to bear arms against the kings. He circulated a letter in his own name, exhorting the republics to avenge themselves on the enemies of their liberties. By plebeian fury suddenly stimulated and unchained, individuals of rank and merit were, in most of the municipalities, plundered, and exiled, or put to death. But, in Athens, the nobles maintained the ascendancy, supported by Nicanor, commanding in the Munychia and the Piræus, the latter of which he had recently seized.

The regent detached his son Alexander against Nicanor, with a large Macedonian force, and an armed body comprising numerous exiles from Athens, mixed with inhabitants of its rural territory: Himself slowly followed, with Philip Aridæus, and the royal guards. In prospect of recapturing the harbours from Nicanor, Phocion had advised Alexander not to resign them to the republic, but to curb the popular faction by vigorous garrisons. This counsel transpiring, occasioned a revolution in the city against the aristocracy. Polysperchon, with

Olymp. cxv. 3.

B. C. 318.

whose dark policy the procedure recommended was not in unison, sacrificed Phocion to the Athenian people, who, misconstruing the motives of his advice, decreed his execution.

Four days after Phocion's death, Cassander debarked his veterans in the Piræus: he maintained this fortress, while Nicenor defended the Munychia, against the Athenian insurrection and Polysperchon's army of twenty-five thousand men and sixty-five elephants. The regent, compelled by scarcity of provisions to divide his forces, left Alexander to besiege the harbours; proceeded to Arcadia; and, from an unsuccessful attack on Megalopolis, returned into Macedon. Cassander gained the republics in the Peloponnesus. Athens capitulated to him, retaining its navy and revenue, and the representative system under some modifications. Demetrius Phalereus, his friend, was appointed chief magistrate.

17. Antigonus, meanwhile, tendered to Eumenes an instrument, granting his demands, provided the besieged satrap would swear to maintain amity with himself. Eumenes introduced uniformly before the word "Antigonus," the names of the kings and Olympias; an insertion which the negotiators for the Asiatic generalissimo, unsuspecting of their master's views, readily admitted. He signed the treaty, and, as the blockade was raised, with his liberated adherents galloped from Nora.

Antigonus disclosing his ambition, had expelled Clitus, who repaired with his fleet to Polysperchon; had made encroachments on Hellespontian Phrygia; had seized Ephesus, and detained four vessels touching at that harbour, freighted with six hundred talents for the kings.

To counteract Antigonus, Polysperchon sent an imperial delegation to Eumenes, constituting him sole general of the army in Asia, and subjecting to his disposal the treasures in Susa and the Cilician fortress Kuinda: The Asiatic satraps were ordered to join his standard; and Polysperchon promised to conduct an army from Europe, if necessary.

Polysperchon had sent Clitus, with a numerous fleet, to assist Aridaeus, governor of the Hellespontian coast. Cassander, with the thirty-five vessels of Antigonus combining sixty-five Athenian galleys, detached Nicanor to cruise against Clitus. In the naval battle of Byzantium, Nicanor, defeated, had more than half his ships taken: the remnant took refuge in the port of Chalcedon. Antigonus, who, on shore with an army, had witnessed the disaster; collected by active agents, during the first hours of the night, the craft and merchantmen at Byzantium; embarked in them chosen light troops; and assailed, before dawn, the fatigued and unsuspecting victors, who had landed at the Thracian coast. Clitus ordered his men to fly to their ships: such as put to sea were intercepted by Nicanor, whom Antigonus had reinforced with a detachment acting as marines. The regent's fleet was captured, except the admiral-galley, from which Clitus debarked in Thrace, and was killed by some deserters.

Olymp. cxv. 3.

B. C. 318.

18. On the return of Olympias to Pella, bringing with her Alexander Ægus,—Euridice, who in the intriguing Cassander had a lover as well as a political partisan, summoned him to her aid in Macedon. Meanwhile, with troops furnished by her brother Æacidus, king of Epirus, Olympias marched to Evia, near the lake Lychnitis, where her rival was encamped. By insults she provoked the high-spirited Euridice to battle. While the hostile lines were forming, she advanced between them: her bold aspect, commanding voice, and graceful action, the tender childhood, the auspicious name of Alexander Ægus, so affected the Macedonians, that they unanimously deserted the standard of Euridice. This unfortunate princess, with Philip Aridaeus, were arrested in their flight toward Amphipolis, and thrown into a dungeon. The first successor of Alexander, who had reigned six years and four months, after receiving several days monstrous indignities from triumph-

Olymp. cxv. 4.

B. C. 317.

ant malice, was dispatched by Thracian assassins. To the fallen queen, Olympias sent a dagger, a cord, and a poisoned chalice. Euridice, praying that her adversary might herself soon want her abominable gifts—she needed them not—prepared her zone, in presence of the messenger, as an instrument of death. Before she became her own executioner, she asserted her superior right to the crown. The implacable Olympias caused a hundred nobles, adherents of Cassander, to be attainted and slain; she took up and exposed the mouldering bones of Jollas, proclaiming that that son of Antipater, the trusty cup-bearer of Alexander, had poisoned his royal master.

While Polysperchon guarded the south frontier of Macedonia, and the Etolians occupied Thermopylæ, Olympias committed her army to lieutenants, and, as shuddering at her own crimes, secluded herself in the fortress of Pydna, with Roxana and Alexander Ægus.

Cassander, having sent against Polysperchon, Callas, an able commander, sailed in person to Thessaly, and laid siege to Pydna. Blockaded by sea and land, Olympias was compelled by importunate famine to surrender. She stipulated only for life. Cassander publicly arraigned her: refusing to appear, she was condemned capitally. She disdained flight, or distrusted facilities for escape allowed her. Her demand for a new trial, was answered by a mission of two hundred armed men: the majesty of her looks disarmed these, but the kinsmen of her victims avenged their blood. She suffered with apathy as unfeminine, as the exultation with which she had acted the destroyer. Aristonus shared her fate, as committed in her schemes. As yet no catastrophe overtakes the other captive personages. Cassander guarded Roxana and Alexander Ægus in the citadel of Amphipolis; retained Deidamia, Olympias' niece, as an hostage for the fidelity of the Epirots; and married Thessalonica, youngest daughter of Philip, to strengthen his ambitious pretensions.

He then founded on the ruins of Potdiæa the new city Casandria, and rebuilt Thebes.

19. Eumenes had been joined, on his release from Nora, by several thousand provincial troops. He proceeded to Kuinda, and, by dispensing a portion of its treasures, raised levies in Caria and Pisidia, and drew recruits from Greece and Tarentum in Italy. The Argyraspides acknowledged his powers. To confirm their reluctant submission, he professed to have seen a vision, in which Alexander pointed to an altar; round which, should the chiefs deliberate, the departed genius promised to direct their councils: Eumenes deposited on the golden throne the late king's armour and regalia; and consecrated to public use five hundred talents, which he possessed as a personal gift from the regent.

Ptolemy, averse from maintaining the indivisibility of the empire, sent a fleet of observation to the Cilician harbour Zephyrium, and disturbed the camp of Eumenes by emissaries. The seditions raised by these, and similar incendiaries employed by Antigonus, were defeated by the vigilance of the new commander-in-chief.

Eumenes, having conducted fifteen thousand men into Phœnicia, had nearly recovered it for the kings: but, on the approach of Antigonus with four and twenty thousand select soldiers, he retired by forced marches to Babylonia.

Seleucus, after respectfully receiving an embassy from Eumenes, endeavoured to seduce the Argyraspides from his standard; and, by opening an old canal from the Euphrates to the Tigris; inundated his camp; then offered to him a truce, and an unobstructed passage to Susiana, while he sent messengers to accelerate the march of Antigonus. Eumenes now entered Susa; his demand on the treasury was readily obeyed by the keeper of the citadel, while, as commander-in-chief, he summoned military aid from the governors of Media and other provinces in Ariana.

Pithon, not less ambitious than Antigonus, had destroyed the satrap of Parthia; but defeated afterwards by the governors around; who confederated for their preservation, was now a fugitive at the court of Seleucus. The allied antagonists of Pithon cordially united with Eumenes: Peucestas brought thirteen thousand foot and one thousand horse; Eudamus, one of the administrators over India, contributed three thousand infantry, five hundred cavalry, and one hundred and twenty elephants: there arrived, conducted by different satraps in person, except Oxartes, from Carmania, Arachosia, Aria, and the Parapamisadæ, divisions amounting to five thousand foot, and about three thousand horse. On the dis severed pinnacles of a mountain, stretching five hundred miles from the Paratâcæne ridge to the mouth of the Persian gulf, the old Persian government had established a telegraphic chain of centinels, who could orally transmit intelligence, in twenty-four hours, along the space of a month's journey. By their agency, Peucestas suddenly called in ten thousand archers.

Near Babylon, Antigonus suspended his march to collect levies. Joined by fifteen hundred cavalry under Pithon, and by a detachment from Seleucus, he proceeded over the Tigris into Susiana; and proclaimed Seleucus governor of that province, as well as of Babylonia. On the deep and rapid Coprates, about five hundred feet broad, he collected
Olymp. cxvi. 1. boats: a considerable part of his army having passed, was preparing for encampment,
B. C. 316. when Eumenes seized the decisive moment to surprise his enemies: four thousand surrendered; more than that number were killed in flight, or perished in the river. Induced by this disaster to defer a general engagement, Antigonus marched hastily into Media; and, annoyed by the Cosæans, lost in the passes a number of men. But he was reinforced by levies raised by Pithon in the province, and by troops brought by Python, administrator of India.

20. The recorded junction with Eumenes, of the Mésopotamian contingent under Amphimachus, probably took place while Antigonus' stay in Media left the communication open. Dissentions in his army prevented Eumenes from reaping his full advantages. He espoused the proposition of Peucestas to defend Persis instead of seizing Asia Minor, and thereby offended the *Argyraspides*.

By the influence of a magnificent entertainment, given to the whole army, Peucestas endeavoured to draw its divided attachment to himself; and, prompted by Sibyrtius, and other creatures of his, the fickle soldiers were openly exclaiming, that the man who had saved the life of Alexander was alone worthy to command them:—when Eumenes produced a forged letter from Orontes, governor of Armenia, stating the complete establishment of Polysperchon and the kings, the death of Cassander, and the departure of an army from Macedon to coöperate with the imperial commander in Asia. This news suddenly recalled the assembly to loyalty; and Sibyrtius, accused by Eumenes of treason, fled. Holding a precarious supremacy, involved in perplexing relations, Eumenes rivetted the interested fidelity of Antigonus, Eudamus, and other leaders, by borrowing from them large sums, at high interest, in the name of the kings. Then, instituting a general banquet, he vied in popular liberality with Peucestas.

While illness, contracted by intemperance at the late festivities, fixed him to his couch, he decamped to meet Antigonus now advancing to invade Persis. The hostile armies descried each other on the frontiers of Media. Antigenes and Peucestas led Eumenes' van: but the troops called aloud for their sick general, who was in the rear:—the sudden alacrity infused by his presence, the skilful dispositions which followed, astonished Antigonus, till he saw the litter of Eumenes gliding briskly along the lines, when he exclaimed, with his usual burst of loud laughter: " See the machine which has pro-

“duced these wonderful movements!” Disappointed in surprising the enemy, he declined an engagement.

At length the stratagems of the two generals concurred to bring on a battle at the foot of the Paratacæne mountains.

Antigonus had twenty-eight thousand foot, *Olymp. cxvi. 1.* eight thousand five hundred horse, and sixty-five elephants. *B. C. 316.* Eumenes marshalled infantry at least as numerous, some authorities state thirty-five thousand, six thousand cavalry, and one hundred and twenty-five elephants. After a stubborn conflict, Antigonus' centre and left gave way: but the Argyraspides, who had principally contributed to the victory, created, by too impetuous a pursuit, a vacancy in the line: this enabled Antigonus, when thinking only of retreat, to rout the whole of Eumenes' left wing. Both armies rallied by moonlight, and passed the night under arms. Eumenes, whose loss had been decidedly the lighter, was prevented by divisions among the allies from renewing the engagement; and Antigonus withdrew to Gamorga in Media. Meanwhile, Mithridates and Philip, respectively, marched to assist Eumenes, from the wide extremes of Pontus and Bactriana.

In a subsequent battle, the intrepid Eumenes was feebly supported by Peucestas and other envious satraps: his cavalry suffered greatly: the Argyraspides retrieved the field; but, provoked by the loss of their wives and children along with the baggage, refused to improve their victory by a fresh effort, and, while they defied the enemy, reviled Eumenes as a Thracian. At the instigation of Teutamus, they seized their general, and delivered him, as the price of a dishonest peace, to Antigonus. Demetrius and Nearchus interceded for him: but, urged by ambition, and by the officers who had betrayed the new commander-in-chief, Antigonus precipitated his death. Antigenes and Eudamus, who remained faithful to the kings, the triumphant usurper also slew. He interrupted the congra-

tulations of his new and old allies, by disembodiyng the Argyraspides, and by committing them in divisions to obscure satraps, who were instructed to consume them with dangers and fatigues: his ally, Pithon, whom it would have been unsafe to attack in Media, he drew to his camp, by an offer of the command in the eastern provinces, and in one day arraigned, condemned, and executed him: Peucestas he deposed from the satrapy of Persis, but suffered him to live undistinguished in his train.

Third Partition of the Empire.

21. **ANTIGONUS** assumed the exercise of the regent's power. He gave Media to Orontobates, a native, under the control of Hippastratus; set Asclepiodorus over Persis; and added Susiana to the province of Seleucus. He collected in Media and Persis fifteen thousand talents; and, on receiving from the governor of Susa the keys of that citadel, intended as a mark of homage, he took thence treasure to the same amount. He then marched to Babylon. Seleucus, having entertained him with unbounded hospitality, was obliged to fly, to avoid degradation and death, and escaped with forty horsemen into Egypt.

Ptolemy and Seleucus sent ambassadors to Cassander and Lysimachus, to inveigh against the tyranny of Antigonus. Antigonus sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, to vindicate his proceedings. Meanwhile, he drew from the treasury of Kuinda ten thousand talents, and collected from the eastern satraps eleven thousand.

In his progress toward Syria, diplomatic agents from the allied princes, whom Asander, satrap of Caria, had joined, met him, and announced their demands. Ptolemy claimed a

recognition of his right to Syria. Seleucus required the restitution of his provinces;—Lysimachus, the annexation of Lesser Phrygia, by which he would command both shores of the Hellespont. Asander insisted on retaining his conquests in Lycia and Cappadocia. Cassander, who had established his dominion over Greece and Macedon, concurred in summoning Antigonus to account for the money taken from the royal treasuries, that it might be equitably divided. Antigonus replied, that he was marching against Ptolemy, and when he had settled his disputes with that lieutenant, he would treat with the other perfidious and insolent confederates.

Olymp. cxvi. 2.

B. C. 315.

22. Antigonus proceeded to reduce Syria, and prepared mighty naval armaments. By emissaries, he detached the isle of Cyprus from Ptolemy's alliance. A division of his forces expelled Asander, and his partisans, from Pontus and Cappadocia:—But on the opposite coast of the peninsula, supported by Egyptian and Macedonian armaments, Asander defeated the naval and military commanders of Antigonus:—Syria confided to Demetrius, his father therefore took the field in person against Asander, whom, after two arduous campaigns, he finally dispossessed of Caria. Meanwhile, he had won to his interest Polysperchon; obtained, from the Macedonians in his army, a decree proscribing Cassander; and by a fleet and expedition awed Greece, with the exception of Thessaly, into a dereliction of his cause.

Lysimachus, who had invaded Hellespontian Phrygia, was disabled from retaining it, by commotions which Antigonus fomented in Thrace. Overtures of peace, which the confederates were reduced separately to offer, were now rejected by their triumphant enemy.

23. At length, Ptolemy recovered Cyprus, led an army into Syria, and scoured Cilicia, from which he carried a rich

booty. The son of Antigonus, by forced marches, came up with him returning to Syria. In an engagement, in which Ptolemy was assisted by Seleucus, and which Demetrius, now in his twenty-second year, fought against the advice of his military mentors, the latter lost Python, the son of Agenor, and five thousand killed, chiefly cavalry; and, of fifteen thousand infantry, had nearly eight thousand taken prisoners. Ptolemy left his general, Killes, in Syria. Demetrius, having collected the veteran garrisons of Asia Minor, returned and surprised Killes; and the Egyptians were compelled to evacuate Syria.

Antigonus, intoxicated with success, lost in two expeditions against Petra, the fastness and emporium of the Nabathæan Arabs, about six thousand men. His nephew, Ptolemy, curbed in a generous policy toward Greece, from rising aversion to the tyrant, began to correspond with the confederates. The mercenary Alexander, Polysperchou's son, had gone over to them. Lysimachus was growing formidable. Commotion pervaded the provinces beyond the Euphrates, some of which were lost.

24. Seleucus, with only a thousand infantry, and three hundred cavalry, furnished by Ptolemy, had made a successful expedition against Babylon. He progressively increased his forces, defeated Nicanor and Evagoras advancing from Media and Persis to attack him, and enlisted great part of their superior divisions. During his absence from Babylon, Demetrius approached with fifteen thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and Patrocles, the governor, persuaded the inhabitants to a temporary emigration of that gorgeous city. Of two neighbouring castles garrisoned by Patrocles, Demetrius had taken but one, at the time fixed by his father for returning into Syria. Five thousand foot, and one thousand horse, whom he

left behind, soon afterwards surrendered unconditionally to the concentrated army of Seleucus.

25. But Ptolemy and Cassander now signed a peace with Antigonus, which abandoned to him the dominion of all Asia; to which Lysimachus acceded. This treaty stipulated, that all the Greek cities and colonies should be restored to freedom; and that when Alexander Ægus, now in his thirteenth year, attained full age, Cassander should resign to him the throne of Macedon, and accept some provincial government. On this acknowledgment of his title, the public voice demanded for the young prince, at present immured with his mother in the castle of Amphipolis, an establishment suitable to his birth. The atrocious Cassander eluded this requisition, by the secret murder of his infant sovereign and Roxana.

Polysperchon, as nominal regent, retained some fortresses in the Peloponnesus. Intimating the late king's death to Hercules, Alexander's son by Barsiné, now seventeen years old, and residing at Pergamus, he invited him to

Olymp. cxvii. 3. Greece, to assert his claim to the empire.

B. C. 310. Joined by the youth, the protector led twenty thousand Etolians and Macedonians, under the royal standard, to the frontiers of Macedon. Cassander, whose army wavered in allegiance, by promising to Polysperchon the dominion of the Peloponnesus, prevailed on him to destroy his ward. After this horrid tragedy, the peninsular Greeks, assisted by the Bœotians, prevented the traitor from returning. Cassander ceded to him an obscure castle, commanding a district between Epirus and Locris; after which, no account of the monster sullies history.

The late treaty silently abandoned the interests of Seleucus; and Antigonus, in undisturbed possession of Asia Minor and Syria, conducted an army to the East. A stubborn battle, equally poised, was interrupted by night: Seleucus' troops

slept in armour, at dawn surprised the invader, and triumphed so completely, that Antigonus does not appear to have renewed the enterprise.

Cleopatra, on whom strong pretensions to the succession had devolved by the death of the princes, accepted overtures of marriage from Ptolemy. *Olymp.* cxviii. 1. When she was preparing to leave Sardis, the *B. C.* 308. barbarous Antigonus procured her clandestine murder: while he buried her with royal honours, to disguise his crime, his aggravated wickedness executed her attendants.

26. Circumstances soon encouraged the confederates to make the peace a handle for recommencing hostilities against Antigonus. *To liberate a Grecian colony*, Ptolemy sailed to Caria, and besieged Halicarnassus: compelled to relinquish that object by the superior fleet of Demetrius, he directed his interference to the *Ægean* isles. In Cos he was joined by Ptolemy, the nephew of Antigonus, who, disgusted with being made an instrument of oppression over Greece, had previously revolted to the allies. But his sincere plans to rescue Greece were not embraced in good faith by the Egyptian satrap, who presently accused him of tampering with his adherents, and compelled him to drink poison. The Egyptian satrap united young Ptolemy's armament with his own, was admitted into Corinth and Sicyon, as the champion of Grecian independence, and agreed with Cassander that each should retain his acquisitions.

27. Demetrius, with five thousand talents, and two hundred and fifty galleys, sailed to emancipate Greece. His benefactions to Athens won the consistent republicans; who conferred on him the title of king, dedicated to a patron of vice a temple with priests, as to a divinity, and decreed that his actions were essentially good. Polygamy was one of the pernicious customs brought by the Macedonians from the

East: Demetrius, whose wife Philla, widow of Craterus, was living, married Euridice, a descendant of Miltiades, during his stay at Athens. Ordered thence to Cyprus by his father, in operations against Salamis, he first displayed that genius for inventing battering-engines and conducting sieges, which is celebrated in his surname of *Poliorbetes*. A naval victory over Ptolemy, was followed by the submission of the whole island.

Aristodemus, whom Demetrius sent to announce this success, saluted Antigonus "king." His cour-
Olymp. cxviii. 2. tiers and guards repeated, and his people re-
B. C. 307. sounded, a title, which he adopted and shared with his son. Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Lysimachus, equally assumed the style and ensigns of royalty.

28. Preparing to conquer Egypt, Antigonus assembled near Gaza eighty thousand foot and ten
Olymp. cxviii. 3. thousand horse. Demetrius was to coöpe-
B. C. 306. rate, with one hundred and fifty gallees and one hundred ships carrying batteries and missiles. Sailing at a tempestuous season, the greater part of the fleet foundered, or was wrecked. The army, unable to pass the swollen Nile, of which all the branches and mouths were effectually guarded by Ptolemy's garrisons, was compelled, by want of provisions, to retreat. Antigonus, turning his baffled arms against Rhodes, as a dependency of Egypt, sent thither Demetrius *Poliorbetes* with two hundred ships of war, and forty thousand men. Rhodes, defended by intrepid citizens and able engineers, was powerfully succoured by Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus. The assailant persevered with augmented forces, and employed battering machines, which thirty thousand workmen had assisted him to construct. After the civilized world had been agitated a year by the siege, the intercession of fifty states for this favourite seat of commerce, and a request from the Athenians and Etolians for immediate

aid against Cassander, were preferred at one crisis to Demetrius; and the destruction of his storming parties in several desperate assaults, inclined him to embrace an honourable pretext for quitting the enterprise. The treaty recognized the independence of the Rhodians, who became the allies of Antigonus, without taking part in the war against Ptolemy. They erected a temple to the latter, whom they surnamed *Soter*, the saviour.

Olymp. cxix. 1.

B. C. 304.

Demetrius, who commanded the greatest naval armaments of his time, transported his soldiers to Greece, and dislodged the Macedonians from the countries between the Isthmus and Thermopylæ. He wintered in Athens; and, while wallowing in execrable excesses, received from the servile people ascriptions, intended for honours, more extravagant and impious than before, and fulsome to recite. In the following campaign, he subdued the whole Peloponnesus. He increased his partisans by a marriage with Deidamia of Epirus. The Greeks elected him their general, and by contingents increased his army to 65,000 men. To Cassander, alarmed for Thessaly and Macedon, the haughty Antigonus now refused peace but on unconditional submission,

Olymp. cxix. 2.

B. C. 303.

Fourth Partition of the Empire.

29. **MEANWHILE** Seleucus had established his dominion over the eastern provinces. Sandracottus, a native of India, having learned the art of war in Alexander's camp, had quitted the standard of the conqueror's lieutenants, collected a force in his own country, reduced the Macedonian garrisons in Nysa, Mazagæ, Aornos, and extended his dominion south-eastward to Palibothra on the Ganges. After fruitless hostili-

ties, Seleucus cultivated peace with Sandracottus, and received his daughter in marriage, with a dowry, including five hundred elephants. Seleucia—which he had founded, and substituted as a capital for Babylon—as an emporium, was only second to Alexandria.

Lysimachus had transformed the fierce Thracians into willing subjects. The Triballi, the Getæ, and numerous Illyrian tribes, had felt the superiority of his arms. The new commercial city Lysimachia almost rivalled Byzantium.

Ptolemy, having repelled the invasions of Perdiccas and Antigonus, had multiplied the resources of Egypt and Cyrene, during twenty years of internal peace.

With these three established sovereigns, Cassander, commanding in Macedon, without a title, and critically situated, was forced, by the arrogance of king Antigonus, to become a zealous and enterprising ally,

In execution of a secret treaty, Lysimachus, reinforced by a detachment from Cassander, landed in Asia
Olymp. cxix. 3. Minor, subdued the western coast, and burnt
B. C. 302. a hostile fleet in the harbour of Ephesus.

Roused from security, Antigonus, before the allies could assemble, came up with Lysimachus, who, confining himself now to defensive warfare within an entrenched camp, removed successively, from Synnada, to Doryleum and Heraclea.

Meanwhile, Demetrius, having conquered Thessaly, was ready to enter Macedon with sixty thousand men. But recalled to Asia by a message from his father, he signed a peace with Cassander, stipulating that Greece should be free.

Of a detachment of twelve thousand foot and five hundred horse, sent by Cassander, under his brother Pleistarchus, to Heraclea, one third was taken by the enemy's guard-ships, and one third perished in a tempest. Meanwhile, several thousands of Lysimachus' soldiers deserted to Antigonus, who commanded the treasures in Kuinda. Ptolemy, neglecting to

reinforce the confederate army, pursued a selfish, timid policy in Syria and Egypt.

At length Seleucus joined Lysimachus in Phrygia with twenty thousand infantry, twelve thousand cavalry, one hundred armed chariots, and four hundred and eighty elephants. After an interval, which the belligerents consumed in collecting every disposable force, a battle took place at Ipsus.

The line under Antigonus and Demetrius consisted of nearly seventy thousand infantry; above twelve thousand cavalry, and seventy-five *Olymp. cxix. 4.* elephants. Lysimachus and Seleucus commanded the same number of cavalry, sixty-four thousand infantry, and the formidable train of chariots and elephants brought by the latter. Antigonus long consulted with Demetrius, before he decided on his order of battle. The combat began with a charge of cavalry, led by young Antiochus, son of Seleucus. Demetrius repulsed him; but, having carried his squadrons too far in the pursuit, was prevented from returning, by a line of elephants which Seleucus interposed. Of Antigonus' phalanx, thus uncovered in flank, numerous sections in alarm deserted. Out-flanked now even by the opposite infantry, the remainder of the deep line was cut in pieces, or driven to disorderly flight. Antigonus, in his eighty-first year, perseveringly fought, expecting his son with the cavalry to retrieve the day. While his attendants followed the tumultuous route, he fell, overpowered by a shower of javelins; and Demetrius returned from partial victory, only to learn the total defeat and death of his father. Joining the fugitives, he reached his fleet at Ephesus with five thousand foot and four thousand horse.

In consequence of this battle, Asia Minor, except the province of Cilicia, was annexed to the dominion of Lysimachus: Cilicia was given as a principality to Pleistarchus. Cassander was established in the sovereignty of Macedon, and as much as he had recovered of the dominion of Greece. Seleucus,

acquiring Assyria west of the Euphrates, held the whole of that imperial region, with Ariana. Ptolemy insinuated his garrisons into Cœle-Syria and Palestine, as appendages to Egypt.

Notices of the final Destinies of the four Greek Kingdoms.

30. THRACE proved an ephemeral monarchy, scarcely surviving early triumphs, which extended, and seemed to consolidate, its greatness. Thirteen years after the battle of Ipsus, its founder had coöperated with Pyrrhus to expel Demetrius from the throne of Macedon: he soon dispossessed Pyrrhus of his share of territory, and added all Macedon to the empire of Thrace and Asia Minor. From this elevation, a domestic tragedy accelerated his fall. Arsinoë, his young Egyptian queen, burnt with an incestuous flame for Agathocles, his son by a former wife. In revenge for the repulse which she received from her virtuous son-in-law, Arsinoë, by dark machinations, infused unjust suspicions of him into the king; and in prison was secretly executed, a prince whose military energy had recently recovered Caria, Ionia, and Lydia, for his father occupied in Macedon, when Demetrius had nearly compensated for his expulsion from that kingdom, by a bold enterprise on the opposite continent. The murder of Agathocles excited disgust and horror in the subjects of Lysimachus universally; and many governors of Asia Minor, abjuring allegiance to him, invited Seleucus, who was already jealous of his power, to invade their provinces. In the battle of Corupedion, in Hælespontian Phrygia, twenty years after the battle of Ipsus, Lysimachus was defeated and killed. All his possessions in Asia Minor immediately fell to Seleucus; who consumed about a year in establishing his power there, before he entered Thrace. After Alexander, son of Lysima-

chus by an Odrysian princess, had meanwhile governed the latter country, Ptolemy Keraunus, who murdered and supplanted Seleucus stepping on the throne of Macedon, urged pretensions to the sceptre of Thrace. The native independent princes of the three great districts, Bessica, Odrysia, and Eastern Thrace, opposed his odious usurpation, and claimed independence. Their insurrection against Keraunus, and hostilities against each other, *Olymp. cxxv. 2.* were followed by an invasion of the Gauls, *B. C. 279.* which annihilated the monarchy founded by Lysimachus.

MACEDON continued to obey Cassander, who died of a dropsy three years after the battle of Ipsus. Philip, his eldest son, who peaceably succeeded, did not long survive him. Philip's brothers disputed the succession; and Alexander, the youngest son of Cassander by Thessalonica, finally expelled Antipater, the second son, the abhorred maternal parricide. Meanwhile, Demetrius *Poliorcetes*, son of the fallen Antigonus, the most extraordinary subject of vicissitude in history, had acquired great ascendancy in Greece: he proceeded to Macedon, as the auxiliary of Alexander, and, opposing distrust and treason with diabolical resources, circumvented him, and succeeded to his power. Demetrius, already the fourth king since Cassander's death, reigned in Macedon—and trampled over rather than governed Greece—seven years: when he could number in his forces, one hundred and ten thousand soldiers, and five hundred war-gallies, some of them with sixteen tiers, his frantic vanity, insolence, and despotism, provoked his armed subjects to revolt, during demonstrations against Greece by the fleet of Ptolemy, and an invasion of Macedon by the armies of Pyrrhus and Lysimachus;—he escaped in disguise to Greece: the tutelary god of Athens, who, during his second greatness, had made her ambassadors wait two

years for an audience, was in his second extremity again prohibited from entering that city: he left his Peloponnesian garrisons to his son, Antigonus Gonatas, and made a desperate irruption, with transient splendour, into Asia Minor:—defeated by Agathocles, cut off from his fleet, after many adversities, this dangerous adventurer surrendered to Seleucus, his son-in-law, who protected him from his enemies, but restricted his residence to the small Syrian Chersonesus:—resigning hunting and manly amusements, when he could not convert them into means of escape, Demetrius, by a farewell letter, enjoined his son to consider him as dead; to treat as forgeries subsequent letters coming in his name; and to guard vigilantly the Greek cities:—he died, soon afterwards, a prey to despondency, intemperance, and sloth. Meanwhile, Pyrrhus and Lysimachus had divided Macedon. Lysimachus soon seized the whole. On his fall, Alexander, an adult son by an Odrysiian woman, exercised a brief authority confined to barbarous Thrace. Lysimachus, sixteen years of age, the elder of two infant sons by Arsinoë, withdrawn with the mother for safety into Cassandra, was heir to his Macedonian kingdom: Seleucus claimed it by right of conquest: a latent villain prepares to claim it by descent. The conqueror at Corupedion, within a year after, crossed over to Thrace, on his way to Pella, accompanied by Ptolemy Keraunus. Keraunus, despairing of attaining his birth-right in Egypt, conspired to snatch the crown of Macedon from the grasp of Seleucus; founding his own pretensions on being a grandson, maternally, of Antipater, and paternally, of the great Philip. Near Lysimachia, he stabbed his benefactor with his own hand, announced himself to the citizens there as the avenger of Lysimachus, purchased the Asiatic army with Seleucus' treasures, and, at Pella, took up a sceptre, which, since Alexander's death, had tumbled from the lifeless trunks, or feeble hands, of three protectors and ten kings. Keraunus married the wicked Arsinoë, and

butchered her children; and, before he had reigned two years, was slain by the invading Gauls. During the irruption of the Gauls, several kings elected by the people perished. When it had spent its fury, Antigonus Gonatas, who had firmly grasped the dominion of the Peloponnesus, recovered the throne of Macedon. The dynasty of this prince and his descendants, after continuing one hundred and nine years, terminated with the battle of Pydna, when Perseus was defeated by the Roman consul Æmilius. Twenty-two years afterwards, Macedon was made a province of Rome.

Olymp. cxxv. 2.
B. C. 279.

Olymp. cliii. 1.
B. C. 168.

THE GREEK EMPIRE IN ASIA devolved wholly to Seleucus, after the victory at Corupedion, mentioned in the *Notice of Thrace*. In the reign of his son, Antiochus I. this extensive empire was curtailed—by invasions from Egypt; by the creation into independent kingdoms, of Pergamus, Pontus, Bithynia, and Cappadocia; and by the settlement of an invading horde of Gauls in a central district of Asia Minor, called from them Galatia. In the reign of Antiochus II. it was further diminished by the separation of the Greek kingdom of Bactriana, under Theodotus. [See *Translation of Curtius*, vol. ii. p. 204, note *ult.*] The third, or Great Antiochus, in the early part of his reign, sustained the empire, repelled the Egyptian invasion, suppressed powerful refractory satraps, and carried his arms into India: but the entry of the Romans into Asia Minor, and the decisive battle of Magnesia, forced him to cede that region to the Rhodians and the new-created native kings. Through successive provincial defections, and hostile encroachments, the territory of the last of the Seleucidæ consisted only of Syria, when it was appropriated by Tigranes, king of Armenia. Twenty years afterwards, Pompey reduced Syria into a Roman province.

Olymp. cxxx. 3.
B. C. 254.

Olymp. clxxiv. 1.
B. C. 84.

EGYPT. Ptolemy I. or Soter, in his eightieth year, associated to the government Ptolemy Philadelphus, his son by his second wife Berenicé; rejecting from the succession Ptolemy Keraunus, his son by his first wife Euridice, daughter of Antipater. The disinherited son, by his subsequent crimes, vindicated the discernment of his father. From Alexandria, he withdrew in disgust to the court of Lysimachus, whose son Agathocles had married the fugitive prince's sister; on the catastrophe of Agathocles, mentioned in the *Notice of Thrace*, he embraced the hospitable protection of Seleucus; Keraunus, or the Thunderer, was the surname which he impiously assumed; his lingering destruction has been mentioned in the *Notice of Macedon*. Ptolemy Philadelphus, having, in a conjoint reign of two years, dispensed benefits to the people, succeeded his father. After Philadelphus, Evergetes supported the greatness of Egypt, in power, arts, and literature. But, under the other Ptolemies, a voluptuous, oppressive, and sanguinary race, it was arrested and destroyed. The unpatriotic hatred of the Tenth of the dynasty, who took refuge in Tyre when expelled by his subjects, and the pusillanimity of the Eleventh, bequeathed Egypt to the protection of the Romans: then a kingdom of nominal independence, it subsisted eight and twenty years, till the sea-fight of Actium gave to Augustus the empire of the world.

Olymp. cxxxvii. 2.

B. C. 31.

INDEX.

The first volume is implied where the page alone is inserted; the numeral "ii." marks the second volume.

A.

ABDALOMINUS—Created king of Sidon, 347.

Abii—Their embassy to Alexander, ii. 178.

Abisares—Surrenders, ii. 285. Refuses to attend, ii. 303. His death, ii. 377.

Acesines—*Eastern* (Brahmapootra), ii. 261. *Western* (Chenab), ii. 321, ii. 324, ii. 326.

Ada—Queen of Caria, 232. Restored by Alexander, 234.

Agis—See *Sparta*.

Agrians—Faithful allies of Alexander, 134.

Alexander (of Epirus)—Marries Cleopatra, daughter of Philip, 108.

• His apophthegm against Alexander, 131.

Alexander (of Lyncestia; sometimes called son of Æropus)—Of the conspirators against Philip, alone pardoned by Alexander, 119. Detached as a partizan to Phrygia, 249. Apprehended for a plot against Alexander, 256. Put to death, ii. 139.

Alexander (of the royal band)—Falls heroically at Aornos, ii. 280.

Alexander the Great—His history had not been treated by Roman authors, 8. The previous reign subservient to his eminent fortune, 9. His pretended descent from Jupiter discussed, 10; his own allusions to it not uniform, ii. 116, ii. 257, ii. 275. Notice of alleged prodigies attending his birth, 12. Date of it, 14, and ii. 407, note. His death, ii. 407. [See the subdivisions of this title.]

ΑΡΟΦΗΘΕΓΜΑ—When a boy, on his father's victories, 20. Being advised, while a youth, to run at the Olympic games, *ibid.* On the

Alexander the Great.

casket in which he kept Homer's works, 36. To Philip on his lameness, 44. On Antipater's deportment, ii. 397.

CHARACTER, as a governor—An encourager of science, 25, and useful arts, 35; a liberal dispenser of redress, 149. Generally an enemy of oppression, ii. 232, ii. 351. The justice of some of his condemnations problematical, ii. 152, ii. 259, ii. 380.—And see *Alexander*—GOVERNMENT AND POLICY.

CHARACTER, as a leader—[And see *Alexander*—TACTICS; *Battles; Sieges.*] Liberal and humane to the soldiers, 201, ii. 235. Stimulates emulation, ii. 13. His anxious vigilance, ii. 191. His celerity, 121, 160, ii. 30, ii. 61. His boldest attempts countenanced by the event, 409. Measures of doubtful propriety fortunate, ii. 153. Able dispositions, 203, 320, 436, ii. 294. Well-timed commencement of pursuit, 324; prudent termination, 456. Sacrifices spoil to restore discipline, ii. 98. His conduct under physical distresses, ii. 58, ii. 168, ii. 170, ii. 234, ii. 361, ii. 368; in battle under difficulties, 245, 445, 446, 448.

CHARACTER, as a man, at successive stages of his life—His early excellence, 19. Naturally ambitious, 20, 29. His dignified affability, simple and correct manners, 37, 235, 301, ii. 235; self-control under the commencement of eminent felicity, 332. Ambitious to monopolize knowledge as well as power, 27. Constitutionally brave, ii. 199, *et passim*. Too proud to be uniformly magnanimous, 220. His filial duties performed rather from feeling than principle, 43, 100, 101, 119, 205, ii. 343. Liberal in sacrifices and dedications to the gods, 21, 206, 209. Not always superior to superstition, 387, ii. 23, ii. 403, 4. On two occasions derided soothsaying, ii. 330, ii. 403. His inhuman triumph over Betis, 390. His generosity to Porus, ii. 360. Less magnanimous toward his successful officers, than toward vanquished enemies, *ibid.* ii. 74, ii. 70. Rewards fidelity, ii. 77, ii. 90, ii. 210; and perfidy, 210, ii. 176. His humane rage against assassins, ii. 83, ii. 232; compromised by policy, ii. 86; enforced by policy, ii. 203. He becomes, by fits, intemperate and voluptuous, ii. 40, 75; sinking into Barbarian manners and vices, ii. 96. Corrupted by prosperity, ii. 380. His own apology for adopting Persian customs, ii. 257. His pride and demand of hero-worship, ii. 240. After the murder of Clitus,—penitent, ii. 221, and watchful against anger, ii. 285. Liberal to his friends, 178, ii. 40.

Alexander the Great.

His select friendships, 296, 331, ii. 354, ii. 396. Extravagant in his grief for Hephæstion, ii. 400. Uniformly courteous to the captive family of Darius, 414, ii. 16, ii. 21. Esteemed Phocion, 210. His reverence for the memory of the great and good, 147, ii. 154. Instances of his expressing it by eccentric acts, 185, 253. [And see *Alexander*—OPINIONS.] Summary of his character, ii. 412.

CITIES *demolished* by Alexander—Thebes, 152; Halicarnassus, 249; Termessus, 265. Branchidæ, ii. 174; two cities in Sogdiana, ii. 180, 182; an Indian city, ii. 271. *Dispossessed and repeopled*—Alexandrinopolis, 41. *Founded*—Alexandria, in Egypt, 400; at the base of the Indian Caucasus, ii. 159; on the Jaxartes, ii. 182. Six cities near Margina, ii. 204. Nicæa, and Bucephalia, ii. 302, ii. 322, note. A city on the Acesines, ii. 322, note. Alexandria on the Indus, ii. 351. Several cities in its Delta, ii. 363. One in Gedrosia, ii. 366. One on the borders of Arabia, ii. 404. *Rebuilt*—Smyrna, 219.

EDUCATION of Alexander, 15, 19, 23.. 25, 29.

GOVERNMENT AND POLICY—He carries in his train the Thracian chieftains, 132. Tenders a clement alternative to the Thebans, 143. Provides against the hostility of Sparta, 159. Spares the estate of Memnon, 192. Practises on the superstition of his soldiers, 176, 195, 411. Ambiguous instances of recourse to superstition, ascribable to weakness or policy, 251, ii. 185. He stigmatizes the Lacedæmonians, and associates the other Greeks to his fame, 204. Forbears to lay new imposts on the conquered provinces, 207. Restores the privileges of Sardis, 208. Promotes Persian traitors, 210, ii. 12. Shows politic attention to Athens, 210, but detains the Athenian prisoners, 271. Releases them after the battle of Issus, 334, note. Restraints the tyranny of the Ephesian democracy, 213. Restores the republican government in the Greek colonies, 214, or such government as each community preferred, 232. Manifests consideration for the married soldiers, 249. Reinstates the queen of Caria, 234. Rewards his allies, 403. Admits Oxathres into the band of Friends, ii. 77. Liberates Oxydates, *ibid.* Pardons Nabarzanes, ii. 86. Employs Polydamas to remove Parmenio, ii. 148. Pardons thirty Sogdian nobles, ii. 202. Punishes other leaders in revolt, *ibid.* Grants an amnesty to the Bactrian exiles, ii. 224. Directs a levy of thirty thousand Barbarians, ii. 239. Enjoins the

Alexander the Great.

Grecian cities to recall their exiles, ii. 363. Pays the debts of the army, ii. 385. Dismisses the veterans, ii. 384, and provides for them in retirement, ii. 395. Detains their Asiatic wives and offspring, *ibid.* Promotes marriages with Asiatic women, ii. 392, note. Intermixes Persian and Macedonian soldiers, ii. 397. Punishes oppressive satraps, ii. 232, ii. 351, ii. 374. Condemns Orsines and Phradates, ii. 380. His indirect operations against the Persian fleet, 230. Commissions Nearchus to explore the Indian ocean, ii. 364, and the coast from the Indus to the Euphrates, ii. 376. His designs after the subjugation of the East, *ibid.*

HISTORY MISCELLANEOUS until *Philip's death*—A child, he astonishes the Persian ambassadors by his conversation, 23. His early endowments, manners, and disposition, 17..22, 37. Description of his person, 17, 19. He tames Bucephalus, 38. Governs Macedonia in Philip's absence, 40. Reduces the revolted Medari, 41, colonizes their city; *ibid.* In a conflict with the Triballi, preserves his father, 43. Defeats the Illyrians, 53. Breaks the Theban line at Chæronea, 86. Is dissatisfied with Philip's second marriage, 99; quarrels with Philip, and retires to Illyria, 100; reconciled by Demaratus, returns to Pella, 103. Is detected in a treaty for a marriage with a Carian princess, 104.

HISTORY MISCELLANEOUS from *Philip's death*, until the *Expedition against Persia*—Difficulties under which Alexander commenced his reign, 114..117. He foils his competitors and avenges Philip, 119. Represses the Thessalians, 122. His election at Thermopylæ as general of the Greeks, 122, confirmed at Corinth, 123. His interview with Diogenes, *ibid.* He forces an oracle from the Delphic priestess, 124. At home supports the majesty of his sceptre, 125. In an expedition northward, defeats the Thracians, 126, and the Triballi, except a remnant in Peuce, 128. Crosses the Ister, and routes the Getæ, 129. Receives ambassadors from the Triballi and the Celtæ, 130. Assisted by Langarus king of the Agrians, subdues the Autariatæ, Taulantii, and revolting Illyrians, 134..138. Is called by treacherous hostility, to Thebes, 142. His troops carry the city by storm, 144. He enslaves the inhabitants, 146, except a favoured few, 147; and razes the city, 152. Demands Athenian orators adverse to him, 153, but listens to a compromise, 157. Reduces Leucadia, 157. Accepts excuses from states im-

Alexander the Great.

plicated in the Theban cause, 158. Prepares for the war against Persia, 169. Conducts the forces destined for Asia to Sestos, 180..182.

HISTORY MISCELLANEOUS, from his *passage into Asia*, until the *death of Darius*—He crosses the Hellespont, 183. In the Troad, visits the tumulus of Achilles, 185. Traverses part of Phrygia Minor, 187..192. Defeats the Persian army at the Granicus, 196. Returns to the Troad, 205. Receives the submission of Phrygia, Ionia, and Caria, 207. Marches to Sardis, 208. Enters Ephesus, 212. Reduces Miletus, 223. Defeats a small detachment of Persian ships, 228. Dismisses his fleet, 231. Advances into Caria, *ibid.* Reinstates Ada on the throne, 234. Halicarnassus taken, 248, advances into Lycia, 251. Is apprised of the conspiracy of Philotas, 253. Traverses a dangerous road from Phaselis to Perga, 256. Proceeds through Pamphylia, 262, and Pisidia, 264, to Phrygia, 265. Collecting his forces, prepares to meet Darius, *ibid.* Cuts the Gordian knot, 273. Having traversed Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, 275, enters the north defile of Cilicia, 291. After bathing in the Cydnus, is seized with sickness, 293. Interesting scene with his physician, 298. Parmenio occupies the *pass of the forest*. While Darius is advancing to the defile of Amanus, Alexander penetrates that of Syria, 309. Defeats Darius at Issus, 323. Visits Sisymbria, 331. Releases the Athenian prisoners, 334, note. Detaches Parmenio to Damascus, 335. Proceeds into Cœle-Syria, 342, and Phœnicia, 343. His correspondence with Darius, *ibid.* Alexander makes Abdalomius king of Sidon, 347. Directs the Macedonian fleet to attack the Persian, 352. While besieging Tyre, invades Arabia, [perhaps Petra] 361. Is joined by a fleet from Cyprus, 365. Destroys Tyre as a state, 376..378. Visits Jerusalem, 258, 381. His correspondence, on a second overture from Darius, 378. Assaulting Gaza, Alexander is twice wounded, 387..389. On its fall, takes ignoble revenge, 390. Traverses Egypt, 392. Penetrating the Libyan desert, 392, visits the oracle of Hammon, 394. Finds Alexandria, 400. Returns to Syria, 402. At the intercession of the Athenians releases the Grecian captives, 403. Crosses the Euphrates, 407, and the Tigris, 408. His sympathy on the death of Darius' wife, 414, excites from Darius a third application for peace, 418. His answer to Parmenio, and to the Persian ambassadors, 421. He

Alexander the Great.

defeats Darius in the province of Arbela, 451. Enters Babylon, ii. 6. Through Satrapene, ii. 13, proceeds to Susa, ii. 15; and thence, across the Pasitigris to the district of the Uxians, ii. 18. Reduces their principal fort, ii. 20. After an unsuccessful attempt to force the Pylæ Susidæ, ii. 21, turns them, ii. 28. Marches to Persepolis, ii. 35, and Persagada, ii. 37. Traverses Persis, *ibid.* Invades the Persic Mardians, ii. 39. Burns the palace of Persepolis, ii. 40. Enters Media; ii. 42. Having quitted the great road, moves from Tabas in pursuit of Darius, ii. 60. Reaches the place where Darius died, ii. 66.

HISTORY MISCELLANEOUS, from the death of Darius to the expedition against India—His measures against Sparta, ii. 70. [From Ecbatana? ii. 75, 77.] Alexander advances into Parthia, ii. 77. From Hecatompylos, ii. 78, proceeding, ii. 84, traverses Hyrcania, ii. 85..90. Reduces the Hyrcanian Mardi, ii. 91. Is visited by the queen of the Amazons, ii. 94. Marches through Parthia, ii. 96, 98, toward Bactriana, 99. Is diverted from the pursuit of Bessus, by the revolt of the Arii, ii. 99, ii. 100. Enters Drangiana, ii. 102. Is apprised of Dymnus' conspiracy, ii. 106. After Philotas' execution, ii. 135, sends secret orders to have Parmenio killed, ii. 148. Detaches forces against the insurgent Sati-barzanes, ii. 154. Reduces Arachosia, *ibid.* Penetrates the inhospitable country of the Parapamisadæ, ii. 155. Crosses the Eastern Caucasus, or Hindoo Kos mountain, ii. 159. Finds a city at the foot, *ibid.* Traverses Bactriana, ii. 165, and the desert borders of Sogdiana, ii. 168. Crosses the Oxus, ii. 171. Exterminates the Branchidæ, ii. 173. Consigns Bessus to punishment, ii. 175. Is wounded by a Sogdian mountaineer, ii. 177. Receives ambassadors of the Abii, ii. 178. From the Jaxartes, ii. 179, returns to suppress a revolt in Sogdiana, *ibid.* Is wounded at the city of the Memaceni, ii. 182. Crosses the Jaxartes, ii. 197, and defeats the Scythians, ii. 198. Receives ambassadors from the Sacæ, ii. 200. Through Sogdiana, ii. 201, and Bactriana, ii. 203, by a circuit across the Oxus and Ochus, reaches Marginja, ii. 204. Obtains the rock of Arimazes, ii. 210. Renewed revolts in Margiana and Sogdiana suppressed, ii. 212. Alexander receives embassies from various Scythian nations, *ibid.* Marches into Bazarria, ii. 213. Hunting, spears a lion, ii. 214. At a feast kills Clitus, ii. 220. Marches to

Alexander the Great.

Xenippa, ii. 224. Obtains the rock of Naura, ii. 225. Drives the wife of Spitamenes from the camp, ii. 231. Receives the submission of the Dahæ, ii. 232. Suspending the march to Gabaza, ii. 233, 236, ravages the country of the Sacæ, ii. 236. Marries Roxana, ii. 238. Prepares an expedition against India, ii. 239. By Cleo, a corrupt orator, moves the Macedonians to vote him celestial honours, ii. 240. On the conspiracy of Hermolaus, ii. 245, devotes Callisthenes, untried, to a cruel death, ii. 259.

HISTORY MISCELLANEOUS, from his *expedition against India to his departure from Pattala*—He advances toward India, ii. 260. Met by chieftains on the frontiers, ii. 270. Reduces several tribes, ii. 271. Is wounded surveying a fortress, *ibid.* Slays the inhabitants to make his name formidable, *ibid.* Celebrates the Bacchanalian mysteries on mount Meros, ii. 273. Subdues various districts preparatory to passing the Indus, *ibid.* 282. Is wounded at Mazagæ, ii. 275. Reduces the rock Aornos, ii. 281. Crosses the Indus, ii. 282. Receives the submission of Taxiles, ii. 284, and ambassadors from Abisares, ii. 285. Passes the Hydaspes, ii. 290, and defeats Porus, ii. 292. Generous to his vanquished enemy, ii. 300. Alexander prepares a navy, ii. 302. Advances to the Hydraotes, ii. 304. Subdues several districts, *ibid.* Enters the territory of Sophites, ii. 306. Having penetrated to the Hypasis, is prevented by the troops from proceeding further eastward, ii. 320. Retrograding, encamps on the bank of the Acesines, ii. 321. With a fleet, descends the Hydaspes, ii. 323, 324. Debarks, and reduces several tribes, ii. 324. His vessel is stranded at the confluence of the Acesines and Indus, ii. 326. Alexander marches against the Oxydracæ and Malli, ii. 327. Appeases a mutiny, ii. 328. Storming the city of the Oxydracæ, rashly exposes himself, ii. 330, and is wounded, ii. 332. Proceeding down the Indus, ii. 337, receives ambassadors from the Oxydracæ and the Malli, ii. 345, and from the Sambracæ, ii. 351. Reduces several tribes on the Indus, ii. 352, 355. Arrives at Pattala, ii. 355. His fleet is stranded by the BORE, ii. 359. Alexander passes out of the Indus' mouth, ii. 362. Returns, and having prepared to march to Gedrosia, ii. 363, commissions Nearchus to explore the Indian ocean, ii. 364.

HISTORY MISCELLANEOUS, from his *passage through Gedrosia to his death at Babylon*—Alexander traverses the seats of the Arabitæ,

Alexander the Great.

and the Horitæ, ii. 365. Is distressed in the deserts of Gedrosia, ii. 366. Leads a convivial procession through Carmania, ii. 369. Prepares a fleet to subdue the coasts of Arabia, ii. 377. His ulterior designs, ii. 376. He represses a mutiny on the dismissal of the veterans, ii. 389. Traverses Mesopotamia, ii. 398. Adiabene, *ibid.*, and Media, ii. 399. His grief on the death of Hephæstion, ii. 400; diverted by an expedition against the Cossæans, ii. 401. In contempt of a prediction of the Chaldæans, Alexander enters Babylon, ii. 403. Navigates the Pallacopas, ii. 404. Returns to Babylon, ii. 405, is seized with his last sickness, ii. 405. His last words, ii. 407.

MANNERS.—See *Alexander*—**HISTORY MISCELLANEOUS**, until Philip's death, and **CHARACTER** as a man.

OPINIONS AND TASTE—His deference at mature age for Aristotle, 31, ultimately succeeded by aversion, 32. Turn in his taste for music, 33. His early antipathy to comedians is succeeded by a decided disposition to patronize them, 34. His dislike of Athletæ, 34, 224; appears also to have subsided, ii. 347. His admiration of Homer, 35. His patronage of Lysippus, Pyrgoteles, and Apelles, 18. His visit to the study of Apelles, 214.

SPEECHES—On his accession, to his council, 117, and to the people, respecting the suppression of revolters, 118. To his council, regarding the Persian expedition, 170; on hazarding a general naval engagement, 229. To the troops before the battle of Issus, 318. In reply to ambassadors from Darius, 421. To his army before the battle of Arbela, 438. At Hecatompylos, urging the troops to proceed, ii. 20. To the tribunal of Macedonians, against Philotas, ii. 113; against Amyntas and Simmias, ii. 139. To his council, on invading Scythia, ii. 185. In reply to the Scythian embassy, ii. 197. Before the tribunal of Macedonians, in reply to Hermolaus, ii. 254. To the army refusing to proceed eastward from the Hypasis, ii. 311. To the army mutinying on the bank of the Indus, ii. 328. In answer to Craterus dissuading him not to expose himself to common dangers, ii. 340. To the army mutinying on the dismissal of the veterans, ii. 386. To the Asiatic troops giving them equal privileges with the Macedonians, ii. 391.

TACTICS [And see above.]—Passage of the Ister, 129, Eordaicus, 137, Granicus, 196, Tigris, 408, Arosis, ii. 30, Oxus, ii. 170, Jax-

Alexander the Great.

artes, ii. 197, Indus, ii. 282, Hydaspes, ii. 290. Provisions against being surrounded, 434. Stratagems, 136, 157, 192, 386, ii. 26, ii. 209, ii. 289, ii. 353.

UNSUCCESSFUL UNDERTAKINGS—He raises the siege of Peucé, 128; of Pellion, 135. Fails to unite the gulfs of Smyrna and Ephesus, 220. Frustrated in an attack on Mindus, 236. Obligated to retreat out of the Pylæ Susidæ, ii. 22.

Alexandria—See *Alexander*—CITIES.

Altars of Alexander, ii. 320.

Amazons—Dress and customs of, ii. 94. Remnant of, ii. 399.

Amphictyonic Council—Philip admitted a member of, 47.

Amyntas (son of Perdiccas III.)—Aspires to the succession, 115. Foiled 119.

Amyntas (son of Arrabæus)—A renegade, 325. Deserts the Persians, and invades Egypt, 349. Falls, 351.

Amyntas (son of Andromenes)—Arraigned as an accomplice of Philotas, ii. 139. His defence, ii. 141. Acquittal, ii. 147.

Anaximenes—Instructed Alexander in eloquence, 34. His happy request, *ibid.*

Andromachus—Burnt by the Samaritans, 402.

Antigenes—A lieutenant-general in the battle against Porus, ii. 294.

Antigonus—Lieutenant over Lydia and Phrygia, 219. Defeats the Persians, 352. Reduces Lycaonia, 381.

Antipater—Viceroy of Macedon, 177. Defeats Agis, ii. 70. His dissensions with Olympias, ii. 396. Recalled, ii. 395.

Apelles—Exclusively permitted to depict Alexander, 18. The statement of Pliny, that he used but four colours, appears to be a mistake, 218, note. Price of his Alexander and Venus, 214. Receives Campaspe in marriage, 215. Doubtful anecdotes respecting, 215, 216.

Apophthegms of anonymous persons—A musician, 33; a Persian ambassador, 23.

Arabia, some emporium of, conquered by Alexander, 21. Its north-western frontier scoured in a flying expedition, 361. Its south-eastern touched, when the king explored the termination of the Chaldæan canal and lakes, ii. 404. City founded on the borders of, *ibid.* Alexander had ordered a fleet to be built for exploring all the coasts of Arabia, ii. 377.

Arabitæ—ii. 365.

- Arachosia*—ii. 154, ñ. 346, ii. 369.
- Arbela*—406, 407, ii. 3—Battle of, 444.
- Aria*—ii. 98, ii. 100. [And see *Satibarzanes*.]
- Ariaspes*—ii. 153.
- Aridæus*—See *Philip Aridæus*.
- Ariobarzanes*—Repels Alexander from the Susidian pass, ii. 21. His position turned, ii. 28. He falls in battle, ii. 29.
- Aristander*, first soothsayer—Offends Alexander, ii. 187. [And see *Superstition*.]
- Aristobulus*—One of the primary historians of Alexander, 2. Reproved by his royal master for falsifying the details of the battle with Porus, *ibid*.
- Aristonus*—Slays a Persian general in combat, 410. Wounded, rescuing Alexander, ii. 334. Proposes to vote the supremacy to Perdiccās, ii. 417. One of the council which apportioned the empire, ii. 432.
- Aristotle*—Finishes the education of Alexander, 24. His reward, 29. His work on natural history, 25. Moral effects of his lessons on Alexander, 28, 29. His influence over Alexander ultimately declined, 31.
- Armenia*—425, 426—ii. 4, ii. 12.
- Armour of Alexander*, 186.
- Arosis*—ii. 24, ii. 30, ii. 42.
- Artabaxus*—A fugitive at Pella, recalled, 22. Mediates between Darius and Bessus, ii. 49..52. His last interview with Darius, ii. 57. Interview with Alexander, ii. 90.
- Artacrana*—ii. 100, ii. 101.
- Ascanius*—Salt Lake in Phrygia, 265.
- Atharías*—Rallies the junior troops, 246. Honorary reward, ii. 14.
- Athenodorus*—Revolting, and assuming royalty, is killed, ii. 344.
- Athens*—Venality of individual citizens, 52. Embassies to Philip and Thebes, 55. Armaments decreed against Philip, 57. Enlightened policy, 81. Measures from the battle of Chæronea, 83, until peace, 93. [And see *Demosthenes*, 141; and *Phocion*.] The Athenians expel Harpalus, ii. 383. Resist Alexander's edict concerning exiles, ii. 384.
- Attalus* (father-in-law of Philip)—Insults Alexander, 99. Infernal retaliation on Pausanias, 105. A dangerous enemy to Alexander, 115. Put to death, 119.

B.

Babylon—Surrender of, ii. 6. Description of, ii. 8. Corrupt manners of the citizens, ii. 11. Satrapy, ii. 12, ii. 232.

Bactriana—A region, taken largely, evidently comprehending Hyrcania: it probably influenced the Indian dependencies; Ariana, except Media and Persis; and the bordering Scythians, except the Sacæ, ii. 51, ii. 98, ii. 100, ii. 102. Bactriana Proper, ii. 165, ii. 168. Revolt of, ii. 179. Bactrian exiles cut off Attinas, ii. 212; attack Amyntas, ii. 224; obtain an amnesty, *ibid.*

Bagistames—ii. 398.

Bardyllis, king of Illyria, defeated, 132, 133.

Barzine—Probably the widow of Memnon, ii. 416, note.

Battles—Of Arbela, 144. Chæronea, 83. With the Getæ, 42. Of the Granicus, 196. With an Indian tribe, ii. 304. Of Issus, 320. Megalopolis, ii. 71. With Porus, ii. 291. The Thracians, 125. The Triballi, 43. The Tyrian fleet, 372.

Bazaria—ii. 213.

Belon—His invective against Philotas, ii. 127.

Bessus—His rank and ambition, 384, ii. 44. In the battle of Arbela, 424, 445. His conspiracy—See *Nabarzanes*. He flies to Bactra, ii. 63. Assembling the Scythians, assumes royalty, ii. 98. Takes refuge in Sogdiana, ii. 163. Circumvented by Spitamenes, ii. 171. is delivered to Alexander, ii. 174. His punishment, ii. 203.

Betis, the Persian governor of Gaza, 385; his brave defence when besieged, 385..389; on its surrender, dragged alive round the city, 390.

Bicon—With other revolting Greeks, returns home, ii. 345.

Brahmins—Obscure account of their tenets, ii. 268. City of, ii. 325. Calanus, a brâhmin, burns himself, ii. 404.

Branchidæ—ii. 173.

Bucephalus—Tamed, 38. Portrait of, by Apelles, 215. Bucephalus taken, and restored, by the Mardi, ii. 93. Wounded, ii. 297. Particular account of his death, from Chares, *ibid.*, note.

C.

Callisthenes—One of the primary historians of Alexander, 5. Answers Cleo, ii. 242. Impeached, ii. 250. Executed, ii. 259.

Cappadocia—275, 288, 352.

- Caria*—232, 234.
- Carmania*—ii. 369.
- Carthage*—356, 368. Alexander's designs against, 376, ii. 376.
- Cassander*—176. Anecdote respecting, 32. Rebuild Thebes, 152, 3.
- Caspian*—ii. 88.
- Catenes*—[And see *Spitamenes*.] A memorable archer, ii. 176. Slain, revolting, ii. 239.
- Caucasus (Eastern)*, or Hindoo Kos, mountain, ii. 158, ii. 159.
- Cebalinus*—Reports to Philotas Dymnus' conspiracy, ii. 105.
- Celtæ*—Interview of their ambassadors with Alexander, 130.
- Chaldeans*, 258, ADD. NOTE (H.) ii. 207, ii. 403.
- Charidemus*—Counsels Darius, 278. His precipitate execution, 280.
- Chariots* armed with sithes, 405. Indian chariots, ii. 291, ii. 304.
- Cilicia*—Passes of, 289, 301, 302, note.
- Cinadopolis*—An infamous town, 250.
- Clea*—Moves celestial honours to Alexander, ii. 241.
- Cleopatra*—Married to Philip, 99. Her melancholy death, 113.
- Cleophes*—Queen of the Assacani, submits to Alexander, ii. 276.
- Clitarchus*—One of the primary historians of Alexander, 7. Stricture of Curtius on, ii. 335.
- Clitus (the Illyrian)*—Revolt of, 133.
- Clitus (the Macedonian)*—Saves Alexander, 199. At a feast affronts him, ii. 218. Is slain by him, ii. 221.
- Cobares*—His speech to Bessus, ii. 161.
- Cænos*—Inveighs against Philotas, ii. 119. His speech on behalf of the troops, ii. 317. His death; ii. 321.
- Craterus*—His rank and principal services, 315, 361, 365, 436, ii. 28, ii. 37, ii. 200, ii. 212, ii. 239, ii. 368, note, ii. 369. Speech against Philotas, ii. 109. A zealous inquisitor, ii. 129. His address to Alexander, ii. 338. Sent to supersede Antipater, ii. 395.
- Crenidæ*—The seat of gold mines, taken by Philip, and called Philippi, 45.
- Curtius*—A fatalist. ii. 55, ii. 379. [See *Superstition*.] He rejected a prevalent anecdote, ii. 214. Discriminating adoption of historic materials, ii. 335; attempered distrust, ii. 307. His allusion to the reigning emperor, ii. 429. His notices of the Parthian dynasty having the ascendancy in Persia, and of Tyre being under the protection of Rome.—See PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION, pp. 19, 20.
- Cyrenians*—393.

D.

Dædalus—ii. 273.

Damascus—Surrender of, 336.

Darius Codomannus. CHARACTER—Personally brave, 162. Arrogant in prosperity, 191. Unable to endure honest counsel, 179. Instigated to, ferocious acts, 307, 309. Wanted firmness as a leader, 323, 450. Had probably acted with energy under distress, had his followers been faithful, ii. 46.

HISTORY MISCELLANEOUS. Elevated to the Persian throne by Bagoas, 162. Obliges the perfidious Bagoas to drink poison, 164. Prepares for war, 165. His arrogant orders respecting Alexander, 191. His overture to Alexander the Lyncestian, 253. In person taking the field, he assembles a new army, 276. Immolates Charidemus, 280. Crossing the Euphrates, advances towards Cilicia, 301. Rejects the advice of the Greek mercenaries, 306. His preliminary dispositions, 312, and order of battle at Issus, 314. He is defeated, 320..324. His queen and family made prisoners, 326. He hastens across the Euphrates, 342. His first letter to Alexander, 343. His second, 378. He assembles another army, 404. Moves from Babylon to the province of Arbela, 405. His intercepted attempt on Alexander's Greeks, 413. His emotions on learning the death of his queen in captivity, 416. His third application for peace, 418. His dispositions preceding the battle of Arbela, 424..426, 431, 440. He is defeated, 444..451. Enters Media, ii. 3. Despairing to elude by flight, prepares to combat Alexander, ii. 43. Apprised by Patron of the conspiracy of Bessus, ii. 54, refuses the protection of the Greeks, ii. 55. Is seized and bound, ii. 59, wounded, and deserted, by Bessus and Nabarzanes, ii. 63. Supported by a Macedonian soldier, dies, ii. 66. [See vol. II. ADD. NOTE (H.) for the *Persian* account of his death.

SPEECHES—To his nobles who had proposed the massacre of the Greeks, 307. To his army, at Arbela, 440. To his council after his last defeat, ii. 44.

Demades—The captive orator reprimands Philip, 88. Released, influences the Athenians to accept peace, 93.

Demaratus—Reconciles Philip and Alexander, 102.

Demosthenes—Influences the Athenians to oppose Philip, 52. His motion decreed, 56. Ambassador to Thebes, 57. His reply to Python, 66. Its effects, 79. He again addresses the Thebans, 80.

Directs politic condescensions, 81. The allies defeated, 86. Demosthenes, for his expenditure on the fortifications, is voted a crown, 91. Moves succours to Thebes, 141. Assists Thebes by individual acts, 142. Applied contemptuous expressions to Alexander, and stimulated the hostility of Attalus, 155. He corresponded with the Persians, 210.

Descriptive Scenery—Rock Aornos, ii. 278. Rock of Arimazes, ii. 205, ii. 208. Bactriana, ii. 165. Parks in Bazarja, ii. 213. Bore in the Indus, ii. 358. River Cydnus, 290. Oasis of Hammon, 394. Woody tract near the Hydaspes, ii. 303. Vale of Hyrcania, ii. 84. Mount Ida, (Phrygian), 166. Libyan desert, 393. Woody frontier of the Mardi, ii. 92. River Marsyas, 272. Mount Meros, ii. 270. Country of the Parapamisadæ, ii. 155. Level parts of Persis, ii. 24. Desert border of Sogdiana, ii. 169. Sea-storm, 366. Thunder-storm on a march, ii. 233. Vale of Tempé, 121.

Diogenes—His reply to Alexander, 123.

Dioxippus—Fights a duel with Corrhagus, ii. 348. His suicide, ii. 349.

Dishanded force—See it counterstated under *Reinforcements*.

Drangiana—ii. 102, ii. 234.

Dymnus—History of his conspiracy, ii. 102.

E.

Ecbatana—ii. 43, ii. 60, ii. 399.

Eclipse, of the moon, 410.

Egypt—350, 392, 401.

Eneti, 275.

Ephesus—The democracy established and restrained, 213. The Ephesians refuse to inscribe Alexander's name on the temple, 217.

Ephialtes—Leads a desperate sally from Halicarnassus, 243.

Epimenes—Betrays the conspiracy of Hermolaus, ii. 249.

Erigyius—In single combat, kills Satibarzanes, ii. 167. His death, ii. 228.

Evergetæ—ii. 154.

Eumenes—ii. 305. His quarrel with Hephæstion, ii. 399. Funeral dedication, ii. 401.

Euphrates—406, 407, ii. 4.

Euthymon—One of the mutilated Greeks confined at Persepolis, ii. 30. His speech, ii. 31.

F.

Fountain of the sun, 396

G.

Gabaza—ii. 233, 236.

Gangaridæ—ii. 309.

Ganges—ii. 261, ii. 309.

Gedrosia—ii. 365, ii. 368.

Gelæ—Defeated by Philip, 42. Defeated by Alexander, 129.

Gordian knot—Cut by Alexander, 274.

Grecian Islands—Alternate ascendancy of the belligerents over—92, 267, 274, 352, 353, 380, 381. 383, 402, 403, ii. 68.

Greece—Estimated force of the confederacy against Persia, exclusive of the Macedonians, 96. Force absolutely contributed, 177.

Philip had enslaved or subdued Achaia, Ætolia, 47; Argos, *ibid.*; Bœotia, distinguished from Thebes, 49; Corinth, 48; Locris, 49, 54; Megara, Messenia, 47; Phocis, 49; Sicyonia, 47; Thessaly, 45; Thebes and Athens, 90: and, though unable to gain over Arcadia, 96, had detached it from Sparta, 47. And had caused Macedon to be adopted as a Grecian state, 47, 50. Elected leader, 96.

Alexander voted captain-general, 122. Revolt of Thebes—See *Thebes*. Hostile will of other states, 156, 158. Adulation and temporizing spirit, 331.

War commenced by Sparta—See *Sparta*.

Edict for recalling the exiles resisted by Athens only, ii. 384.

Greek Colonies—In Asia Minor, generally impatient of servitude to the Persians, 95, 214. Districts of Æolis, Ionia, Doris, 182. Cities of Clazomenæ, Erythræ, 219, Teos, 220, Smyrna, 218. Ephesus, 173, Miletus, 221, Myndus, 236, Halicarnassus, 231. Detached cities which resisted Alexander—Lampsacus, 34, 188; Zeliti, 207; Soli, 302. Semibarbarous colony; Sidetæ, 261.

In Assyria and Ariana—Gortuans, 425; Celonæ, ii. 398; Hecatompylos, ii. 78; Branchidæ, ii. 173.

In India—Nysa, ii. 272; Sobii, ii. 324.

Planted by Alexander—[And see *Alexander*—CITIES] Captive Greeks, in Persis, ii. 34. New colonies near Bactra revolt; ii. 343.

- Greek Mercenaries* (under Darius)—166, 241, 278, 281, 283, 306.
Divisions perfidious, 251, 349. Generally faithful and brave, 200, 223, 321, note, 342, ii. 53, ii. 59. [See also *Memnon* and *Ephialtes*.]
Their counsel rejected, 307.
- Greeks mutilated* (Possibly mercenaries whom Ochus had mutilated for acting in Memnon's revolt.)—ii. 30.

H.

- Hammon*—Grove of, 394; citadel, 395; fountain, 396; oracle, 397.
- Harpatus*—Absconds with treasures, ii. 382. His enterprise and fall, ii. 383.
- Hector*, a son of Parmenio—His accidental death, 402.
- Hellanicæ*—Foster-mother of Alexander, 17, 222, ii. 215, ii. 223.
- Hephestion*—456, ii. 224, ii. 270, ii. 282, ii. 308, ii. 365. Confidant and Mentor of Alexander, 331, ii. 396. His disposal of the crown of Sidon, 346. With Craterus and Cænos, counsels the torture of Philotas, ii. 129. Marries one of Darius' daughters, ii. 392, note. His quarrel with Eumenes, ii. 398. Death, ii. 400.
- Hermolaus*—His conspiracy, ii. 246. Invective, ii. 251. Execution, ii. 259.
- Historians (primary)* of Alexander—Aristobulus reproved by the king for falsifying a narrative of the battle with Porus, 2; not transformed into an author of veracity by surviving Alexander, 3. Ptolemy entitled to chief credit, 2. Curtius hints apparently that Ptolemy was an egotist, ii. 335. Callisthenes wrote several historical works before his fragment on the history of Alexander, 5. Clitarchus variously estimated by the critics of antiquity, 7; cited, without being followed, by Curtius, ii. 335; cited again for a statement resting on his authority, 353.
- (*secondary*) Timagenes esteemed a faithful compiler, 7; slightly censured by Curtius, ii. 335. And see vol. i. ADD. NOTE (C).
- Homer*—Venerated by Alexander, 35.
- Horitæ*, ii. 365, ii. 369.
- Hydaspes*—ii. 286, ii. 287, ii. 289, ii. 324, ii. 326. Skirmish in, ii. 288.
- Hypasis*—ii. 308, *ibid.*
- Hyperides*—His motion decreed by the Athenians, 90.
- Hyrcania*—ii. 84, *ibid.*, ii. 87, ii. 88. Satrap of, nominated, ii. 89.
- Hystaspes*—Wife of, Alexander's generosity to, ii. 76.

I. & J.

- Jassus*, a native of—Carried by a tame dolphin, 225.
- Jaxartes*—ii. 174, ii. 179, ii. 182.
- Jerusalem*—Visited by Alexander, 258.
- Illyria*—Retrospect of its history during Philip's reign, 132.
- India*—Little known to the ancients, ii. 260, note. Extended by Curtius westward, as far perhaps as Alexandria in Arachosia, ii. 206, ii. 270. Imperfect account of, ii. 260..270. Productions, ii. 263. Elephants, *ibid.* Dogs, ii. 307. Manners and dress of the inhabitants, ii. 264...269, ii. 306.
- Indus*, ii. 260, ii. 282, ii. 326. Violence of the bore, ii. 358.

L.

- Lacedemonians*—See *Sparta*.
- Leonidas*—A Tutor of Alexander, 16, 19. His reproof of Alexander, 21.
- Leonnatus*—ii. 294, ii. 363, ii. 366, ii. 368. Sent to console the captive queens, 329. Wounded protecting Alexander, ii. 334. Conjointly with Perdikkas, guardian for Roxana's unborn son, ii. 421. Withdraws, with the horse, from Philip Aridæus, ii. 423. One of the Nine who apportioned the empire, ii. 432.
- Lycurgus*—Arraigns Lysicles, commander at Chæronea, 91.
- Lydia*, 212, 219, 249.
- Lysicles*—His military error, 85. His punishment, 92.
- Lysimachus* (Tutor to Alexander)—16. Calls his pupil Achilles, 24.
- Lysimachus* (of Pella)—ii. 214. One of the nine who apportioned the empire, ii. 432.
- Lysippus*—Statuary of Alexander in bronze, 18. His twenty-five companions, 202.

M.

- Macedonia*—Penury of, at Philip's accession, 44. Its limits under Philip, 45.
- Macedonian army*—Its materials and character, 176, 177, 278. Phalanx, *ibid.*, 193. Sarissophori, 447. Argyraspides, 435; a corps of light

- infantry armed with silver shields, *ibid.*, note. Targeteers, a class of the *middle-armed*, ii. 197. Subsequently Alexander plated the heavy targets and cuirasses, ii. 240. Light-infantry, 194. Archers, 197. Slingers, 315. Friends or companions; 202. Cataphracts, 196. Agemata, 434. Dimachæ or dragoons, 196, ii. 61. Horsemen armed with pikes, 193. Mounted archers, ii. 296. Missile-engines, 138; rams, 374; and moveable turrets, 386. Miners, *ibid.* Guards of the Presence, or captains of the body-guard, ii. 140. Friends, used for captains of the Friends, ii. 111. Lancebearers, ii. 111, ii. 112, ii. 140, note. Royal band, ii. 245. Body-guards, ii. 203, ii. 389, ii. 397. Chiliarchæ, ii. 13. — And see *Reinforcements*.
- Macedonian Customs*—Nuptial ceremony, ii. 238. Tracing a city's foundations, 401. Lustration of the army, ii. 430. Punishment of traitors, ii. 129, ii. 135. Tribunal for capital offences, ii. 112. Controul over the king's recreations, ii. 215.
- Macedonian Empire*—Division of, ii. 432.
- Macedonian Navy*—Under Philip, 51. Under Alexander—See *Navy*.
- Malli*—ii. 327, ii. 350, ii. 377.—And see *Oxydracæ*.
- Maracanda*—ii. 178, ii. 182, ii. 200, ii. 224.
- Mardi*—Persic, ii. 39. Hyrcanian, ii. 91; defeated, ii. 92. Take Bucephalus: restore him, ii. 93. Surrender, *ibid.*—New satrap, ii. 232.
- Marginia* (capital of Margiana?)—ii. 204. Attinas governor? ii. 212.
- Mazæus*—407, 409, 424, 427, 451. Surrenders Babylon, ii. 6. Appointed Satrap of Babylonia, ii. 12. Notice of his death, ii. 232.
- Media*, ii. 66, Suppl., ii. 77, ii. 117, ii. 146, ii. 232, ii. 399.
- Megareans*—Vote the freedom of the city to Alexander, 158.
- Meleager*—315, 434, ii. 181. Sneers at Alexander's liberality to Taxiles, ii. 285. His invective against Perdicas, ii. 418. In opposition; makes Aridæus king, ii. 421. Orders the arrest of Perdicas, ii. 424. Circumvented, ii. 430; is slain, 432.
- Memnon* (of Rhodes)—At Pella, 22. Pardoned by Ochus, and recalled, *ibid.* Commander of Greeks hired by Darius, 166. His talents, 193, enlarged commission, 231, character, *ibid.*, 241. His advice had been rejected, 188. Defence at Halicarnassus, 237.. 247. Operations in the Ægean, 266. Death, 267. His widow and son made captive, 339.
- Meros* (mount)—Bacchanalian revel on, ii. 273.
- Mesopotamia*, ii. 3, ii. 6, ii. 434.

Musicani—A people on the banks of the Indus, ii. 351. They revolt after Alexander had quitted their territory; reduced by Pithon, ii. 353.

N.

Nabarzanes—His audacious proposal to Darius, ii. 48. In concert with Bessus,—he carries off his troops, ii. 49; counterfeits penitence and submission, ii. 52; seizes Darius, ii. 59; wounds and abandons him, ii. 63. Flies to Hyrcania, *ibid.* Negotiates with Alexander, ii. 85. Surrendering, is pardoned, ii. 94.

Navy of Alexander—Macedonian fleet, 181, 222, 227, 231, 352. Confederate fleet from Cyprus, &c. 365, ii. 70. Fleet built and collected in India, ii. 302, ii. 321.—And see *Nearchus*. Projected fleet for coasting Arabia, ii. 377.

Nearchus—Detached to explore the Indian sea, ii. 364. Lands in Carmania, ii. 375. Sent back to conduct the fleet, ii. 376. Warns Alexander not to enter Babylon, ii. 403. His speech for giving the crown to Hercules, Alexander's son by Barsiné, ii. 416. One of the Nine who apportioned the empire, ii. 433.

Nicanor, a son of Parmenio—Dies suddenly, ii. 99.

Nicomachus—Employs his brother to divulge the plot of Dymnus, ii. 105.

Nisæi—Horses bred on the Nisæan plains, ii. 399.

Nysa, a city at the foot of mount Meros, founded, according to the tradition of the inhabitants, by Bacchus, ii. 272.

O.

Ochus (river)—ii. 204.

Olympias—Repudiated, 98. Retires to Illyria, 100. Returns to Pella, 103. Her malice, *ibid.* displayed on Philip's fall, 112. Her revenge on Cleopatra, 113. Murder of Cleopatra's infant child and relatives, *ibid.* Dissensions with Antipater, ii. 396. Railly of Alexander's vanity, 12.

Olynthus—Restoration of, to reward Aristotle, 30.

Oritæ.—See *Horitæ*.

Orsines, 424, ii. 377. His liberality, *ibid.* His catastrophe, ii. 380.

Oxartes—Influences the surrender of Sysimithres, ii. 226. Entertains Alexander, who marries his daughter, ii. 237. Impeached, is acquitted, ii. 352.

- Oxathres*—Brother of Darius, 322. In the band of Friends, ii. 77.
Oxus—ii. 170. ii. 204.
Oxydrace—Allied with the Malli, ii. 327. Their army dispersed, ii. 329. City stormed, ii. 330. Embassy from, ii. 345.

P.

- Paphlagonia*, 275, 352.
Parætacene—ii. 60, ii. 239.
Parapamisus (mount) ii. 166.
Parapamisadæ, ii. 155, ii. 351.
Parmenio—Notices of his services in the field, 9, 13, 107, 176, 196, 315, 324, 335, 437, 445, 451, 452, ii. 37. An instrument against Attalus, 119. His secret information, 253, 298. His counsel disapproved by Alexander, 169, 195, 229, 420, 430; followed, 304, 414. Commander in Media, ii. 117. [None of the historians state when he was left in this government, See *Add. Sup.* p, 66.] Impeached, ii. 133. Officially assassinated, ii. 150. His character, ii. 151.
Parthia, ii. 77, ii. 84, ii. 96, ii. 368.
Pasitigris ii. 18.
Pass—Of Cilicia, Northern, or by *Taurus*, 291. Interior gate of Cilicia, or *pass of the forest*, 302, 304. Eastern pass from Cilicia to Commagena, or *pass of Amanus*, 309. Southern pass from Cilicia to Syria (*modern pass of Bylan*), *ibid.* Of Embolima, ii. 282. Artificial at Naura, ii. 225. Susidian, ii. 21. Of Termessus, 263. Tempe, 121. Thermo, 50.
Pasargada.—See *Persagada*.
Patron—His offer of protection to Darius, ii. 54, declined, ii. 55.
Pattala, ii. 355.
Pausanias (assassin of Philip)—Brutally insulted by Attalus, 105. Obtains no redress from Philip, 106. Murders Philip, 111. Is slain by Perdicas, 111.
Pausanias (favourite of Philip)—Devotes himself in battle, 101.
Perdicas—Pursues and arrests Pausanias, the assassin of Philip, 111. Storms the Theban entrenchment without orders, 144. Declines a grant of land, asking Alexander: What he would have left for himself? 178. His incidental services in the field, 361, ii. 181, ii. 270, ii. 305. Receives the dying king's signet, ii. 406. His speech respecting a successor, ii. 415. He loses the sovereignty, ii. 418. Conjointly with Leonnatus, guardian for Roxana's unborn

- sou, ii. 421. Surrenders to Meleager's party, ii. 423. Rebukes guards sent to arrest him; joins the cavalry, ii. 425. Circumvents Meleager, ii. 428. One of the Nine who apportioned the empire, ii. 432. Commander of the royal army, ii. 438.
- Persagada*, ii. 37, ii. 377.
- Persepolis*, ii. 29. Plundered, ii. 36. Palace of, burnt, ii. 40.
- Persian army*—Its materials and character, 276, 278, 283. Great part imperfectly armed, 277, 404. The horses carried defensive armour, 324, 404.
- Persian customs*—Sacred fire, 283. Costume of the king, 285. The Queen accompanies the army, 309. The loyal maxim which teaches fidelity in keeping the king's counsel undivulged, tenaciously observed by the Persians, 385. Wool held in abhorrence, ii. 17. Interludes, ii. 76. Council at banquets, ii. 160. Mourning, ii. 410.
- Persian empire*—Its duration, 164, 442. Revenue, 180.
- Persis*, ii. 24, ii. 37. [Cœle-Persis comprising] *Persagada*, ii. 37, ii. 377.
- Peucestas*—First to succour Alexander, ii. 383. Wounded, ii. 334. [Persis] his province, ii. 398.
- Philip* (the Acarnanian)—Physician to Alexander, 16. Secretly impeached, 297. Interesting scene, 298.
- Philip Aridaus*—His understanding impaired by poison, 104. Deemed unworthy of the succession, 170. Saluted king in opposition to the nobles, ii. 421. Forlorn court of, ii. 426. He displays a ray of greatness, ii. 427. Directed by Perdicas, denounces his own adherents, ii. 431. Invested with nominal supremacy, ii. 433.
- Philip* (brother of Lysimachus)—Dies from fatigue, ii. 228.
- Philip*, father of Alexander, 9, *et passim*.—See titles following:
- APOPHTHEGMS**—His object in educating his son, 23. On Alexander's musical proficiency, 33. On his taming Bucephalus, 40. On the precipitate pursuit of the Athenians, 85. On the half-brothers of Alexander, 99.
- CHARACTER**, as a politician, 45, 51, 71. Summary of his character, 112.
- HISTORY MISCELLANEOUS**—He had made Macedon powerful and great, 9; and had made preparations for invading Persia, *ibid.* His felicities at the birth of Alexander, 13, 14. Letter to Aristotle, 16; remuneration of the philosopher, 30; injunction to Alexander, 31. Confidence in the early abilities of his son, 40, and distrust of his

impetuosity, 41, 83. He raises the siege of Byzantium, 42. Defeats the army of the Getæ, *ibid.* Is wounded conflicting with the Triballi and Greeks, 43. Retrospect of his actions from the beginning of his reign, 44. 51, 132. He develops his designs against Athens, 52; surprizes Elatea, 56; sends ambassadors to Thebes, 57; gains the battle of Charonea, 83. His extravagant behaviour on viewing the field of battle, 88. His generosity to the Athenian prisoners, 89; and severity to the Theban, 90. He takes Samos, 92. Proposes terms to Athens, *ibid.* Is elected general of the Greek confederacy against Persia, 96. Repudiating Olympias, marries Cleopatra, 99. Sides with Attalus against Alexander, 100. Defeats the Illyrians, 101. Is reconciled to Alexander, 103. Detects a treaty for marrying Alexander with a Carian princess, 104. Unhappy circumstances preceding his death, 105..107. He commences war against Persia, 107. Consults the Delphic oracle, 108. Ordains festivities, 109. Is assassinated by Pausanias, 111.

SPEECH to the Grecian deputies, 93.

Philip (satrap over the Malli and Oxydracæ)—Slain, ii. 377.

Philippi—Previously called *Crenidæ*, 45. The site of productive gold mines, *ibid.*

Philotas—Information of a conspiracy deposited with, ii. 105. Neglects to communicate it, *ibid.* His apology to Alexander, ii. 107. He is arrested, ii. 112. His defence, ii. 120. His confession on the rack, ii. 131. His further confession, ii. 133, and implications, ii. 134. Feelings of the army on his death, ii. 137.

Phocians—Their fate under the Amphictyonic decree, 49.

Phocion—Obliges Philip to raise the siege of Byzantium, 41. Expels the Macedonians from Eubœa, 51. After the defeat at Charonea, appointed commander, 91. His advice respecting Philip's overtures, 93. Exhorts the orators proscribed by Alexander to sacrifice themselves, 154. His disinterested use of Alexander's friendship, 211.

Phrygia—Submits to Alexander, who appoints Calas governor of it, 207. Antigonus constituted governor, 219.

Pithon—Suppresses the revolt of the Musicani, ii. 353. Attached to the party of Perdicas, ii. 421. One of the Nine who voted the division of the empire, ii. 433. "

Polydamas—Sent to effect the assassination of Parmenio, ii. 148.

Polyperchon—His counsel rejected, 430. His miscellaneous services in the field, ii. 28, ii. 239, ii. 277. His offensive jest, ii. 244. Nominated provisionally to succeed Craterus, ii. 395.

- Polystratus*—Finds Darius dying, ii. 64.
Polytimetus.—ii. 201.
Porus—Opposes the passage of Alexander, ii. 286. Is defeated, ii. 291.
 Receives back his kingdom enlarged, ii. 300. Confirms Phegelas' report, ii. 310.
Prasii—ii. 309. The Greeks derived this national appellation from the Sanscrit *Prachi*, 309, note. ♡
Præti—ii. 352.
Protesilaus—Tomb of, 183.
Ptolemy—His incidental services in the field, 196, ii. 289, ii. 366, ii. 402. Wounded, ii. 354. Proposes a military oligarchy, ii. 417. Joins Perdicas, ii. 423. One of the Nine who apportioned the empire, ii. 432. His character, as one of the primary historians of Alexander, 3.
Pylæ—Literally "Gates." See *Pass*.
Pyrgoteles—Exclusively engraved Alexander on gems, 18.
Python—(of Byzantium)—Philip's ambassador to Thebes, 57. His speech, 58.

R.

- Red Sea*—Portions of the ocean so called by the ancients, ii. 6, note. Extent to which Curtius carried the Erythrean, ii. 262. Traditional etymology, ii. 263, ii. 375.

Reinforcements and Attenuations to Alexander's Asiatic Army—

Reinforcements calculated up to the Indian expedition.

Infantry.	Cavalry.	
300.....	Greek prisoners enlisted,	223.
1000.....	300 Macedonians.....	} 250, 271, 275; the numbers from Arrian, b. i. 30.
.....	200 Thessalians	
.....	150 Eleans	
4000.....	Pelopp. Mercenaries	} 271, 365; the numbers from Arrian, b. ii. 20,

5300

650

Carried forward.

Reinforcements and Attenuations continued.

Reinforcements calculated up to the Indian expedition.

Infantry.	Cavalry.	
5300	650	Brought forward.
3000.....		Greek prisoners enlisted, 382.
6000.....	550	Macedonians.....
3500.....	600	Thracians
4000.....	380	Pelopp. Mercenaries
5000.....	1000	Cilicians
1500.....		Greek prisoners enlisted, ii. 91.
.....	500	Greek allies
3000.....		Illyrians
2600.....	300	Lydians.....
3000.....	1000	"Greek" Mercenaries....
3000.....	500	Lycians
3000.....	500	Syrians
7500.....	500	Greek allies
30,000.....		Imperial Persians ii. 239.
This sum includes cavalry which could not be separated.		
<hr/>		
80,400	6480	Total, 86,880.

ADD reinforcements enumerated from *retrospective notices*, or inserted on *indefinite grounds*, and therefore at a low estimate :

1,000.....		Agrians.....	315.
.....	5000	Babylonians under Mazæus,	406, 452, ii. 7.
4,000.....		Persians under Artabazus,	ii. 59, ii. 90.
8,000	1,000	{ Hyrcanians and Parthi-	} ii. 89.
		ans under Phrata-	
		phernes.	
.....	7,000	Bactrians	ii. 314, <i>et passim</i> .
8,000.....		Sogdians, including Naurii,	ii. 227, 314.
6,000.....	6,000	Dahæ	} ii. 189, 232, 292, 314.
.....	5,000	Scythæ (mounted archers),	
			ii. 292, 314.
<hr/>			
104,400	30,480	Carried forward.	

Reinforcements and Attenuations continued.

Reinforcements calculated up to the Indian expedition.

Infantry.	Cavalry.	
104,400	30,480	Brought forward.
	104,400	In the last article of the ENUMERATED REINFORCEMENTS, are included—11,000 Imperial Persians, formed, after long services, into household troops; and others, not enumerated, who were intermixed with the Macedonians, ii. 391, 397.
Total	134,880	
Army carried to Asia	41,100	to India 120,000
Reinforcements	134,880	Attenuations, 55,980
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	175,980	175,980

The *Attenuations* arose from Detachments, including Disbandings; Losses in battle; and Mortality.

DETACHMENTS left in the conquered provinces.

Alexander secured a continuous line from the Hellespont, and supported some collateral points, by the permanent presence of armaments and garrisons, 209, 234, 274, 352, and references below. He endeavoured, however, to bind several districts, by exacting little more than hostages, 275, ii. 21; because, to maintain the field, he was obliged to diminish, by resumptions, to the marching army, the force which had awed the submitting, 271, 352.

Horse and Foot left in—

Asia Minor	8,000 estimated	References above.
Syria	1,500	380, 402.
Egypt	4,000 enumerated	401.
Mesopotamia and Adiabene	} 2,000 estimated	ii. 3.
Babylonia . . . . .			3,000 enumerated	ii. 12.
Susa	3,000	ii. 16.
Persis	3,000	ii. 37.
	<hr/>	
	24,500	Carried forward.

Reinforcements and Attenuations continued

Attenuations calculated up to the Indian expedition.

Brought forward.	24,500	
Hyrkania and five other provinces	} 5,000 estimated	} ii. 159, ii. 204, <i>et pas- sim</i> : including inva- lids settled in the new cities.
Arachosia . . . . .			4,600 enumerated ii. 155.
Sogdiana	3,000	ii. 203.
	37,100	
Media	The army of 11,400 was resumed, ii. 154	

DISBANDED for Europe.

Greek Troopers ..	500 estimated	177, ii. 78.
Thessalian horse chiefly	} 900 enumerated	} ii. 173. These are as- sumed to comprise the Thessalians, (accord- ing to Arrian, b. iii. 19, discharged in Media, when Alexander had a pressing occasion for cavalry to pursue Da- rius;) according to Arrian, b. v. 27, dis- charged in Bactriana. This identifies it with the dismissal in Cur- tius, ii. 173.

38,500

17,480, the difference between 38,500 and the total attenuation, is sufficient to meet **LOSSES IN BATTLE**, and common and extraordinary **LOSSES FROM MORTALITY**. The enumerations of slain transmitted, are too palpably curtailed, [see *Battles*,

Reinforcements and Attenuations continued.

Sieges, Skirmishes,], to attract us to collect the total: the source of mistatement appears in ii. 190, an instance in which the true number may have transpired. Nor can the aggregate slain be calculated by subtracting the extraordinary losses through mortality, ii. 157, ii. 171, ii. 235, because the last only is enumerated.

Reinforcements after the advance into India.

Infantry.	Cavalry.	
.....	6,000	Thracians
7,000	.....	Probably Babylonians..
.....	2,500	Oxydracæ and Malli....
20,000	.....	Persians (from Persis)..
<hr/>	<hr/>	
27,000	8,500	Total, 35,500.

Attenuations.

- DETACHMENTS left in India, Gedrosia, Carmania; not enumerated, so the amount cannot be represented.
- DISBANDED—Ten thousand Macedonians, ii. 395. Remnant of [18,800] Mercenaries, ii. 382.
- DESERTED—Six thousand Mercenaries, ii. 382. The Greek colonists, who went home, ii. 343, 5, were before subtracted from the marching army under DETACHMENTS.
- SLAIN—See *Battles, Sieges, Skirmishes.*
- LOSS FROM MORTALITY—In Gedrosia; not enumerated by Curtius or Arrian; deplorably extensive, ii. 368, note.

RECAPITULATION.

<i>Reinforcements.</i>		<i>Attenuations.</i>
EUROPEANS.	ASIATICS.	EUROPEANS CHIEFLY.
40,980 — enumerated	— 45,900	Detached and disbanded, 38,500
1,000 — estimated	— 47,000	Slain and dead otherwise, 17,480
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
41,980	Carried forward. 92,900.....	55,980

Reinforcements—and—Attenuations recap.

EUROPEANS.	ASIATICS.	EUROPEANS CHIEFLY.
41,980	Brought forward, 92,900.....	55,980

Subsequent to the Indian expedition.

6,000 — enumerated —	29,500	Disbanded	10,000
_____	_____	Deserted.....	6,000
47,980	122,400	_____	_____
Total, 170,320 reinforcements.			71,980
		Detached, slain, and dead otherwise not enumerat- ed; probably.....	40,000
According to Callisthenes, cited by Polybius, XII. x., 5000 foot, and 800 horse from Macedon, ar- rived, as Alexander was entering Cilicia; which would augment the total to 176,180.		Total attenuations	111,980
		_____	_____

At Alexander's death, the army might be about 100,000.

Roxana—Espoused by Alexander, ii. 237.

S.

Sabus—Rajah, his dominions (part of the modern province of Sind)
ii. 352, ii. 353.

Sambracæ—ii. 350. Surrender of, ii. 351.

Sardis—209. Information from archives of, 210.

Sarmatia, ii. 184.

Satibarsanes—Reinstated Governor of Aria, ii. 98. Revolts, ii. 99.

Escapes to Bactra, *ibid.* Reënters Aria, ii. 154. Vanquished and
slain by Erigyius, ii. 166.

Scythians—In Europe, 41, ii. 179, ii. 183. Their embassy, ii. 212,
Scythians in Asia—Abii, ii. 178; Chorasmii, ii. 213; Dahæ, ii. 212,
ii. 213, ii. 232; Massagetæ, ii. 212; Sacæ, ii. 200, ii. 236; Scythæ,
ii. 198. Massagetæ North of the Jaxartes, or Scythæ, alarmed by
Alexander's new fort, ii. 183. Embassy from twenty Scythian
tribes, ii. 192. Scythæ defeated, ii. 198.

Sieges—Of Thebes, 143; Leucadia, 157; Miletus, 221; Halicarnassus,
235; Aspendus, 262; Tyre, 355; Chios, 382; Gaza, 385; hill-fort

- in Uxia, ii. 18 ; woody fastness of Hyrcanian Mardi, ii. 92 ; rock in Aria, ii. 100 ; Memacenzæ, ii. 181 ; rock of Arimazes, ii. 205 ; rock in Naura, ii. 225 ; Mazagæ, ii. 274 ; rock Aornos, ii. 277 ; Oxadracæan city, ii. 330 ; city of Sabus, ii. 352. Sieges raised—Byzantium, 42 ; Pellion, 135 : Megalopolis, ii. 71.
- Simmas*—Arrested, ii. 139. Acquitted, ii. 147.
- Sisines*—Slain in Alexander's camp, 305.
- Sisugambis*—Mother of Darius, 286. Taken prisoner, with the Persian queen, 326. Believes Darius to be killed, 329. First interview with Alexander, 331. .333. Distraction on the death of the queen, 414. Reserve before liberated fellow-captives, 446. Offended by a present, ii. 16. Intercedes for the Uxians, ii. 20. Dies from grief, ii. 411.
- Skirmishes*—ii. 176, ii. 189, ii. 212, ii. 288.
- Sogdiana*—ii. 203, ii. 218, ii. 224. Desert bordering on, ii. 168. Description of Sogdiana, ii. 201. Revolt, ii. 179. Second revolt, ii. 212.
- Sophites*—His surrender, ii. 307.
- Sparta*—Weakened by Philip, 47. Uncorrupt, *ibid.* Divided from the confederated Greeks, 96. Letter to Philip, 97. Sparta suspected by Alexander, 159 ; stigmatized, 204. Agis opposes the Macedonians in Crete, 353, ii. 68 ; and in the Peloponnesus, ii. 69 ; falls, defeated by Antipater, ii. 71. Spartan ambassadors confined, ii. 91.
- Speeches of Anonymous Persons*—A Sidonian, 347. - A Scythian ambassador, ii. 192.
- Spitamenes*—Plotting with Catenes, arrests Bessus, ii. 172 ; and delivers him to Alexander, ii. 175. Fomenta a revolt, ii. 180. Expels the Macedonians from Maracanda, ii. 182. Cuts off a detachment, ii. 189. Is murdered by his wife, ii. 229, who is banished from the Macedonian camp, ii. 232.
- Statira*—Espoused by Alexander, ii. 392.
- Stratagems*—of Alexander—See *Alexander*, TACTICS. Of Darius, 437. Of Philip, 54. Of Spitamenes, ii. 189. Of a Macedonian officer, 383. Of anonymous Barbarian commanders, 125, 362, 364, 370, ii. 212.
- Superstition of the Ancients*—Philosophical reflection of Curtius on the response of Hammon, 398 ; censure and raillery of soothsaying, ii. 23, ii. 161, ii. 185.
- Dreams, 12, 219, 257, 282, 368, ii. 355. Oracles, 108, 225, 273, 397, ii. 25. Credible incidents construed into omens, 14, 110,

- 124, 127, 151, 206, 209, 229, 282, 371, 386, 401, 410, ii. 404.
 Auguries from incidents less probable, 255, 394, 450. Omens raised on incredible phenomena, 127, 149, 150, 252, 357. Alleged predictions—By Chaldæan Magi, 13, ii. 403; a Brabmin, ii. 404.
 Belief in Manes, 153, 185, ii. 401. Worship of local genii, 130, 184, 311, ii. 327. Apprehended judgment on sacrilege, 152. Horrible sacrifices, 135, 369.
Susa—Its surrender to Alexander, ii. 15. Ludicrous occurrence at, *ibid.* Satrapy, ii. 16.
Syria—342, 380, 402.
Syrmus—Baffles Alexander at Peucé, 128. Solicits peace, 131.
Sysimithres—Surrender of, ii. 227. He relieves Alexander's army, ii. 236.

T.

- Tupuri*—ii. 89, ii. 232, ii. 380.
Taxiles Omphis—Surrender of, ii. 283. His kingdom restored, ii. 284.
Telmessus, a seaport town in Lycia, famous for augury, 251, and *ibid* note.
Termessus, an inland town of Pisidia, which resisted Alexander, 263. 265.—Captured and demolished, 265.
Thalestris, queen of the Amazons—Visits Alexander, ii. 94.
Theatetes—One of the mutilated Greeks who met Alexander at Persepolis; his speech, ii. 33.
Thebes—Awed by Philip's hold on Thermopylæ, 50. Invited to alliance by Athens and Philip, 57. Its decree against Philip, 79. Hesitates, 80. Decides on hostility, 81. Defeat at Chæroneæ, 83. War with Alexander, 140. Blockaded, the city rejects terms, 144. Stormed and depopulated, 146. Alexander regrets his severity, 152. Commiserates the Thebans, 204, 334, note. Cassander rebuilt Thebes, 152, 153.
Thessaly—Famous for its horses, 38. Enslaved by Philip, 45. Anticipated in hostility, submits to Alexander, 122.
Thrace—Districts of, seized and influenced by Philip, 46. Thracians defeated by Alexander, 125. Odryssia revolts, ii. 381.
Tigris—406, 408, ii. 4.
Timagenes, one of the secondary historians of Alexander, 7. Slightly censured by Curtius, ii. 335.
Timoclea—Heroism of, 148.

Timotheus—Effects of his music on Alexander, 33.

Tin of Britain—In India, ii. 350, note.

Triballi—Repelled in a treacherous attack on Philip, 43. Defeated in the field by Alexander, 128.

Triremes and other gallies—Various conjectural plans of, 365, ADD. NOTE (K).

Troglodytes—395.—And see *Mardi*.

Tyre—Sends an embassy, intended to divert Alexander from entering the city, 353. Encouraged to prefer the alternative of war by the Carthaginians, 356. Siege of, 355. Sacred prophecy respecting the destruction of continental Tyre, 359, note; prophecies respecting insular Tyre, 260, note. Taken, 375. And destroyed by Alexander as an independent state, 377. After its revival, under the protection of Rome, 378.

Tyrtotes—Reports to Darius his queen's death, 415.

V.

Venetians—Supposed to be descended from the Eneti, 275.

Uxians—Their resistance, ii. 18. Alexander's moderation, ii. 20.

W.

Watches—Divisions of the night, 311, note.

X.

Xenippa, a fertile district bordering on Scythia, ii. 224. The inhabitants expel the Bactrian revolvers who had taken refuge there, *ibid*

Z.

Zibetes—River, part of its course subterranean, ii. 85.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

[A]. *On the Direction in which Darius retreated after the battle of Arbela.*

PAGE 3.—“ He entered the borders of Media.”]—Thus briefly does Curtius indicate the direction in which Darius fled after the battle: but—when the position of Arbela is surveyed on a correct map—the brevity of the notice by its analogy with the shortness and rapidity of the transit, is seen to be in itself descriptive. Dr. Gillies, the learned and elegant compiler of a summary *History of Greece*, institutes a comparison between the line of retreat which Arrian assigns to the Persian monarch after this defeat, and the different representation of the same incident preserved by Curtius; closing a special encomium on the one, with an indefinite censure of the other:—“ Arrian observes that Darius “ showed great judgment in his flight,—having left the “ populous and well-frequented roads leading to Susa and “ Babylon, towards which he justly suspected that Alexander “ would march his army,—and directing his course over the “ ARMENIAN mountains into Media. Diodorus, lib. XVII. “ p. 538, agrees with Arrian. The errors of Curtius, lib. V. “ c. 1, are too absurd to merit refutation.”—*Hist. of Ancient Greece*, by JOHN GILLIES, LL.D. 8vo. London, sixth edit. 1820, vol. iv. p. 319, n. (51).

The Translator deems it important to meet this attack, lest it should conduce to propagate the uncritical prejudice, that the impeached line of narrative is unworthy of comparison.

The accounts of the two historians cannot indeed be reconciled; but if both are examined by the relative situations of the field of battle, of the two armies, and of the towns and provinces named, the Translator will venture to claim a triumph for Curtius. The divergency is simply in the INTERMEDIATE line of retreat. The words of Arrian are: "Darius immediately after this battle, fled *through the mountainous tract of ARMENIA* into Media."—lib. III. cap. 16. Though this may be perfectly in accordance with the map prefixed to Rooke's Arrian,—yet it is quite wonderful that Dr. Gillies should compliment the inventor of such a route. The LATIN historian represents Darius as deliberately relinquishing Babylon and Susa, in order to detain the conqueror, by the spoil of these cities; *Translation*, book V. chap. i.; so far agreeing with Arrian in the motive assigned for flying in another direction. Curtius, too, conducts Darius into Media: but how? BY THE ROAD TO ARBELA; to which station Darius was nearer than his pursuers, and whence there was a short road into Media by a pass through the Gordæan mountains, as Curtius calls a branch of Zagros.—Book IV. chap. xv. § 61;—book V. chap. i. § 1; chap. viii. § 24. Of this mountain-gate the modern name is the Lazian Pass; and the bearing of the road only varies between east-south-east, and east-by-south; so that in retreating along it no time would be lost by any needless deflection. On the other hand, the victorious army stood interposed between Darius and ARMENIA, if that had been the way to Media, a circuit altogether preposterous, unless he had been compelled, by position, to take it; and so far from this, both historians give him credit for electing to abandon the southern provinces with their rich capitals. Having gained Arbela by the bridge of the Lycus, the imperial fugitive seems to have stopped there but for necessary repose; and, continuing his hasty retreat, he at once entered the borders of Media.—CURTIUS, *ut supra*.

To make the consistency of the narrative the more evident, the Translator proceeds to sketch a small part of the sequent

history by anticipation. Now, having left his pursuers on the other side of the Zagros Gordæan, the occupation of the pass by a slight rearguard, would make his movements for some time secure. We next find Darius at Ecbatana, the intervening narrative being confined to the movements of Alexander.—Book V. chap. viii. § 24. At Ecbatana, Darius made such efforts to recruit his army as his diminished resources would permit; passing about the same period there—which Alexander employed in receiving the submission of Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis, and in exploring the cold and periodically deserted table-lands to the north-west. When at length the Persian monarch marched from Ecbatana, it was in a direction toward Bactriana; but he lost some time when on his way to Parthia, by relinquishing his first design to retreat expeditiously for the sudden resolution of halting somewhere on the south-western side of the Caspian strait, to fight a battle; for this object, he diverged a little from the high road to occupy a chosen position. The defection, insolent opposition, and simulated return to fealty of Nabarzanes and Bessus—obliged him to continue his flight. From Ecbatana to the place where the Persian emperor was seized by Bessus and assassinated, the direction of his march had been nearly due east; this is collected by comparing his movements with those of Alexander.—*Ibid*; and chap ix. . . xiii. *passim*. Having followed the line of retreat to its close, and contrasted the difficulty and absurdity of going northward to Armenia with the facility and safety of passing at once into Media by the south-east,—it is not too much to claim for Curtius the merit of handing down, on this point, the most probable account.

The Translator further begs permission here to discuss two collateral points; thinking that—to fortify the ground won after repelling a main attack, may release him from the necessity of attending to every random-shaft from the idle bow of occasional criticism.

1. The first subject for minor remark is, that Curtius—in

the passage which has been examined—differs from Diodorus as well as from Arrian. This specimen might therefore alone be sufficient to dispel another inveterate prejudice of his habitual depreciators, namely, that Curtius has copied after Diodorus without discrimination, adopting all his errors. The notes to the translation, however, specify several other judicious deviations from Diodorus.

2. The second particular which may be examined in connection with the movements of both sovereigns at this stage of the history, is: At what time is it most probable that Alexander first visited Ecbatana, the fourth of the imperial cities, and which, when Persia enjoyed peace, was the seat of the court in summer? Arrian makes him proceed thither, when he broke up his camp at Persepolis, to resume the pursuit of Darius.—lib. III. cap. xix. The narrative of Curtius implies, indeed, that Alexander had originally shaped his march in the direction of Ecbatana; while it plainly asserts, that on information that Darius had departed thence, he quitted the road leading through Media, and travelled vigorously to overtake the fugitive.—*Translation*, vol. ii. p. 60.—Owing to the places in which chasms in the extant MSS. happen to fall, the *time* when the Roman historian would have conducted Alexander in person to Ecbatana, can only be inferred. The brief *Supplement to Translation*, vol. ii. p. 66, SUPPOSES him to go to Ecbatana immediately after the death of Darius. It is at least certain, that he went to this city twice, at very distant periods. Another *Supplement*, which fills a chasm in the tenth book, chap. iv. 11, records, on the clear testimony of several ancient writers, his triumphant visit to Ecbatana, when he had returned from the expedition to India.

To return to Alexander's pursuit of Darius: Arrian leads

• Mentioned as a city of Media in the Book of Tobit, the ruins of which are near the site of the present Teheran.

Alexander consistently enough through Rages*, which lay in the road from Ecbatana to the Caspian streit. Curtius as consistently marches Alexander to TABAS, by

a route south-west of Rages about 75 miles; and a line drawn through this town forward to the CASPIAN STREIT, indicates the new direction which Alexander took, in order to intercept the fugitive; going off at a right angle from the road to Ecbatana, on which he had hitherto been moving. The variance between the two authors here is very striking. Arrian makes Alexander traverse two sides of a triangle, while Darius is passing one, and that the shortest. Curtius represents Alexander to deflect his march at a point which forms with Ecbatana and the Caspian streit a smaller triangle, of which Darius had to traverse the longest limb, and Alexander the shortest. Which version of the march is most probable? and which accords best with Alexander's practice of sacrificing to expedition every thing out of the line of principal operations?

Satisfied with a simple vindication of those passages in Curtius against which the rush of his common-place impugnors has been most confident and furious*, the Translator will not dwell on the INVIDIOUS alternative; nor imitate the language of those who would make the ridicule of a partial error the test of truth for an entire history. Let us candidly suppose, that the original documents from which Curtius and Arrian compiled, sometimes widely differed, whether left by Greek writers, or collected from Persian memorials. Eye-witnesses can see but a small part of an extended scene of operation; the reports of prisoners sometimes originate in ignorance, and sometimes in a design to mislead; and the native newswriters might frequently commit to writing incorrect intelligence, while the remaining provinces of a distracted empire had only a precarious communication with the fugitive court. The bases of geography were besides so imperfect, that every thing on a great scale was out of drawing. In the maps of the Hipparchi and the Ptolemies, all the distant points were falsely distributed: hence the narratives of marches, in

* This alludes not merely to the points embraced by the present note; but to the numerous objects of unjust censure vindicated in the *Preface* and *Notes* generally.

themselves accurate,—became in appearance obscure and perplexed—when examined by intended illustrations, inadequate to the service for which they had been constructed; and hence, in the case of contradictory accounts of the same expedition, that which we can now discover to be erroneous, might best agree with the map of the day. In the spirit of returning generous allowance for mutual aid, the notes to the Translation exhibit occasional derivations from Arrian, which may serve to supply omissions in Curtius, or clear up obscurities, or correct apparent errors; the latter are neither numerous nor important. The reputation of Curtius has risen as the map of Asia has improved; and if the same cause has not produced the same effect in respect to Arrian, it is because his authority had been a long while unduly exalted on almost exclusive pretensions.

[B]. *On the bearing of Arabia from Gaugamela, in going back to Mosul.*

P. 3.—“ Arabia, celebrated for its *aromatic productions*, “ he kept bearing to the left.”]—In mentioning ARABIA in this relation, several critics have impeached Curtius of committing two great errors. The first consists in the name and descriptive addition, “ *Arabia, odorum fertilitate nobilis.*” As the error is admitted to be real, or regarded as nominal, three ways of removing the objection, or disentangling the construction, have been proposed. 1. M. Longuerue (*Voy. Michault, Melang. hist. et philol. T. i. p. 208,*) would simply substitute “ *Arabia OREORUM,*” for “ *Arabia ODORUM,*” on the authority of Pliny. (*Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 9.*) If this reading were received, the translation would be: “ That district of “ *Arabia, held by the tribe Orei, celebrated for its fertility,*” 2. This emendation is ingenious, but perhaps unnecessary; because, before the Greeks imposed the name *Mesopotamia*

on the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris, the lower part of it, between the river Chaboras and Babylon, was reckoned, by the natives of the East, to belong to Arabia; hence Xenophon, treating of his passage through this district, calls it Arabia; and Strabo, describing it, says it was inhabited by the Scenite Arabs. So much is noticed by M. Sainte-Croix. (*Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre*, pp. 811, 863.) 3. The Translator of Curtius, as a resource for vindicating the words "celebrated for its aromatic productions," deems it not impossible that the historian might deliberately refer to the region of Arabia Felix; because a large tract *when near* perplexes by its various bearings, but *when remote* is diminished to a fixed point. Thus, in letting fall a perpendicular, the farther the points are apart from which the intersecting circles are struck, the less chance there is of error in fixing and turning the compasses.

The second mistake attributed to this passage in Curtius, respects the direction in which Alexander began to march on leaving the field of battle. M. Barbié du Bocage, author of the *Map of the Marches and Empire of Alexander*, annexed to St. Croix's work, in the place last cited, says: That learned critic has made it clearly appear, that Curtius has unluckily put "the *left*," instead of the *right*. But this charge is advanced inadvertently; or, at least, depends on making Alexander go in person to Arbela, and thence directly to Babylon, as Arrian relates that he did. But Curtius and Arrian have, in respect to most of the incidents immediately following the battle, chosen to rely on different authorities, and, in this part, their narratives cannot be reconciled. Curtius conducts Alexander, first to Memmium, evidently through Mesopotamia; and the statement that *at the beginning of his march*, he kept Arabia bearing to the *left*, shews that he went back to find a ford. Curtius had before, *Translation*, vol. i. p. 452, carried back Mazæus to Babylon the same way; by which he avoided many hills and rivers.

[C]. *On the Construction of Per medium, compared with the proposed reading Per Mediam.*

P. 23.—“These were pointing out a ROAD THROUGH “THE LEVEL COUNTRY, which was safe and open.”—*Per medium iter ostendebant tutum apertumque.*—CURTIUS. The commentator Bongarsius objects to the common reading *per medium iter*—though found in the editions, and manuscripts—and to the interpretation of it by a *high (or general) road through the plains*; alleging that if such a road existed, Alexander was endeavouring to force a difficult and obstructed pass without necessity. He therefore proposes, as a conjectural emendation, to read *Per Mediam iter*: This reading is adopted in the editions of Freinshemius, Le Tellier, Cellarius, and Snakenburg. The translation of the passage, thus altered, would be: “These disclosed to him a way “THROUGH MEDIA, which was safe and unconfined.” But if we consult the geography of the country, now better understood than when those classical linguists framed their commentaries, it is evidently absurd to propose conducting Alexander through Media to Persepolis, when he was already at the Uxian pass. The Translator has therefore recurred to the original reading, *per medium iter*:—construed by Raderus as a Græcism, this corresponds either with the English term HIGH ROAD, or with the phrase OPEN COUNTRY, as *medium* is either joined with *iter* in the construction, or with a substantive understood equivalent to territory. Were even MSS. found to authorize the reading, *per Mediam*, the Translator would render it, THROUGH THE LEVEL (OR OPEN) COUNTRY; because in *Kinneir’s Map to his Travels in Asia Minor, &c.* the high, or general, road from Susa to Persepolis runs on the south side, and not on the north side, of the Uxian ridge, and thus the easy alternative open to the mere traveller is the farther removed, and quite

excluded from Media; and because Curtius, translating from Greek materials, has in several parts of his work retained the word *media*, where the sense would be entangled, and the geography inexplicable, by constructing it as the name of the capital province, or ancient kingdom *Media*: whereas if this recurring subject for unsatisfactory comments be understood simply as the *open country*, the narrative will be clear, and the local relations exact. Here, the highway through the open country is properly contrasted with the pass belonging only to the Uxians and Susians. Why did not Alexander take the unobstructed road? Because he did not travel as the driver of a caravan: his object was to explore and subdue; nor would he, in prosecuting his expedition, leave behind him defiles and fastnesses occupied by a hostile force. Having made the attempt on the pass, he had an additional incentive to persevere, which was imperative on the mind of a Greek: he would not leave his slain unburied.

[D]. *On the Mountains forming the north-western Frontier of PERSIS.*

P. 24.—“This chain, derived from Caucasus.”—The mountains of Persia are by some authors said to proceed from Mount *Caucasus*, and by others from Mount *Taurus*.—KINNEIR'S *Geographical Mem. of the Persian Empire*, p. 3.—The Caucasus is connected with Taurus.—*Idem*, p. 4.—With regard to the section of the chain described by Curtius; first, by position, “Persis is shut in on one side; and then, by “its measured length, sixteen hundred stadia.” it is difficult to supply the ancient local name. The boundary intended is a continuation of Mount Zagros; the primitive chain from which it springs is to be sought on the southern frontier of Media, to the S. E. of Taurus Niphates, and to the S. W. of Parchoatras: to mark it locally, this branch may be called *Persisic Zagros*. In the line of this ridge the site of Shuster is

found. The commentators on the classic historians, who wrote before D'Anville had introduced the method of illustrating ancient geography by correct outlines from modern travels, frequently darken what is obscure, or superadd positive error to defective description. Thus, Raderus, intending to conduct us along the boundary of mountain defined in the text, rambles to the Paropamisus. He says: "We have to journey from west to east" [he should have said, to the south-east]; "go up to Susa;" [we are already, at starting, about thirty miles above and beyond Susa;] "traverse Persis" [*one side* of Persis]; "pass over Carmania and Drangiana, and at length ascend the lofty and cheerless Paropamisus." All this is superfluous wandering, thousands of stadia beyond the limits specified by Curtius. The fundamental error of Raderus, from which so many incidental mistakes spring, lies in expanding the *Persis* of the original into PERSIA as an empire, instead of confining it to PERSIS as a province. The 1600 stadia of Curtius agree pretty nearly with the length assigned in *Kinneir's Map* to the north-western side of the modern FARs. The words of the Memoir correspond still more closely with the text of our historian, by marking the place at which a spur, not delineated in the map, shoots off to the coast. "The great range of mountains seen from the coast is a mere elongation of the chain of Mount Zagros; not a separate range, but connected with that mountainous tract, which extends, in a continued succession of ridges, from the borders of the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea and Mount Caucasus."—KINNEIR'S *Geogr. Memoir of the Persian Empire*, p. 56.

The meeting between the mountains and the Gulf spoken of by Curtius—"where the mountains terminate, the sea presents a breastwork"—is made out as follows: "A few miles to the west of the village of Gunava, a low ridge suddenly projects out to the south, and, touching the sea, separates the district of Leerawee" [in ancient Susiana] "from that of Hiadouat," [in ancient Persis].—*Ibid.*

[E]. *On the Season indicated by SUB IPSUM
VERGILIARUM SIDUS.*

P. 37.—“He set out under the constellation Pleiades.”—The words of the original are: *interiorem Persidis regionem, SUB IPSUM VERGILIARUM SIDUS, petiit.* The learned commentator, Raderus, had said: “Curtius here must be understood to be speaking of the *setting* of the Pleiades, “which is the beginning of winter.” And he cites Pliny, lib. ii. 47, to the effect, that the *SETTING of the Pleiades commences with WINTER; which season usually falls upon the third of the Ides of November.* Freinshemius, adopting this annotation, refers to two passages in Livy, xxi. 35, as confirming it: *nivis etiam casus, OCCIDENTE JAM SIDERE VERGILIARUM, ingentem terrorem adjecit.*

M. de Sainte-Croix, commenting upon this identical phrase in Curtius—*under the constellation of the Pleiades*—says: “Nothing can be more vague than these expressions, as I have already observed; because they might apply either to the rising or the setting of the Pleiades. But supposing that this author intends to speak of the *SETTING* of this constellation, which is the more probable, let us endeavour to draw whatever light we can from his account. Calippus, a celebrated astronomer of Alexander’s age, and whose tabular period commences with this very year, has marked the setting of the Pleiades at the sixteenth degree from Sagittarius, that is to say, on the forty-seventh day after the autumnal equinox. Now, the second equinox falls in this year, according to the tables of La Hire, on the 27th September of the Julian Calendar; adopting the calculation for the meridian of Ispahan, which is the same as that of Persepolis” [not by a degree]; “and reckoning the commencement of the day according to the custom of the Greeks. The result gives for the *SETTING* the *eleventh* or

“*twelfth of November*. Thus, the expedition through Persis, “and Alexander’s departure from Persepolis, must be fixed “to the middle of November.”—*Examen Critique des Historiens d’Alexandre*. 2d edit. p. 620. text and notes.

With great diffidence the Translator of Curtius has now to express his own opinion as to the season intended by SUB IPSUM VERGILIARUM SIDUS. The above learned citations from Pliny, from Livy, from Calippus, and from La Hire, do no more than prove, that the *setting of the Pleiades coincided with the beginning of winter*. But the question, whether Curtius meant to indicate the season of their Setting, or that of their Rising, is not at all decided by this evidence. And the Translator of Curtius ventures to think, in opposition to all these concurrent Annotators, that his author points, and demonstrably points, to the season commencing when this constellation rose heliacally.

1. It seems more analogous to philosophical truth, as well as to the appearance of things, to say that a traveller *sets out under a constellation*, when it is rising with the sun, than when it is setting. Besides, the very term *sidus vergiliarum* connects it with spring; and when the Setting is not mentioned, the Rising is to be presumed, which the Ancients reckoned the commencement of that season.

2. the course of events—connecting with this expedition the prior and the subsequent transactions as indicated in Curtius and the other historians of Alexander—will not seem to possess any intelligible order or coherence, if this expedition is to be dated in the middle of November: whereas, if referred to spring, it will fall into a consistent place in the procession of occurrences.

The battle of Arbela was fought on the 2d of October, anno 331, before the Christian era. Now, as forty-one days is too short a time, so a year and forty-one days is too long, to have intervened before this expedition. Curtius specifies many portions of the time elapsed since, while much of it is evidently unaccounted for. To recapitulate them as

they occur: Encampment to refresh after the battle, a short interval + 4 days to Memmium + 34 days at Babylon + a prolonged stay at Satrapene + the march and visit to Susa + 5 days to the *Pylæ Susidæ* + *unspecified time* for the detour to turn the pass + *ditto* for the slow and circumspect march to Persepolis + time spent in various acts of government there. Though we cannot cast these items into a definite total, enough results from specific statement and necessary inference, to carry us beyond the middle of November immediately following the battle of Arbela. Taking, therefore, some of the useful *data*, deducible from the authentic materials presented to us by the erudite critics already cited, we deduce the RISING OF THE PLEIADES, calculated for the meridian of Persepolis, in the year of the expedition in question, to fall about the 4th of May. Let us, as a position, flowing from both branches of the premises, apply the last date as the commencement of the expedition. The entire journey lasted thirty days; which brings us to the 3d of June. After Alexander's return to Persepolis, he spent an interval there, and thence marched into Media to await reinforcements, before he resumed the pursuit of Darius. The time consumed in intermediate operations before Alexander overtook the fugitive king, just when he had been assassinated by Bessus, is not mentioned; but a few days will cover it. Arrian dates the death of Darius in the course of the month Hecatombæon; which commenced in the year 330 A. C. on the first of July. Every thing in the course of events on this hypothesis will tally.

3. The commentators seem to have been led into the error of interpreting the *sub ipsum Vergiliarum sidus* of Curtius, to mean the "Setting of the Pleiades," instead of the Rising of that constellation — by the mention in the narrative of "perpetual snow and ice:" but this, with the dreary scenery, is to be ascribed to the elevation of the almost inaccessible country explored, and not to the season. Indeed, "perpetual snow" is a characteristic belonging only to the loftiest

ridges, nor will at all apply to or correspond with the transient inclemency of winter.

The desolate appearance of the territory which Alexander visited—deducing the time to be MAY, as above—will coincide completely with the information from Kinneir already given, in the note (†) p. 38, that those table-lands are enlivened by the camps and flocks of pastoral tribes—only in the months of JUNE, JULY, and AUGUST.

Alexander would have commenced his return to Persepolis in the last ten or twelve days of May: whether this prevented him from seeing any of the periodical occupants of the country, or whether on his return he met some of the migratory population coming to their transient seats, the first view of the desert landscape is correctly sketched by the historian.

[F]. *Course of the Light Expedition through PERSIS AND ITS DEPENDENCIES. A tribe of Mardi met with at the end of this journey were TROGLODYTÆ: what was their position?*

P. 39.—“ Alexander having ravaged the country of Persis, “ and reduced very many towns, at length entered the district “ of the Mardi.”]—This Prince appears to have at first traversed some of the valleys in which the rivers of Persis, coming from the N.W. have their beds; and here he might have met with the heavy rains spoken of by Curtius, [*Translation, vol. ii. p. 37*]; although in Persia it seldom rains. The transition from rainy weather to frost and snow, is to be accounted for by Alexander having to ascend the terrace of hills in which those rivers spring, and then to cross the mountains which divide Persis Proper from a dependent district to the north-west, of which the modern name is LOURISTAN. Kinneir observes: “ In a kingdom of so vast an extent as

“ that of PERSIA, we must naturally be prepared to expect
 “ a great variety of climate. I have, however, generally
 “ found, that this variation is not regulated by the difference
 “ of latitude, but by the nature and elevation of the country ;
 “ which sometimes enables you to pass in the course of a few
 “ hours, from the air of Montpelier to that of Siberia.”—
Geogr. Mem. p. 21.

Passing through Louristan, which extends from the north-west of Persis, along the north frontier of Susiana, Alexander seems to have reached a maze of hills and valleys in the modern province of ARDELAN, where the temporary pastures of the Illiats run intermixed with, and overlook the permanent home-fields of the most eastern Kurds ; answering to the more hospitable country, which Curtius says “ showed some “ signs of cultivation.” Supposing this to have been the limits of his expedition westward ; not far hence, in a direction north inclining east, his journey outward from Persepolis probably terminated. He would now enter some of the nominal dependencies of the modern IRAK, coinciding, in great part, with the ancient Media ; but the wilder and half-independent tracts between Irak and Fars, might be alternately attributed to both, as the one or the other became the ascendant and the favoured province. The boundaries of kingdoms and provinces vary with the distance to which the military governor can make his dominion to be felt.

These MARDI were *Troglodytæ*. Vossius judiciously infers, that the Mardi described by Curtius here, and the Mardi which he informs us, *lib.* VI. cap. v *, Alexander afterwards subdued, are neither the
 • *Transl. vol. ii. p. 91.*
 same people, nor intended to be represented as such ; but are two distinct tribes of the same nation.

The excavations which the *Troglodytæ* of different countries have left as specimens of subterranean architecture, possess as much variety as the houses and temples of the world above ground : nor are they altogether destitute of convenience ; they protect the Laplander from cold, and the Abyssinian

from heat. They exhibit every variety of style from the first effort of rude necessity, to the ultimate achievement of opulence, conspiring with genius to complete a magnificent design. The hut, the granary, the fortress, the prison, the asylum, the palace, the temple and the mausoleum, are to be found in the versatile shapes of which excavated rocks are susceptible. The cathedral of Rome is not a more surprising work than the temple of Elephanta.

Some persons have an opinion that the Troglodytæ must have been very uncomfortably lodged, with as little of elegant accompaniment as a rabbit in a warren. They will be undeceived by the following sketch of a residence belonging to one of the middle class of these happy infernals.

“ 1772, Sept. 8th. — Seeing a village with many low
“ houses, or rather huts, we struck out of our path, and
“ arrived there about noon; when, instead of houses, we
“ found them to be caverns dug in the earth, and vaulted,
“ with only the upper part appearing above ground. The
“ people received us kindly: both men and horses descended
“ into one of the largest of them, and immediately felt such a
“ comfortable coolness as was extremely delightful. The
“ cavern which we were now in was more than one hundred
“ feet in length, and near forty wide, entirely vaulted the
“ whole way, and very lofty; it was divided into apartments
“ on each side; in some of which was grain, and in others
“ flour, in others oil, all in very large jars, buried half-way in
“ the earth: in other divisions were roosts for poultry; in
“ others cows were kept, in some goats and sheep: and some
“ served as places to sleep in. The middle part was kept
“ clear, as a passage.” — *Travels, by Abraham Parsons,*
Consul at Scanderoon. JOURNEY FROM BYLAN TO KEPSE,
&c. p. 38.

The Mardi of the district to which Alexander has proceeded would appear, however, to have used their rocky caverns rather for occasional places of refuge, or as winter retreats, than as ordinary habitations. The words of Curtius

are: *Specus in montibus fodiunt, in quos seque ac conjuges et liberos CONDUNT.*—lib. V. c. vi. Although this might imply that they *dwelt* in the caves, for if they lived underground they would be *hid*; yet in the construction of CONDUNT, the Translator has preferred representing it by a word equally ambiguous—they “shelter”—which may mean either, they “lodge”—“deposit”—or “conceal.” In the latter sense, the object of having caves difficult of access, like those in the following description of Kinneir, will be more readily explained; for unless such lofty recesses were used as hiding-places, it is difficult to imagine for what purpose they could be intended.

“The modern village of Sahanah, [36 miles from Kermanshah,] lies at the foot of a lofty range of mountains. Close to this village, and on the face of the mountain, are two excavations, or chambers, somewhat resembling those of *Nukshi Rustam*. THESE EXCAVATIONS, FROM THEIR HEIGHT, AND THE SMOOTHNESS OF THE ROCK, CAN ONLY BE EXAMINED WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF ROPES. They contain no inscriptions or sculptures of any kind, and are ascribed, by the country people, to the labours of *Ferhaud*.”—*Geogr. Mem.* p. 130.

These excavations, inaccessible without ropes or ladders, illustrate the CAVERNS IN WHICH THE MARDI CONCEALED THEMSELVES, THEIR WIVES AND CHILDREN. The Translator is therefore induced to place the Mardi described in the current chapter, within the district which comprehends the modern village of Sahanah; and the point at which Alexander's expedition *through and beyond Persis* terminated, in the same district, or its vicinity.

“Between five and six miles from the city of Kermanshah, and in the northern range of mountains, are the excavations and sculptures of TAKI BOSTAN, mentioned by Otter and other travellers.”—KINNEIR'S *Memoir*, p. 132.—These are, by some antiquaries, attributed to Semiramis, by others to the Greek successors of Alexander, and by M. Silvestre de

Sacy to the Sassanides; These highly-finished sculptures could only be executed under the patronage of a powerful sovereign, leading the taste of a polished court; yet the *idea* of making excavations on this large scale might be derived from rude chambers hollowed in the rocks by tribes of *Trogodytæ*. Inasmuch as the extant histories of Alexander make no mention of the ornamental works at Taki Bostan, where the quarry's stupendous chamber has been shaped by the architect, and embellished by the limner, their silence is presumptive evidence, that the sculptured groups in the caves, proportioned by elegant design, are the works of a posterior age.

[G]. *On the question, HOW MUCH OF PERSEPOLIS WAS BURNED?*

P. 41.—“The king led the destroyers and fired the palace. “. . . This was the end of the Court of all the East.”]—In regard to the extent to which the city of Persepolis was destroyed when the imperial palace was thus devoted to conflagration: it has pleased all the commentators to put a too enlarged, and hence a very erroneous construction upon the words of Curtius. Now, let us examine what the collected expressions of our historian literally assert, or reasonably imply. First, the palace is consumed, nothing more. On which Curtius says: “This was the end of the Court of all the East;” meaning that the *preëminence of Persepolis as an imperial metropolis was terminated*, its lofty rank had perished. Though besides the palace nothing more was consumed than what the conflagration might accidentally touch,—the throne of Cyrus fell into planned ruin; the royal presence, which had made it the capital of the empire, was perpetually withdrawn,—and though the TOWN remained, the CITY was destroyed. Oriental palaces, however, usually

occupy vast sites, and with the protecting fort, and subsidiary buildings, sometimes cover several miles of ground. It would appear from Curtius, that the remaining town—with as many of the native inhabitants as the reduced state of the place might not compel immediately to emigrate—still continued even under Alexander to be a PROVINCIAL capital, since he had—*Translation, vol. ii. p. 37*,—nominated a governor of the citadel with three thousand troops. It is true that Curtius speaks of Persepolis as being, IN HIS OWN TIME, so nearly extinct, that the identity of it could hardly be ascertained; but then he attributes this obliteration to the ultimate effects of its having been deserted for so many ages—by the Seleucides or successors of Alexander, and by the Arsacides, or first Parthian dynasty—as a seat of the imperial court. While some vaunting Shiraz in the vicinity was rising to supersede it as the provincial capital, the decaying town—in the course of, say 375 years—had quietly disappeared like Nineveh. At length, in the year 226 of the Christian era—about 180 years after the *deduced period* at which Curtius wrote—the Sassanides, or line of Sassan, alleged to be descended from the ancient PERSIAN kings, began to recover for PERSIS the paramount dominion over the confederate provinces.—*Shiraz Namah*, cited by Sir WM. OUSELEY, *Travels, vol. ii. pp. 33 . . . 36*.

Ardisheer, the founder of this dynasty, revived the fire-worship of Zoroaster; and his son, Shahpoor, to whose hands the father, in A. D. 240, resigned his sceptre, rebuilt PERSEPOLIS, and made it his residence; and the throne of Cyrus became again the capital of the restored Persian empire.—MALCOLM'S *History of Persia, vol. i. pp. 93, 95, 199, 244 n. †*.—Sir WM. OUSELEY'S *Travels in the East, vol. ii. pp. 345, 346; 355, 356; 364; 371; 375; 384; 394; 342*.

Persepolis, in its most flourishing state, was, in some respects, unlike the Assyrian cities of Nineveh and Babylon, which had a regular form determined by artificial walls. On the contrary, the natural walls of Persepolis appear to have

been the contiguous circle of mountains: and where the openings between these formed natural gates, the approaches were defended by three castles. Thus, while the city spread itself indefinitely over the plain, like a growing camp, it maintained a correspondence with its military origin. Polybius says, that Susa had no walls, being fortified like a camp; and Strabo cites Polycletus as saying the same thing of Ecbatana.

“*Istakhr*,” says the Persian geographer, “is of the third climate; situate in long. from the Fortunate Islands, 88°. [71°]. 30’, and lat. from the Equinoctial line, 30°. According to one tradition, CAIUMERS founded it; or, according to another, his son, whose name was ISTAKHR. Some buildings were also erected there by HUSHANG; and JEMSHID completed the work, so that in length it extended from the borders of *Khafreg* to the extremity of *Ramگرد*, fourteen farsangs” (= 49 miles) “and it was ten farsangs” (= 35 miles) “broad; and in this space were comprehended buildings, and cultivated fields and villages; also, three very strong castles on the summits of three mountains: one the castle of *Istakhr*; the second *Shekesteh*; the third *Sangwân*: and these were called *Seh Gumbedân*, or the “Three Domes.”—HAMDALLAH’S *Nuzhat al Culûb*, or, “Heart’s Delight,” cited in Sir WM. OUSELEY’S *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 379.

M. de Sainte-Croix adduces many instances to prove, that Persepolis existed as a place of some importance for many ages after the death of Alexander. Diodorus, lib. xix. § 22, tells us, that Peucestas, viceroy of Persis, offered a sacrifice to the manes of Philip and Alexander, in the city of Persepolis, sometime after Alexander’s death. According to the Maccabees, book II. chap. ix. ver. 2, Antiochus Epiphanes, having gone to Persepolis to pillage some temple there, was repulsed by the armed inhabitants, and put to flight. This happened about the year 164 before the Christian era. Ptolemy, the astronomer, who lived under the Roman em-

peror Marcus Aurelius, numbers Persepolis among the chief cities of Persia.—*Geogr. lib. VI. c. 4.* Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of this city as still existing in splendour under the reign of Julian.—*lib. XXIII. cap. iv.* From all which it is to be inferred, that its total destruction is only to be assigned to the first ages of Mahometanism.—*Examen Critique*, pp. 313, 314.

The latter conclusion is countenanced by what is extant on the subject in Persian writers; but the native authorities describe the range of structures, which formed the palace destroyed by Alexander, as having occupied a very extensive field. Indeed it is quite plain, from the MS. histories cited by Sir William Ouseley, that under even the ARSACIDÆ—or Parthian dynasty governing the confederacy of states which was called the PARTHIAN empire—PERSIS was treated but as a subordinate province, and the fire-temples at Istakhr rather discountenanced than encouraged.

The following notice is abridged from Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. i. pp. 251 . . . 253; text and notes.

“The ruins of the palace of Persepolis are by far the grandest that yet remain: and from what is left of this magnificent edifice, we may pronounce that it rivalled the proudest fabrics of Greece or Rome. Persian authors ascribe this palace to Jemsheed; and they name it his *Tukht*, or throne. They add, that Homai, the daughter of Ardisheer, improved this royal mansion, which she made her constant residence; and that it was destroyed by Alexander.”

The author of the *Zeenut-ul-Mujalis* gives the following short account of Persepolis; which shows what Persians believe regarding these famous ruins.

“Jemsheed built a fortified palace at the foot of a hill, which bounds the fine plain of Murdasht to the north-west. The platform on which it was built has three faces to the plain, and one to the mountain. It is formed of a hard black granite.—[It is a hard lime-stone.] The elevation

“ from the plain is ninety feet: and every stone used in this
 “ building, is from nine to twelve feet long, and broad in
 “ proportion. There are two great flights of stairs to this
 “ palace, so easy of ascent, that a man can ride up on horse-
 “ back; and on the platform a palace has been erected, part
 “ of which still remains in its original state, and part in ruins.
 “ The palace of Jemsheed is that now called the Chehel-
 “ Setoon, or forty pillars. Each pillar is sixty feet high, and
 “ is ornamented in a manner so delicate, that it would seem
 “ difficult to rival this sculpture in a carving upon the softest
 “ wood.” [These pillars are evidently cut out of the rock at
 the foot of which the palace stands; as more pillars, half-
 finished, lying on the mountain, attest.] “ There are several
 “ figures of Jemsheed in the sculpture: in one, he has an urn
 “ in his hand, in which he burns Benjamin, while he stands
 “ adoring the sun. In another, he is represented as seizing
 “ the mane of a lion with one hand, while he stabs him with
 “ the other.”

The *Mujmel al Tuârikk*, or “ Abstract of Chronicle,” a Persian Manuscript cited by Sir William Ouseley, states— that Queen HUMAI “ sent her troops into the kingdom of
 “ Room [the Grecian colonies in Asia Minor] whence, having
 “ been victorious, they brought a multitude of captives; these
 “ HUMAI employed on works of architecture, and she erected
 “ in Pârs three edifices; one by the side (or in the vicinity)
 “ of *Hezârân Sutun*, or, ‘ The Thousand Columns,’ which is
 “ (at) *Istakhr*. A second named *Jahenbeen*, on the road to
 “ *Dârâbgerd*; and a third on the road leading to *Khurasân*:
 “ this was at the village of *Kaimûh*, where she formed a
 “ town or city, which, according to tradition, is that now
 “ called *Medinah Chah*; one of the places ruined in former
 “ ages by AFRASIAB; but all these works of Queen HUMAI,
 “ Alexander destroyed.”—*Travels in Persia*, by Sir WM. OUSELEY, *Knt.* London, 4to. 1821, vol. ii. p. 360.

The town of *Istakhr*, near which it stood, long survived the destruction of the throne of Jemsheed; or rather when the

Sassanides rebuilt the palace, and re-peopled a cluster of fifty villages, the city was resuscitated.—Its inhabitants were distinguished by their inveterate hatred of the subsequent invaders who made the second recorded conquest of their country; the caliphs, who planted the standard of Mohammed upon the ruins of the temples of the fire-worshippers; and their spirit of resistance was not entirely subdued till several centuries after the Arabians first overran Persia. The final ruin of Persepolis is attributed to Sumeanah-u-Dowlah, some time subsequent to the year 372 of the Hejira; A. D. 982.

It remains only to add a word or two respecting the site of PERSAGADA. Sir William Ouseley, after fully surveying the modern FASA or PASA, a place about 95 miles E. by S. of Persepolis, appears to have ascertained that this decayed town has no claim to identity with Persagada. The Translator cannot think, on the other hand, that when the same learned and eminent traveller, vol. ii. p. 323, expresses an opinion that Persepolis and Pasargadæ were the same place, that his reasons are so forcible as to command assent, or win the qualified prize of well-supported probability. They are chiefly founded on a passage in Arrian, which is admitted to have a chasm, which prevents any certain evidence from being extracted from it.

Were they even one, as London and Westminster are one, it would not be a correct way of speaking, to denominate them the same city. But though they might ultimately join, the passage cited above from the Persian geographer, (p. 530,) will allow room for their having been originally farther apart than London and Windsor. The citadel of Persepolis at one extremity, and that of Persagada at the other, appear to have stood 49 English miles apart.

The following concluding remarks are substantially derived from Sir Robert Ker Porter.

Until the satisfactory results of Mr. Morier's learned researches, and persevering investigations in the *country*, the documents from history usually brought forward to ascertain

the exact situation of Pasargadæ, produced the most varying conclusions. The notices on the subject to be gleaned from ancient authorities, slight as they are, when carried in the memory of a man of quick apprehension and clear judgment, and applied with the advantages which Mr. Morier possessed for exploring minutely all the various sites attributed to the city of Cyrus—like scattered rays of light converged to one focus—are found to amount to a positive degree of information.

We learn from some of them, that “after Alexander had taken possession of the Persian capital, (Persepolis) the city of Cyrus also, with its treasures, fell into his hands. Having previously remained the winter on the plain of Merdasht to repose his troops, in the spring he followed the fugitive Darius, who had thrown himself into Ecbatana; taking the road through Pasargadæ.” If I remember

* The Translator cannot find it in Strabo; this quotation is too loose to have any weight singly, though the subsequent grounds taken are exact and firm.

rightly, this account is given by Strabo*; and it testifies, according to the conqueror's line of march, that the city of Cyrus lay to the north of Persepolis; and hence, could not possibly have been either Shiraz or Fasa, two places lying in a so directly contrary point. Pliny places Pasargadæ to the east of Persepolis; (*Nat. Hist.* VI.); and the vale of Mourg-aub, certainly, is much to the north-east of that capital. But Strabo, (lib. XV.*) affords us a still better clue, by telling us, that “the river Kur, or Cyrus, is in the vicinity of Pasargadæ, flowing through hollow Persia” (*Cælo Persis.*) The last term can only mean the deep vales of Sewan and Hajeeabad, which open into that of Merdasht; and the vale of Sewan is only separated from the plain of Mourg-aub by the range of hills which bounds the latter to the southward. Through the plain of Mourg-aub, and amongst these hills, winds the Kur-aub towards the valleys of Sewan and Hajeeabad; traversing the whole of that hollow country, till it falls into the Araxes

* Oxford edit. p. 1034.

or Bundemir, something west of Persepolis. Mourg-aub is distant from Persepolis forty-nine measured English miles. It lies north-eastward of that capital, and the Kur flows at no great distance from the ruins described. All these features agree with the picture of Pasargadæ drawn by Strabo. The late able discourses written on the subject, since the investigation of Mourg-aub by Mr. Morier, and the translation of its inscriptions by Professor Grotefend, seem to have set the question at rest; so that henceforth the traveller who visits the ruins on this plain, may assuredly say to himself, "On that throne sat Cyrus, Lord, King, and Ruler of the World! In that small house of stone lies Cyrus, King of Kings! Covet not the little earth that covers his body!"—*Travels in Persia, &c.* by Sir ROBERT KER PORTER, London, 4to. 1821, vol. i. pp. 507, 508.

[H]. PERSIAN Account of the DEATH OF DARIUS.

P. 66.—"Whether Alexander reached the place while Darius yet breathed, is uncertain."—The following account of this tragical incident is derived by Sir John Malcolm from the native historians of Persia. But the manner in which the era of the battle—so long previous—is confounded with the day on which the unfortunate monarch was assassinated, renders the original MS. very doubtful evidence, that Alexander saw Darius while he was yet living. "During the heat of the battle, two of the soldiers of Darab*, taking advantage of his being unguarded, slew him, and fled to Alexander, from whom they expected a great reward. That monarch, the moment he learnt what had happened, hastened to the spot where the Persian king had fallen. He found him in the pangs of death, stretched upon the ground, and

* The author of the Zecnut-ul-Tuarikh says, they were natives of Hamadan. Ferdoti calls them two viziers; their names were Mahesiar and Janislar. We can trace in these names no similarity to that of Bessus."

" covered with dust and blood. Alexander alighted from his
 " horse, and raised the head of his enemy upon his knees.
 " The soul of the conqueror was melted at the sight: he shed
 " tears, and kissed the cheek of the expiring Darab; who,
 " opening his eyes, exclaimed:—' The world has a thousand
 " doors, through which its tenants continually enter and pass
 " away!'—' I swear to you,' said Alexander, ' I never
 " wished a day like this! I desired not to see your royal
 " head in the dust, nor that blood should
 " stain these cheeks*!' When Darab
 " heard his conqueror mourning over him,
 " he sighed deeply, and said, he trusted
 " his base murderers would not escape:
 " that Alexander would not place a stranger
 " on the throne of Persia: and that he would not injure the
 " honour of his family; but marry his daughter, Roushunuk.
 " The moment after he had expressed these wishes, he
 " expired: his body was instantly embalmed with musk and
 " amber, wrapped in a cloth of gold, and placed in a rich
 " coffin, adorned with jewels. It was, in that state, carried
 " to the sepulchral vault, with the most extraordinary honours.
 " Ten thousand men with drawn swords preceded it: ten
 " thousand more followed, and an equal number marched on
 " each flank. Alexander himself, with the nobles of Persia,
 " and the great officers of his army, attended the obsequies
 " as mourners. The moment the funeral was over, the two
 " murderers of Darab were hanged. Some time afterwards,
 " Alexander married Roushunuk, and nominated the brother
 " of the late king to the sovereignty of Persia; but his
 " power does not appear to have been established, as the
 " policy of Alexander led him to divide that empire into
 " ninety different principalities." —MALCOLM'S *History of*
Persia, vol. i. pp. 72, 73.

* " The account
 " which Persian writ-
 " ers give of the death
 " of Darius, though em-
 " bellished, is not sub-
 " stantially different
 " from that of Plutarch,
 " Diodorus Siculus, or
 " Quintus Curtius."

[I]. *On the Plants which produce GUZ or MANNA.*

P. 89.—“Common here is a tree resembling the oak, “whose leaves, during the night, are thickly suffused with “honey.”]—The substance produced in this singular way was probably MANNA, which in Persia is used in making sweetmeats. At the present day, manna is exported in considerable quantities from Moosh in Armenia; it is also found plentifully in Looristan, and in the district of Khonsar in Irak. *Guz* is the Persian name for it. It is taken from a small shrub, in appearance not unlike a funnel, about four feet in height, and three in diameter at the top. The season for collecting the *guz* is August and September. A vessel of an oval form being placed every third day under the bush, the leaves are beat with a crooked stick, covered with leather. The manna, when first gathered, has the tenacity of gum; but if exposed to the heat of 90°. Fahrenheit, it dissolves into a liquid resembling honey.—KINNEIR’S *Geography of Persia*, 329, 330, *text and note.* As in Italy, manna is collected from the Ash, and several other trees of a large size, we may suppose that the bushes described by Kinneir are trained to a particular height and shape by planters who have arrived at a superior method from long experience.

There are some variations in the best authenticated accounts of the natural history of manna—arising either from different species of it having a different origin, or from close and even philosophical observers not agreeing in the interpretation of equivocal appearances. The following extracts are therefore subjoined for comparison. The chief point in dispute is: whether the insects produce the *guz*, or are merely attracted by it to the tree?—TRANSLATOR.

“This substance, to which various origins have been assigned, is found chiefly in Persia and Arabia. Captain “E. Frederick, of the Bombay establishment, states, that the

“ *gez*, of which he supposes the *gezangabeen* (manna of
 “ commerce) is formed, is found on a shrub resembling the
 “ broom, called the *gavan*, which he describes as growing
 “ from a small root to the height of about two feet and a
 “ half; and spreading into a circular form at the top, from
 “ three to four feet and a half in circumference. The leaves
 “ were small and narrow; and underneath the *gez* was
 “ observed, a film spread all over the tender branches like
 “ white uneven threads, with innumerable little insects creep-
 “ ing slowly about.

“ “ These insects were either of three species, or the same
 “ in three different stages of existence. The one was per-
 “ fectly red, and so small as to be scarcely perceptible; the
 “ second dark, and very like a common louse, though not so
 “ large; and the third a very small fly. They were all
 “ extremely dull and sluggish, and fond of lying or creeping
 “ about between the bark of the *gavan* and the *gez*.’ This
 “ substance is stated to be collected every third day for 28
 “ days about the month of September.

“ Capt. F. made the above observations near the town of
 “ Khonsar, where, and in Looristan, this substance is chiefly
 “ found. He states that the *gez* is obtained by beating the
 “ bushes with a stick. When first separated, it is a white
 “ sticky substance, not unlike hoar frost, of a very rich sweet
 “ taste. It is purified by boiling, and then mixed up with
 “ rose-water, flour, and pistachio nuts, into cakes, and in this
 “ form constitutes the sweetmeat called in Persia *gezanga-*
 “ *been*, and which, by the Persians, is highly valued. Though
 “ the *gez*, when first collected, admits of being sifted, still, in
 “ its original state, it is brittle and adhesive at the same
 “ time: qualities for which it is remarkable after its prepara-
 “ tion as a sweetmeat. If pressed, it sticks to the fingers;
 “ but on being smartly struck, separates easily into small
 “ grains, like sugar. It is in this state in cool weather; but
 “ above the temperature of 68°. it liquifies, and resembles
 “ white honey both in colour and taste.

“ Besides the above species of manna, other products of a similar nature are stated by the author of the present paper, as well as others, to be found in Persia and the neighbouring countries.—*Transactions of the LITERARY SOCIETY OF BOMBAY*, vol. i.”

“ Meerza Jiáfer Tabee, a Persian physician, now in London, gives a different account of this substance. *Gez*, according to him, is the name of a tree called in Arabic *turfá*, and which is supposed to belong to the Tamarisk genus. Of this tree there are two species; one a shrub, which yields the substance in question, called *gezangabecn* (a term meaning literally *juice of the (tree) gez*), used only as a sweetmeat; the other, a tree yielding a somewhat similar substance, called in Arabic *athel*, and which is employed in medicine as an astringent. Besides these two species of manna, he states they have a third, called in Arabic *terenjubin*, which is used as a laxative. This gentleman also states, that it is the universal opinion in Persia, that all these varieties are exudations from the trees on which they are found, and not the work of insects.”—*Asiatic Journal* for MARCH, 1819, p. 268.

[K]. *Existing Traces of the second tribe of MARDI.*

P. 91.—“ The Mardi are a tribe on the borders of Hyrcania, of rugged habits, and accustomed to pillage.”]—It has been mentioned in ADDITIONAL NOTE [F], that the Mardi of that passage are a distinct tribe from the Mardi of this. The following curious piece of information, derived from a traveller of eminent name—at the time he made the observation, filling the office of ambassador from the court of Britain to that of Persia—discovers to us vestiges, existing even in the present day, of a race of *Troglodyta* who dwell in the province anciently called ATROPATENA; into which very

neighbourhood Alexander has marched. It is therefore no violent assumption to place the second tribe of Mardi mentioned by Curtius, in a district which will comprehend the position of the Troglodyte hamlet about to be described.

“ Tuesday, May 17, 1814.—Before we reached the mountain of Shibili, [in the route from Ouján towards Tabriz,] I visited the curious village of Mânab on our left, which, after the lapse of a century, has lately been re-inhabited, and given to my present Mehmandâr, YUSEF KHAN, in fief, by His Royal Highness, ABBAS MIRZA. It seems to have been a Troglodyte hamlet: and the new tenants had only to transport their small stock of furniture, to be completely settled in their habitations, without any repairs. In all, there are about one hundred houses, or rather excavations, in the side of the mountain; one façade sufficing for the entrance to four or five different tenements, which branch off from it. A chimney in each room serves a triple purpose—according to the season—of emitting smoke, and of admitting air and day-light; but of the latter, the tenants of these subterraneous abodes, enjoy but a small share. In other respects, the dwellings are comfortable enough, being more cool in summer, and warmer in winter than the ordinary houses of Persia. I could not discover any inscription whatever, to lead even to conjecture upon the age, or the construction of this extraordinary village. Tradition is also silent on the subject; but the very absence of all information, with respect to its origin, in my opinion, removes all doubt of its great antiquity.”—*Extract from Sir GORE OUSELEY'S MS. Journal, cited in Travels to the East, by Sir WILLIAM OUSELEY, Knt.—London, 4to. 1821, vol. II. pp. 461, 462.*

There are also in Armenia remains of the same class of excavations: these confirm the notices in some of the ancient geographers which carry the haunts of the Mardi in a prolonged chain to that province. Another traveller, after describing some curious specimens, adds:

“ We find many similar works in Georgia, which are now “ become nearly inaccessible. Not far from Dusched, in the “ domain of Podorna, is a high, broad mass of rock, where “ the stairs, even from one story to the other, have been “ hewn out. And the area is so large, that, in war-time, “ old men, women, and children, flee thither for refuge.”— WILKINSON'S *Reinegg's Caucasus*, vol. ii. p. 52.

Herodotus, lib. i. cap. 125, gives to the Mardi a Persian descent: they would appear, from his representation, to have been outlaws, with a warlike spirit, a propensity to pillage, and a facile habit, when driven to extremity, of shifting their residence and country. M. Anquetil du Perron, in three *Memoirs upon the Mardi*, read before the Academy of Belles Lettres, has traced six emigrations of this remarkable people. Strabo, lib. XI. p. 350, in a catalogue of the inhabitants of Armenia and Northern Media, includes the *Amardi*. The mountains Zagros and Niphates also afforded recesses to some of their scattered clans. M. Barbié du Bocage, *Examen Critique*, p. 818, tells us, after Stephanus, that *Amardi* signified the “ Greater Mardi.”

Curtius does not indeed describe his second tribe of Mardi as living in caves: perhaps this habit was not common to all the nation, or they might change these retreats for tents, according to the place and season. However, their OCCUPYING EMINENCES, from which he had to dislodge them, *Translation*, vol. ii. p. 92, is consistent with their possibly having sculptured mansions in the least accessible rocks.

[L]. *On the connection between the EASTERN and the WESTERN CAUCASUS.*

P. 158.—“ Hence, Alexander moved toward mount “ Caucasus.”—As we become better instructed in the geography of Persia and India, by the lights which emanate

from the English school of Oriental Literature,—the necessity of any apology for the introduction of the Caucasus into this part of Alexander's history is diminished; nay, it becomes doubtful, whether Arrian and Strabo have assigned the true cause, why the first Macedonian accounts associated the Caucasus with Alexander's progress. Arrian observes; citing Eratosthenes as having advanced this opinion: "The Macedonians who fought under Alexander, conspired to call the Paropamisus the Caucasus, for no other reason than a desire to magnify the exploits of their leader, and to have it believed, that in his successive victories he had passed the true Caucasus."—lib. V. cap. iii. Now, this in part is wrong: it was the Hindoo Kos, which they called the Caucasus; and the neighbouring range which they designated as the Paropamisus, is much broader, being a country of mountains, but of inferior height. Strabo admits, that it was in reality more glorious for Alexander to subdue Asia as far as the Indian mountains; and yet suggests, that the ancient renown of the Caucasus (alluding to the popular belief, that Jason, with his Argonauts, had penetrated to the countries at its foot); and the tradition, that Prometheus was chained to that mountain, at the extreme bounds of the earth,—induced the flatterers of Alexander to remove the Caucasus into India.—lib. XV. p. 688. The extracts which we shall have occasion to adduce—in this note—from two living travellers and geographers, the best informed as to the origin, course, and terminal proximity of the two capital ranges of primary mountains, confounded by the ancients under the name of Caucasus: and—in the following note—from ancient Hindoo books preserving the tradition of Prometheus: will show, that Arrian and Strabo overlooked what was likely to be the true cause why the Macedonians associated Alexander and the Caucasus; namely, the existence of a loftier mountain than Jason's Caucasus, on the northern confines of Persia and India, which bore the name of Hindoo Kos, or one corresponding with it in the local dialects,—and which, with the

native poets, had been immemorially venerated as the mythological seat of the *Eagle's Cave*.

Our first quotation carries Jason's Caucasus, at one extremity, very near India.

“The WESTERN CAUCASUS—as the lofty chain between the Euxine and the Caspian may be called, to distinguish it from the Hindoo Kos—sends out three principal branches, the most northern of which, on reaching the river Cyrus, runs parallel with its banks in a south-east line; thence it proceeds eastward, leaving a narrow slip of low territory [partly comprised in the ancient Hyrcania] along the southern coast of the Caspian sea. In the vicinity of Kasween, it takes the name of KHOI CAUCASAN, and curving to the north of Meshed, is ultimately lost in the forests of Khorassan.”—KINNEIR'S *Geograph. Mem. of the Persian Empire*, p. 4.

Beginning, in an opposite direction, to trace the mighty range which comprises Alexander's, *i. e.* the EASTERN CAUCASUS,—another modern authority conducts us to the vicinity where the former terminates, so as almost to make the two meet.

“If we traverse the Kingdoms of Hindostan and Caubul, from the east of Bengal to Heraut, we shall find them everywhere bounded on the north by a chain of mountains which is covered with perpetual snow, for almost the whole of that extent; and from which all the great rivers of both countries appear to issue. This chain commences near the Burrampooter, and runs nearly north-west, as far as Cashmeer: during this part of its course, it is called HEMALLEH by the natives of the neighbouring countries. From Cashmeer its general direction is a little to the south-west, as far as the high snowy peak of Hindoo Coosh, nearly north of Caubul. From this peak its height diminishes; it no longer bears perpetual snow, and is soon after lost in a group of mountains, which stretch in length from Caubul almost to Heraut, and occupy more than two

“degrees of latitude in their breadth. Some ranges issue from this mass on the west, and extend so far into Persia, as to justify, if not completely to establish, the opinion of the Ancients, which connected the RANGE I HAVE BEEN DESCRIBING, with MOUNT CAUCASUS on the west of the Caspian sea.”—ELPHINSTONE'S *Mission to Caubul*, p. 85.

The same eminent traveller in a note adds :

“The following passage in Arrian (book iii. chap. 28,) will shew the extent attributed by the Greeks to this mountain. It is introduced when Alexander arrives at the foot of mount Caucasus, at a point which all geographers have placed in the neighbourhood of Candahar*.” “The mountain of Caucasus is said by Aristobulus to be as high as any in Asia; but it is bare in most parts, and particularly in this place. It stretches for a great extent; so that mount Taurus, which divides Pamphylia from Cilicia, is said to be a part of it, as well as other high mountains, distinguished from Caucasus by various names, arising from the different nations to whose country they extend.”

* The Translator dissents from this opinion. See ADD. NOTE [M].

Resuming the text, the diligent improver of the local geography proceeds :

“From Cashmeer to HINDOO COOSH, the whole range is known by the name of that peak. From thence to the meridian of Heraut, the mountains have no general name among the natives, and I shall call them by that of PAROPAMISUS, which is already applied to them by European Geographers.”—ELPHINSTONE'S *Caubul*, p. 85.

In another place he thus describes the intricate and repulsive country which this tenfold belt incloses :

“The Paropamisan chain extends 350 miles from east to west, and 200 from north to south. The whole is such a maze of mountains, as the most intimate knowledge would scarcely enable us to trace; and though it affords a habitation to the Eimauks and Hazaurehs, it is so difficult of access, and so little frequented, that no precise accounts of

“ its geography are to be obtained. It is certain, however, that no continued line of perpetual snow can any longer be traced as in the range of Hindoo Coosh. The eastern half of this elevated region is inhabited by the Hazarehs, and is cold, rugged, and barren : the level spots are little cultivated, and the hills are naked and abrupt. The western part, which belongs to the Eimauks, though it has wider valleys, and is better cultivated, is still a wild and poor country. The northern face of those mountains has a sudden descent into the province of Bulkh [Bactria]: their acclivity is less on their other extremities, except, perhaps, on the west, or south-west. On the north-west they seem to sink gradually into the plain which borders on the desert. The slope of the whole tract is towards the west.”— pp. 99, 100.

This may be usefully compared with our historian's description of the *Paropamisadæ*, lib. VII. cap. iii. *Translation*, vol. ii. p. 155.

[M]. *On the Site of ALEXANDRIA AD CALCEM CAUCASI INDICI.*

P. 159.—“ Caucasus. Among its eminences is a rock ten stadia in circumference, and four in height; to which, according to an ancient tradition, Prometheus was chained. At the base of the ridge, Alexander selected a site for founding a city.”—This city is usually called *Alexandria Paropamisus* by the commentators, as if the historians of Alexander had uniformly substituted the *Caucasus* for the *Paropamisus*. But we have seen—in the last note—that the *Paropamisus* is a country of mountains, and to be distinguished from the Hindoo Kos, which is a loftier, but a narrower range. The Translator will therefore adhere to the letter of the primary accounts; and, to assist in illustrating them, adduce the available information which Major Wilford has elicited from Sanscrit writings.

In the first place, this learned Orientalist shows, that it was agreeable to a native tradition to fix Prometheus to the Indian Caucasus.

“ The cave of Prometheus is called in the Puranas “ *Garuda-sthan*, i. e. the ‘ Place of the Eagle,’ and is situated “ near the place called Shibr in Major Rennell’s Map of the “ *Western Parts of India*; indeed *Pramathas* is better “ known in India by the appellation of Shebar. *Bamian* “ (in Sanscrit *Vimiyān*) and Shibr lay to the N.W. of “ *Cabul*.”—*ASIATIC RESEARCHES*, vol. V. art. xviii. Paper *On the Chronology of the Hindus*, by Captain FRANCIS WILFORD, p. 289.

In another work the same writer observes: “ Strabo and “ Arrian were certainly mistaken, when they supposed, that “ the followers of Alexander, in order to flatter his vanity, “ had given out that the mountains to the north and north- “ west of Cabul, were the real CAUCASUS. The information “ the Greeks received about it was true and accurate; they “ were undoubtedly careless in their inquiries: but I can “ aver, that all the names of places in Alexander’s march “ from *Buhlac* (Bactra) to *Multan* (the city of the Malli), “ are pure Sanscrit.”—*On Mount Caucasus*. By Captain WILFORD. *Asiat. Res.* vol. VI. p. 460. Calcutta edit.

Alexandria ad Paropamisum was near the Cave of Prometheus, which is to be seen to this day near the pass of SHEIBAR, between Ghorbund and Bamian.—*IDEM*, p. 495. —*See also p. 502.*

With regard to the site of the city, the Translator considers, that the words of Curtius, a few lines of the *Itinerary* of Diognetes and Bæton preserved in Pliny, and some extracts from the native histories and traditions collected by Major Wilford and the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, may be combined with advantage.

Pliny thus introduces the *Itinerary*: “ That our description “ of the earth may be understood, let us attend the footsteps “ of Alexander the Great. Diognetes and Bæton, THE

“ SURVEYORS OF HIS EXPEDITIONS, have written, — that
 “ from the Caspian Gates to Hecatompylos in Parthia, it is
 “ as many miles as we have stated ; [said above to be 133]
 “ thence to Alexandria in Aria, which city this king founded,
 “ 566 mill. Thence to Prophthasia in Drangiana, 199 mill.
 “ Thence to the capital of Arachosia, 515 mill. Thence to
 “ Ortospanum, 250 mill. Thence to Alexandria, 50 mill.
 “ (in some copies different numbers are found); this city
 “ stands at the foot of CAUCASUS. From that to the river
 “ Cophetes, and the Indian city Peucolaotis, 227 mill.
 “ Thence to the river Indus and the city of Taxila, 60 mill.

The Translator now begs leave to repeat some remarks applying to the subject, which he made in an *Essay on the Site of Palibothra*, inserted in the ASIATIC JOURNAL for Jan. 1818, pp. 19, 20.

The distances will tally sufficiently, if we place the capital of Arachosia near Candahar. Moving thence to Pliny's Ornospanum, 250 Roman miles in a north-east direction, will carry us to Ghizni. 50 mill. to Alexandria under Caucasus—in some copies the numbers are different, say 100—brings us to the vicinity of Caubul.

I am not ignorant that *Alexandria Paropamisus* “ is a
 “ point which all geographers have placed in the neighbour-
 “ hood of Candahar * :” but this cannot be
 the Alexandria of Pliny, distant only 227 + 60 Roman miles from the Indus.

• Major Wilford
 must be excepted.—
 See above, p. 546.

Candahar may nevertheless have been one of the six cities built by Alexander at another period.

“ The ancient city is sometimes said to have been founded
 “ by Lohrasp, a Persian king, who flourished in times of very
 “ remote antiquity, and to whom also the founding of Heraut
 “ is attributed. It is asserted by others, *with far greater*
 “ *probability*, to have been built by Sekunder Zookurnyne,
 “ that is, by Alexander the Great.” — ELPHINSTONE'S
Caubul, p. 423. These two traditions are at variance; and
 as the illustrious Envoy delivers but an incidental opinion

respecting their comparative probability, I trust I may adduce the two following passages from himself, for comparison with the accounts, in classic historians, of the localities of the Alexandria in question: "The country round Candahar "is level."—p. 394. "The district of Cohdaumun," [immediately dependent on the city of Caubul, and edging from it north,] "lies, as its name implies, on the skirts of the "mountains."—*Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, and its dependencies, by the Hon. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE, Resident at Poona.* 4to. London, 1815, p. 435.

In fine, the place of Caubul in Elphinstone's *Map*—as well as his description of the country—will agree with Curtius' and Pliny's accounts of the site of Alexandria under Caucasus; and with Major Wilford's allocation of the fabled Cave of Prometheus, according to Indian authorities: whereas the level country round Candahar, and other circumstances of its position, indicate the reverse of identity.

[N]. *Descriptions of the SUHRAB from various Travellers. Belzoni's Description of a DESART in general.*

P. 169.—..... "the arid plains take the appearance of a "vast and deep sea."—The French marching in Upper Egypt had their thirst stimulated by the sands assuming the appearance of water, and rolling like waves over extended lakes.—DENON.

In 1808, the caravan of a British embassy from India to Caubul, witnessed in the desert between Canound and Monjghur "a most magnificent *mirage*, which looked like "an extensive lake, or a very wide river. The water "seemed clear and beautiful, and the figures of two gentle- "men, who rode along it, were reflected as distinctly as in "real water."—ELPHINSTONE'S *Caubul*, p. 17.

The French term this phenomenon *mirage*; the Persians call it *Suhrab*, i. e. the "water of the desert."

So from afar the faithless deserts show
Ideal lakes, to cheat the pilgrim's eyes.

Phrosyne. By H. GALLY KNIGHT, 1817.

Belzoni informs us, that, in spite of all his caution not to be deceived, he has frequently been led to conclude, that a piece of salt desert was really water, so perfect a resemblance to water did the *mirage* present. "It generally appears like a still lake, so unmoved by the wind, that every thing above is to be seen distinctly reflected by it, which is the principal cause of the deception."—*Narrative of Researches and Operations in Egypt and Nubia.* By G. BELZONI. London, 4to. 1820, p. 196. In another place he speaks of the *mirage* looking like a rolling sea, in agreement with the quotation from Denon: this is when the wind strongly agitates the incumbent vapour.—p. 343.

With respect to the force of *haud secus quam continenti incendio cuncta torrentur*; and the propriety of translating it, "every thing is dried up as in a kiln always burning," the following general description of a desert is presented from the same traveller.

"It is difficult to form an idea of a desert, without having been in one; it is an endless plain of sands and stones, sometimes intermixed with mountains of all sizes and heights, without roads or shelter, without any sort of produce for food. The few scattered trees and shrubs of thorns, that only appear when the rainy season leave some moisture, barely serve to feed wild animals, and a few birds. Every thing is left to nature; the wandering inhabitants do not care to cultivate even these few plants, and when there is no more of them in one place, they go to another. When the trees become old, and lose their vegetation in such climates as these, the sun which constantly beams upon them, burns and reduces them to ashes.

“ have seen many of them entirely burnt. The other smaller
 “ plants have no sooner risen out of the earth, than they
 “ are dried up, and all take the colour of straw, with the
 “ exception of the plant *harack* ; this falls off before it is dry.
 “ Speaking generally of a desert, there are few springs of
 “ water, some of them at the distance of four, six, and eight
 “ days’ journey from one another, and not all of sweet water ;
 “ on the contrary, it is generally salt or bitter, so that if the
 “ thirsty traveller drinks of it, it increases his thirst, and he
 “ suffers more than before. In the midst of all this misery,
 “ the deceitful *mirage* appears before the traveller at no
 “ great distance.”—pp. 341, 343.

[O]. *On the Conversion of the JAXARTES into
 the TANAIS.*

P. 179.—“ Alexander has selected on the bank of the
 “ Tanais [Jaxartes] an area on which he intended to found a
 “ city.”]—The conversion of the *Jaxartes* into the *Tanais* is an
 error in the original accounts. Strabo, lib. XI. p. 742, Oxf.
 edit. and Arrian, lib. III. cap. xxx., suppose that the Macedo-
 nians had a design in confounding the two rivers—either to
 flatter Alexander, or to gratify their own vanity as conquerors.
 But how was their renown promoted by substituting the name
 of the *Tanais* (the modern Don) for the *Jaxartes* (called in
 the Mungol language, “ *Ikserte*,” *i. e.* the Great River)?
 It had been easier for them, had that trivial object limited
 their ambition, to have arrived at the first, than the second.
 The *Tanais* was comparatively near to Thrace : the *Jaxartes*
 was about 1200 miles farther to the East. Major Rennell
 has attributed the mistake to a more reasonable cause—the
 “ supposition, probably, that it was the head of the other
 “ river ;” for the Macedonian-Greeks under Alexander speak
 in several places as if they were much nearer the *Palus*

Mæotis, than the superior accuracy of modern Geography manifests that they were.—*Geogr. of Herodotus*, p. 206.

Further, it is even possible, that the two rivers might—in Alexander's day—bear the same name; for there are many examples of the Ancients having bestowed the same appellation on different rivers, where some characteristic circumstance was common to both: now each of these rivers was a boundary to the Scythians, though in relation to different neighbours.

Under this view, we are at liberty to consider the “Tanaïs,” when occurring in the history, in connection with the Scythians of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, to mean the true TANAIS, or modern Doñ; and when occurring in connection with the Massagetæ, the Abii—or other tribes of Scythians between the Eastern coast of the Caspian sea, and the Pameer mountain, north of, and running perpendicular to, Paropamisus—as indicating the JAXARTES.

And when Alexander—lib. VII. cap. vii. *Transl.* vol. ii. p. 186; and lib. IX. cap. vi. p. 341—speaks of passing into EUROPE, by crossing the “Tanaïs:” we are not to infer that he thought he was in contact with the frontier territory which belongs to the modern Cossacks of the Don:—no: he spoke in conformity with a different geographical arrangement, which would assign to Europe all that region north-by-east of the Caspian, which is separated by the Altaian and other mountains from the Indo-Chinese nations. In a word: if Alexander had to determine the boundaries between Europe and Asia, where nature has not marked them by a wide and decisive interval,—he would attribute to Europe the whole of Russia and Russian Tartary, and consider Asia to terminate where the northern frontier of the Chinese empire, comprehending Chinese Tartary, at present touches the first Russian station. If this arrangement had prevailed, it might have been quite as reasonable, as consistent in its principles, and as intelligible in its outlines, as the current system of

geography which carries ASIA up to the Arctic Ocean, ten degrees, or more, north of Archangel.

[P]. *Modern Name and Description of the Country answering to the ancient PRINCIPALITY of SYSIMITHRES.*

P. 236.—“ Sysimithres, having brought a multitude of horses, two thousand camels, with divers herds and flocks.”]—A succession of modern travellers attest both the extreme coldness of the climate in the elevated region near the sources of the Oxus, and the fertility of the midland hills and valleys. To begin with the celebrated Venetian, he says: “ The mountains of Badakhshan afford pasture for an innumerable quantity of sheep, which ramble about in flocks of four, five, and six hundred, all wild; and though many are taken and killed, there does not appear to be any diminution.”—*Travels of MARCO POLO, translated from the Italian: by WILLIAM MARSDEN, F.R.S. London, 4to. 1818, p. 131.*

The present Governor of Bombay describes the same country and its boundaries, both from information collected during the mission to Caubul, and from the previous accounts of Oriental geographers and European travellers. “ The Badakhshan ridge runs from N. N. E. to S. S. W., between the Hindoo Koosh and Pameer Ridges. From all accounts, it appears to be a considerable one, and covered for the greater part of the year with snow.” “ The whole of the country between the Hindoo Koosh and Pameer ridges, appears to be groups of hills. . . . The hills are well wooded; and the low ones along their base are well stocked with fruit trees of various kinds.”—Lt. MACARTNEY'S *Memoir*.—ELPHINSTONE'S *Caubul*, p. 639.

“The Jihou,” (or Oxus,) says Ibn Haukal, “rises within the territories of Badakhshan, and receives the waters of many other streams.”

“Badakhshaun, though an extensive country, seems to be but one great valley, running up from the province of Balkh to Beloot Taugh, between the highlands connected with the Pameer ridge, and the range of Hindoo Koosh.”—IDEM, p. 628.

“Beloot Taugh forms the boundary between Independent Tartary and Chinese Tartary. Izzul Ooolab gives a frightful picture of the cold and desolation of this *elevated tract*. This alpine region is named by Eastern geographers “*Baloor*.”—ELPHINSTONE'S *Caulul*, p. 113.

In 1603, Benedict Goez, a Portuguese Jesuit, travelled nearly the same route as Marco Polo. The following is the geographical order in which he mentions Badakhshan, in describing his own progress: “through Kabul, Talkan, and *Badakhshan*, to Kashgar and China.”

[Q]. *Existing tradition of a Race of Princes descended from Alexander.*

P. 238.—“The king of Asia and Europe married a lady introduced at an entertainment.”]—Marco Polo, speaking in the thirteenth century, says: “In the province of Badakhshan the people are Mahometans. It is an extensive kingdom, being in length full twelve days’ journey, and is governed by princes in hereditary succession, who are all descended from Alexander, by the daughter of Darius, king of the Persians. All these have borne the title of *Zulkarnen*, being equivalent to Alexander. . . . The natives asserted, that not long since there were still found in this province horses of the breed of Alexander’s celebrated charger, Bucephalus, which were all foaled with a particular

“ mark in the forehead. The whole of the breed was in the possession of one of the king’s uncles ; who, upon his refusal to yield them to his nephew, was put to death ; whereupon his widow, exasperated at the murder, caused them all to be destroyed ; and thus the race was lost to the world.”—MARSDEN’S *Marco Polo*, pp. 129, 130.

If for the “ daughter of Darius,” in this tradition, we substitute the “ daughter of Oxartes,” it will agree sufficiently, as well in other circumstances as in the striking one of locality, with the account of Curtius ; and there is a greater probability that the last-mentioned princess should have her residence here than the former.

A living English traveller notices a similar tradition : “ The king of Derwauz, near the sources of the Oxus, claims his descent from Alexander the Great, and his pretensions are admitted by all his neighbours.”—Lieut. MACARTNEY’S *Memoir*.—ELPHINSTONE’S *Cambul*, p. 628.

[R]. *On the construction of RECTA REGIONE.*

P. 260.—“ Almost the whole of India slopes eastward ; a spacious territory, not so much by running into breadth, as by its perpendicular extent.”—*India tota ferme spectat Orientem ; minus in latitudinem, quam recta regione, spatiosa.*—CURT. Strabo, in his Map of the Climates of the World, includes the modern Thibet and China under the name India. On the first view of what Curtius here writes, the Translator was ready to infer, that his Author had before him a similar outline of its geography ; and he therefore, in the first edition, followed the commentators in construing “ *spectat Orientem*” as “ TRENDS eastward :” but, on reviewing the whole of the chapter, which appears to apply only to India Proper, he finds that this sentence may convey an accordant meaning. He cannot think that *minus in latitudinem quam RECTA*

regione spatiosa is adequately represented by, "it is less in breadth than in length;" because this is a mere truism, which conveys no information; and because *latitudinem* and *recta regione* are not in the same case. He would therefore understand *recta*—as answering to the idea of a RIGHT or PERPENDICULAR line falling from a horizontal one; a more literal translation, illustrated by a paraphrase, will show how far this concise representation of Curtius corresponds with the actual shape and geography of India Proper. He says it is "spacious, less by running into breadth," [thus

which it does from the foot of the Himâlāa to the mouth of the Indus on one side, and to the estuary of the Ganges on the other,] "than by its perpendicular "territory," [including its majestic cape,

What direction has the face of the territory as an inclined plane? The *spectat Orientem* of the original is rendered, "slopes toward the East." Although this meaning can be reconciled better with the actual topography of India Proper, than any other of which the words are susceptible, such general descriptions cannot be literally true in all points. The following extract will however show, that the greater part of the territory has that inclination: "Moral-Ca-Candar "is a large and noble mountain, which stretches in a continuous but irregular range, and under various names, from "the snowy mountains above Rempur and Seran, quite down "to Irki. It is an interesting range, because it divides the "waters of Upper Hindostan. All these rising from its "eastern side, flowing—through the rivers Girri, Paber,

“Touze, and Jumna—into the GANGES and the BAY OF BENGAL; while those from the western aspect run—by the Sutej and Indus—into the INDIAN OCEAN.”—ASIATIC RESEARCHES, vol. XIII. p. 171.

[S]. *The Source of the Ganges.*

P. 261.—“The Ganges, a distinguished river, at its rise flows southward.”]—The source of the Ganges has at length been ascertained to lie in an elevated basin, formed by the five peaks of the local mountain *Roodroo*, which is also called *Panch Parbat*, one of the loftiest and grandest in the snowy range of the Himâlâa, and which is venerated by the Hindoos as the throne of the god Mahadeo. The five peaks form a semicircular hollow of considerable extent, filled with eternal snow; from the gradual dissolution of the lower parts of which the PRINCIPAL part of the stream is generated. James Baillie Fraser, Esq. in the year 1815, penetrated to a temple called Gungotree, sacred to Mahadeo, situated in this recess. The impossibility of proceeding farther among glens and precipices covered with snow, and gullies of latent water running under a floor of ice, obliged Mr. Fraser to rest satisfied with the report of a Pundit as to the positive situation of the source of the Ganges. According to the Pundit's information, the source is not more than five miles' horizontal distance from the temple, and in a direction south-east. The map accompanying the Journal, assigns to the position N. lat. about 31°. 5'. ; and E. long. 78°. 57'. 40".

Mr. Fraser distinctly adverts to the old popular idea, that the Ganges issues from a rock like a *cow's mouth*; a notion which is countenanced and repeated by one of the Persian biographers of Timour, and afterwards by the Jesuit Father, Tieffenthaler: but he deliberately affirms—on the authority of the Pundit, Brahmins, Zemindars, and other people of the

place—that this fantastic *cow's mouth* has no existence.—*Journal of a Tour through part of the snowy Range of the Himāla Mountains, and to the Sources of the Rivers Jumna and Ganges.* By JAMES BAILLIE FRASER, Esq. 4to. London, 1820, pp. 470 . . . 474.

[T]. *On the ancient name of the BRAHMAPOOTRA.*

P. 261.—“ *The ACESINES* augments it just before its “discharge into the ocean.”]—The commentators have impeached this passage, and incidental critics have echoed their remarks, as though Curtius had, by introducing the ACESINES here, confounded the mighty river, now called the *Brahmapootra* with the *Acesines* of the *Punjab*. But for assuming that there is an error here, no critic can give any sufficient reason. Is it not a thing that has occurred in all countries and ages, for different rivers to bear the same names? How many were called by the Ancients, the *Lycus*!—how many the *Araxes*! The present *Hindoos* bestow the name of the *Gunga* on many besides the *Ganges*. In *England* there are two streams called the *Wye*, and the name of the *Avon* is common to several. The cause of this multiplicity, is, that originally the name was an epithet founded on some characteristic circumstance: thus, rivers having the same feature, or property—the same discoverer, or improver—received the same appellative. When ancient writers describe the *Lycus* as falling into the *Tigris*, no one suspects them of confounding it with the *Lycus* of *Phrygia*; and when Curtius, after treating of the *Ganges*, adverts to the rise and course of the *Acesines*, and the ultimate junction of those two gigantic rivers,—the relation in which the second is mentioned, is a geographical mark for distinguishing it from the other *Acesines*, which falls into the *Indus*, as specified in a subsequent book.—*Transl.* pp. 321, 324. The exact source of the

Brahmapootra has never been explored by Europeans: but it is thought to be near that of the Ganges, on the opposite face of the Himálāa. In Tibet it is called the SANPOO, which is, by eminence, "the river." It is probable that its ancient name might have been *Akassanpoo*, which the Greeks converted into AKESSINES. *Akas*, in Sanscrit, has the meaning of "sky;" and the compound might denote the *heaven-descended river*, an appropriate name for a stream whose source had not been explored. It appears from Morecroft's *Journal*, that at this day, a second river, far to the west, is called the SANPOO; and what is much in point, it is one of the remote streams rising in Tartary, which falls into the Indus. The whole course of the Brahmapootra is reckoned at 1650 miles; most part of it is exterior to India Proper; at length touching Bengal, twenty miles of the line falls between that province and Assam, as a frontier river; and thence to its junction with the Ganges, it runs within the Hon. East-India Company's dominions.

[U]. *Notices of BACCHUS and HERCULES from
HINDOO Authorities.*

P. 270.—"Bacchus and Hercules they knew by Tradition."—It has been mentioned in the Additional Notes to the first volume, [C], p. 468, that it is not easy to discover what Arrian means to say respecting the monuments of an Indian Bacchus and Hercules, which he found described in the original Macedonian accounts. Strabo is explicit; adopting the opinion of Eratosthenes, he pronounces that "these are fictions invented by the flatterers of Alexander."—*lib. XV. Oxf. edit. p. 980.* In this he is doubly wrong; namely, as it respects the classical sources, both of the Grecian and Indian mythologies. The expedition of Bacchus to India is celebrated in the *Bacchanalians* of Euripides,

vv. 14 17, &c., which poet flourished a century before Alexander lived. Strabo, *ut supra*, p. 978, has inconsistently quoted these verses, as well as some from Sophocles to the same effect.

[BACCHUS speaks :]

————— But now from Lydia's fields

- With gold abounding, from the Phrygian realm,—
And that of Persia scorched by torrid suns,
Passing from Bactrian towers, the frozen land
Of Media,—and through Araby the blest,—
With ASIA'S wide-extended continent
Reaching to Ocean's briny verge, where Greeks
Are intermingled with Barbarian tribes
In many a fortress, and well-peopled town
Where I have led the choral dance, and 'stablish'd
My rites :—to manifest my power divine
Among mankind I come ; revisiting the first
Of the Hellenian cities.

EURIP. *Bacch.* *ut supra*.—*Wodhull's Version compared with Potter's.*

[The CHORUS sing an Ode :]

Thee, the Nyssean mountain's craggy sides,
O'er which the mantling ivy twines.

SOPHOC. *Antigonæ*.—POTTER'S *Version*.

Major Wilford has elicited—from the Hindoo writings—ample evidence, that the traditions and monuments of an Indian Bacchus and Hercules—which the ancient Macedonian-Greeks, who were the companions of Alexander, describe—had an Indian origin. To cite one example of each : “ DEO-NAUSH (Dionysius) was at first a mere mortal: “ but on Mount *Meru*, he became a *deva*, or god,—hence “ called *Deva-naush*, or in the vulgar dialect *Deo-naush*. “ This happened about fifteen generations before *Crishna*.”—*On the Chronology of the Hindus. By Capt. WILFORD. Asiat. Res.* vol. V. p. 292. *Calcutta edit.*—See also vol. VI. p. 500.

“ The Indian Hercules, according to Cicero, was called “ *BELUS*. Ho is the same with *BALA*, the brother of *Crishna*,

“ and both are conjointly worshipped at Muttra ; indeed they
 “ are considered as one *Avatara*, or incarnation of Vishnu.
 “ Bala is represented as a stout man, with a club in his hand ;
 “ he is also called Bala-Rama. As Bala sprang from
 “ Vishnu, or Heri, he is certainly *Heri-cula*, *Heri-culas*,
 “ or Hercules. There is a very ancient statue of *Bala-*
 “ *Rama*, at a place called *Baladeva*, or *Baldeo* in the
 “ vulgar dialects. It was visited some years ago by the late
 “ Lieutenant Stewart, and I shall describe it in his own
 “ words : ‘ *Bala-Rama*, or *Bala-deva*, is represented *there*
 “ with a ploughshare in his left hand, with which he hooked
 “ his enemies ; and in his right hand a thick cudgel, with
 “ which he cleft their skulls ; his shoulders are covered with
 “ the skin of a tyger. The village of Baldeo is thirteen miles
 “ E. by S. from Muttra.’ ”—*On the Chronology of the Hindus.*
 By Capt. WILFORD. *Asiat. Res.* vol. V. p. 270.

Thus, to blend the office of a husbandman, or *subduer of the earth*, with the character of Hercules, raises the value of his labours ; by conferring on them a double utility, originating in design, which the imposed tasks of the Grecian mythology seem to want. The exploit of cleansing the Augæan stable becomes of superior value, when it provides the agriculturist with resources ; and that of fetching the Golden Apples from the Gardens of the Hesperides, takes the impress of a positive benefaction to mankind, as a leading example of the enterprising horticulture which brings home and naturalizes useful exotic plants.

[X]. *Tradition of a Tribe descended from Alexander.*

P. 277.—“ It is certain that a child which she afterwards
 “ bore, whoever was its father, was named Alexander.”—
 Classical travellers have identified the BEZIRA, mentioned
 in the history, *Transl.* p. 274, with the modern BIJORE.

Nevertheless, there are two points of discrepancy between the history and the following tradition. 1. The child which one account had perhaps only anticipated would be a SON, is in the other represented to be a DAUGHTER. 2. The tribe, boasting of this descent, are said to have come from Caubul to Sewad and Bijore, not until the fifteenth century: but this might not be an objection, if we knew their previous migrations.

Abulfazil, speaking of the districts of Sewad and Bijore, which he describes as consisting of hills and wilds, gives us this tradition, preserved among the inhabitants: "In the time of Mirza Ulagh Beg (1450) the tribe of Sultan, who assert themselves to be the descendants of the DAUGHTER of Sultan Sekunder Zulkernain, came from Caubul, and possessed themselves of the country. They say that Sekunder left treasure in Caubul, under the care of some of his relations; and a branch of his descendants, who carry their genealogical table in their hands, now dwell in the mountainous parts."—*Ayin Akbari*, vol. ii. p. 195.

[Y]. *On the successive Emigrations of the CATHÆI.*

P. 306. — "Hence he advanced into the kingdom of Sophites." — One of the classical geographers says: "Some writers place Cathea, the country of the king Sopithes, between the two rivers, Hydaspes and Acesines: others, beyond the Acesines and the Hyarotis. It is a surprising fact, that so many honours are reported to be paid, in Cathea, to beauty; even dogs and horses are valued for the quality. Onesioritus relates, that the king is selected for the charms of his person: at the expiration of two months, a new-born child is publicly declared—to possess a good figure, and to be worthy of life; or, the

“ contrary ; and he is sentenced by the magistrate, to die, or “ to live.”—STRABO, lib. XV. p. 699, as cited and translated in CLASSICAL JOURNAL for 1811, No. VI. Paper entitled *The China of the Classics*. The author of this paper—in commenting on the history of the Cathæi, the Thinæ, the Sinæ, and the Seres—seems to think, that the Cathæi were the germ of a population from which, mixed with a Tartar or Scythian race, the modern Chinese have sprung ; and that—having emigrated originally from Chien or Maracauda, and the banks of the Oxus—a community from the same stock, had, at the era of Alexander, reached the banks of the Hydraotes, in their progress toward China : to which region the learned essayist finally conducts them. This hypothesis, taken too broadly, is inconsistent with the high antiquity which the Chinese claim for themselves as a nation : and which their own records, in a great degree, support—after dismissing from the beginning of their chronological tables whole series of centuries, and reducing at the end the exaggerated total. But if the application of this hypothesis were restrained to a race inhabiting the northern provinces of China,—which the Asiatics still call Khatai,—many difficulties and apparent contradictions in the ancient classics, as to the seat of the Cathæi, might be explained by it. Circumstances indicating that there have been successive emigrations in the same line, may be found in authorities of a middle date between the term of ancient literature and the present day. “ It happened, about this period, (A. D. 1287,) that a queen “ named Bolgana, the wife of Arghun, sovereign of India, “ died ; and, as her last request, (which she likewise left in a “ testamentary writing) conjured her husband, that no one “ might succeed to her place on his throne and in his affec- “ tions, who was not a descendant of her own family, now “ settled under the dominion of the Grand Khan, in the “ country of Kataia.”—MARSDEN’S *Marco Polo*, p. 27. There is extant, in another part of the same travels, a vestige of the manners described by Curtius and Strabo, as belonging

to the subjects of Sopithes. “ In the province of Tangut . . . proceeding from Erginul, in a south-eastern direction, in the route to Kataia, you find a city called Singui, in a district of the same name. . . . The extent of the province is twenty-five days’ journey. If a young woman, although poor, be handsome, the rich are induced to take her to wife; and, in order to obtain her, make valuable presents to her parents and relations; beauty alone being the quality held in estimation.”—pp. 224, 225.

[Z]. *Notices of the PRASII, by the Historians of Alexander, illustrated from Native Authorities.*

P. 310.—“ The individual on the throne, in no respect noble, was of the lowest extraction.”]—Capt. Wilford has elicited from Sanscrit books still extant—amidst much additional information respecting the Prasii in the times of Alexander and Seleucus—several notices, which are almost counterparts of what the Macedonian writers collected from their Indian contemporaries. “ In the *Mudra-Racshasa* it is said, that king Nanda, after a severe fit of illness, fell into a state of imbecility, which betrayed itself in his discourse and actions; and that his wicked minister, Sacatara, ruled with despotic sway in his name.” In the *Vishnu Purana*, and in the *Bhagavat Chandram*, it is declared, that Chandram, and his father, Nanda, were of a low tribe; and that he, as well as his brothers, was called Maurya, from his mother, Mura.” In the *Jutiviveca*, it is said, “ the offspring of a barber, begot by stealth of a female of the Sudra tribe, is called MAURYA.”

The *Mudra-Racshasa*, a dramatic piece, which is divided into two parts, like some of the historical plays of Shakspeare, relates the manner in which Sacatara, the prime-minister of Nanda, murdered his royal master.

“ As the old king was one day hunting with his minister towards the hills to the south of the town, he complained of his being thirsty; and, quitting his attendants, repaired with Sacātara to a beautiful reservoir, under a large spreading tree, near a cave in the hills, called *Patalcandra*, or, ‘ the passage leading to the infernal regions:’ there Sacātara flung the old man into the reservoir, and threw a large stone upon him. In the evening he returned to the imperial city, bringing back the king’s horse, and reporting, that his master had quitted his attendants, and rode into the forest: what was become of him he knew not, but he had found his horse grazing under a tree. Some days after, Sacātara, with Vacranara, one of the secretaries of state, placed UGRADHANWA, one of the younger sons of Nanda, on the throne.”

This UGRADHANWA is the AGGRAMMES of Curtius. The learned Orientalist, to whose profound researches we are indebted for these illustrations from Hindoo sources, appears to have glanced too hastily at some of the correspondent passages in the historians of Alexander; for he says: “ Curtius and Diodorus relate, that CHANDRAM was of a low tribe, his father being a barber:”—and again, “ Diodorus and Curtius are mistaken in saying, that CHANDRAM reigned over the Prasii at the time of Alexander’s invasion.” Now, Curtius does not say this; but that AGGRAMMES then reigned over the Gangaridæ and the Prasii. And should this note ever come under the eye of Mr. Wilford, the Translator, would, with great deference, intreat him to consider, whether the consistence and perspicuity of all the branches of the narrative, from the time of Alexander to Seleucus Nicator—when the Greek and Sanscrit memorials are deliberately compared—be not promoted by understanding AGGRAMMES to represent UGRADHANWA?

Thus Curtius will prove to be correct in his statement, while the elevation of CHANDRA-GUPTA, the half-brother

and rival of AGGRAMMES, is referred, as Capt. Wilford properly contends it ought to be, to a subsequent period.

Thus, too, we may perceive how probable is the representation of Plutarch; who, in his *Life of Alexander*, informs us, that Chandra-Gupta had been in that prince's camp; and had been heard to say afterwards, that Alexander would have found no difficulty in the conquest of Prachi, or the country of the Prasians, had he attempted it, as the king was despised, and hated too, on account of his cruelty. Looking at Chandra-Gupta as he was at this point of time, nothing is more likely, than that a fugitive, and an outcast, having pretensions to call himself the heir wrongfully disinherited, should seek to ally himself with the Macedonian invader.

As to Ugradhanwa's cruelty: the *Mudsha-Racshasa* proceeds to relate, that "the young king, dissatisfied with Sacatara's account of his father's disappearance, notwithstanding his own elevation to the throne, had the treacherous instrument of it apprehended. Sacatara confessed the murder, and was thereupon condemned to be shut up, with his family, in a narrow room, the door of which was walled up, and a small opening only left for the conveyance of their scanty allowance. They all died in a short time, except the youngest son, Vicatara, whom the young king released, and took into his service."

All this proves, however, that Ugradhanwa did not act as if he thought he was indebted for his birth to the wicked minister, whom he so severely punished; and perhaps if he was aware of the rumour which represented his mother to be an adulteress, he might intend to show the people, that he believed himself to be a legitimate son of the old king Nanda.

Indeed, the scattered notices in other Sanscrit books may assist to give a better explanation of the nature of the feud between the rival claimants, than the *Mudra-Racshasa* by itself conveys.

1. One collateral authority states, that "Nanda, seeing himself far advanced in years, directed that after his decease, his kingdom should be equally divided between the SUMALYADICAS; and that a decent allowance should be given to the MAURYAS, or children of Maura. But the Sumalyadicas being jealous of the Mauryas, put them all to death, except Chandra-Gupta; who being saved through the protection of Lunus, out of gratitude assumed the name of Chandra-Gupta, or saved by the moon."

2. In the *Vishnu Purana* we read: "Unto Nanda shall be born nine sons: Cotilya, his minister, shall destroy them, and place Chandra-Gupta on the throne."

3. In the *Bhagavat* we read: "From the womb of Sudri, Nanda shall be born. His eldest son will be called SUMALYA, and he shall have eight sons more: these a Brahmin (whom the commentary calls Cotilya, and Vatsayana; also, Chanacya: further, the lexicon *Caman-daca* identifies the Brahmin bearing all these names with Vishnu-Gupta, ultimately the minister of Chandra-Gupta) shall destroy." "After them a MAURYA shall reign. This Brahmin will place Chandra-Gupta on the throne."

In some of these notices, assuming the form of prophecy after the fact, there is a studied obscurity: but from comparing all the depositaries of the story, it would appear that the SUMALYADICAS and the MAURYAS were children of the old king Nanda, by different wives; and that the queen who bore the former was of a superior caste to Maura, and of royal descent: but that to counterbalance this, the partisans of the Mauryas circulated the calumny which degraded the Sumalyadicas, into the spurious offspring of the minister Sacatara. When, however, the old king ordered his kingdom to be equally divided between the Sumalyadicas, excluding the Mauryas; a revolution intervened, in which the nine [read "eight of the nine"] children of Nanda were put to death, and which the *Brahatcatha* says was effected in seven days. This might be owing not altogether to the partisans of the

Mauryas, but to a conspiracy in the leading men to prevent the empire from being divided. Ugradhanwa appears to have been the youngest of the *Sumalyadicas*. Vishnu-Gupta ultimately destroyed him, that is, some time after Alexander relinquished the invasion of the Prasi; as we shall see, by returning to the *Mudra-Racshasa*.

This dramatic piece next unfolds the stratagems of Vicatara, the only survivor among the family of Sacatara. Animated by a spirit of profound revenge, he brought a Brahmin of repulsive manners and hideous appearance, to officiate at a *sraddha*, which the young king was performing in honour of his ancestors. Ugradhanwa ordered the Brahmin to be turned out: the enraged priest cursed him, swearing that he would never tie up his *shica*, or lock of hair, till he had effected his ruin. The Brahmin then ran out of the palace, exclaiming: "Whoever wishes to be king, let him follow me." Chandra-Gupta immediately arose, with eight of his friends, and went after him. They crossed the Ganges with all possible speed, and visited the king of Nepaul, called *Parvateswara*, or, "the Lord of the Mountains," who received them kindly. Meanwhile Ugradhanwa ordered all the brothers of Chandra-Gupta to be put to death.

It is evident that the events of many years are crowded together into this dramatic piece. Parvateswara agrees to assist Chandra-Gupta and his adherents with an army. But not relying on the force of Nepaul as sufficient to invade so powerful an empire, he engaged his allies, the Yavans, the Sacas, the Gayni, and the Siratas, to co-operate in the war.

Capt. Wilford explains the Yavans to be the Greeks; the Sacas, the Indo-Scythians; the Gayni, the people of Cambodia; and the Siratas, the inhabitants of the mountains eastward of Nepaul.

The result was, that the confederates entered the territory of the Prasi with a formidable army. When they had come in sight of the capital, the king met them at the head of his forces. A battle followed; in which, after a dreadful

carnage, Ugradhanwa was defeated, and lost his life. Chandra-Gupta, his successful competitor, in consequence acquired the throne of Prachi, on which he firmly established himself.

This Chandra-Gupta is the same individual whom the Greeks variously call Andracottos, Sandracottos, and Sandracuptus. Capt. Wilford notices, that Sir William Jones was the first to discover, in two Sanscrit poems, satisfactory grounds for this appropriation.—*On the Chronology of the Hindus*.—ASIATIC RESEARCHES, vol. IV. pp. 6, 11; vol. V. pp. 262, *et seq.*

Capt. Wilford adds: "He was also called Chandra simply; and accordingly Diodorus Siculus calls him "Xandrames." With great deference, the Translator considers, that the Xandrames of Diodorus is not to be identified with the Chandra-Gupta of the Hindoos, or the Sandracottos of the Greeks; because this is to make him commit the anachronism, for which Capt. Wilford, in a passage already cited, blames him. The Greek historian, speaking of the reigning sovereign at the era of Alexander's expedition, says: "The nations of the Prasii and Gandaridæ inhabit the farther banks: the king ruling these is Xandrames; his military force consists of twenty thousand horsemen, and two hundred thousand foot soldiers, more than two thousand war-chariots, and four thousand elephants, caparisoned and trained for battle."—DIOD. SIC. lib. XVII. § 93.

Now, if the learned Orientalist had been satisfied to derive Xandrames, in its Greek disguise, from the Chandra of Sanscrit writers, that appropriation might have commanded unqualified assent as obviously right: but for converting Xandrames into Chandra-Gupta, there is no pretext without anticipating a reign. Giving Diodorus credit for correctness in following his primary authorities,—it is to be inferred, that his XANDRAMES or CHANDRA was the reigning title which several kings of the same dynasty assumed in succession; and that the AGGRAMMES or UGRADHANWA of Curtius, was the individual name which the king, reigning at the time

of Alexander's inquiry, had borne before his elevation, and which the partisans of his competitor, questioning his legitimacy, continued to use in speaking of him.

[AA]. *Whether Alexander explored the EASTERN branch of the Indus?*

P. 364, n. †—"Neither Diodorus nor Curtius notice the "voyage down the LEFT branch of the Indus, which Arrian "represents Alexander to have performed during this inter-"val."—There is no proof that the extreme EASTERN branch of the Indus was navigable through its entire course; nor, that it was more than a divergent channel, for the escape of superfluous water, deep in the rains, at other times requiring dams to preserve a level for irrigation, and never competing with the western branch in magnitude. On this account, Major Rennell felt embarrassed by the account in Arrian, lib. VII. cap. x.; and—from the comparative geography of the country—deduces, in opposition to it, that Alexander must have sailed out of the WESTERN branch of the Indus. "I cannot omit to observe," he says, "how exactly the "position and description of the haven, named by Nearchus, "the *Port of Alexander*—and which had an island on it "named *Crocala*—agrees with that of *Crotchey*, and proves "incontestably—by the circumstance of the proximity of the "mountains to the sea-coast, when the fleet had advanced "only 150 stadia from the mouth of the Indus—that "Nearchus sailed out of the western branch of that river. "However, one might conclude, from Arrian's account of "Alexander's voyage down the two branches below *Pattala*, "that he fixed on the easternmost branch for Nearchus' fleet "to proceed through to the ocean; as Arrian calls it the "LEFT branch; but the circumstance of Alexander's landing

“ with a party of horse, and proceeding three days along the coast, in the direction that his fleet was to sail, overthrows such a supposition entirely ; for no one will suppose that he chose to march a party of horse three days along the coast of the Delta, where he must have been continually interrupted by deep rivers and creeks.” — RENNELL'S *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan*, p. 294.

Dr. Vincent, not satisfied with this rejection of the hypothesis of navigating the EASTERN branch, yet finds difficulties in it which he is unable to surmount. He says: “ I have never yet met with a traveller or voyager who passed up the Eastern branch, except Alexander himself.” — *Nearchus*, p. 164. Nevertheless, chusing at last to adhere to the letter of Arrian's account, this master in Grecian literature represents Alexander to navigate TWO GRAND BRANCHES of the Indus ; he even makes him travel along the coast eastward from the main stream, and sink there some wells for his fleet, which would not have to pass in that direction.—pp. 166, 172, 175, 177.

“ I know indeed” — observes M. Barbié du Bocage — “ that Arrian proceeds to tell us, treating of Alexander's voyage, that he sailed to the ocean by the two mouths of the Indus ; and he apparently intends those two mouths the farthest from each other, since he says, in another place — lib. VI. cap. xx. — that there was 1800 stadia distance between them. But this was only the OPINION of Arrian ; and the details of Alexander's navigation prove, that he took another course. From Pattala he sailed down the RIGHT branch of the Indus, and always keeping the main channel, reached the sea (Arrian, VI. xviii. xix.) ; into which he advanced for the space of 400 stadia. (Curt. IX. ix.) On his return to Pattala he visited another mouth, which appeared more commodious for his vessels to navigate ; and which was apparently formed by a canal issuing from the stream which he first explored. Communicating with this canal, he met with a lake : on which he

“constructed some docks and arsenals; and here, doubtless, he founded the town which Pliny calls *Xylenopolis*, or, the ‘City of the Wood.’”—*Examen Critique des Historiens d’Alexandre*, pp. 834, 835.

Thus far the Translator of Curtius can accompany the Author of the *Map to Examen Critique*, in reducing Arrian’s LEFT BRANCH to a canal. This artificial branch might be easier for vessels to ascend, while the main stream presented advantages in navigating down; here, too, vessels might lie sheltered from the *bore*. The “lake” of Arrian, accessible by this canal, may be identified with the “salt lake” of Curtius, *Transl.* p. 363. The narrative of Curtius implies, that part of the passage up the river was through a *nullah*, or connecting cut; for otherwise the salt lake could not have preserved its separate character. But when M. Barbié du Bocage—after all his objections to Dr. Vincent’s paraphrase—enlarges this canal into a branch, the mouth of which is distant three days’ journey from the great estuary, and makes Alexander march with some cavalry along the intervening coast, all the difficulties which previous commentators have felt return; difficulties which induced Major Rennell to transfer this preparatory march, and sinking of the wells entirely to the WEST bank of the principal and most western channel.

The following sketch, describes the topography of the country contiguous to the EAST bank of the same channel—as it exists at the present day.

Seventeen miles to the south of Bhukor (lat. 27°. 19’), the Indus sends off a branch to the westward; which performs a circuit, and rejoins the main body at the town of Sehwan, fifty miles below the point of separation.

Lower down, the Fulalee branch of the Indus, which flows east, is of very considerable size, and encircles the island on which Hyderabad stands. It winds so much, that although the direct distance by land is not more than fourteen miles, the route by water is twenty-four. At its most eastern

winding, it detaches the Goonee branch, which at one time joined the ocean, about a degree eastward from the grand trunk of the Indus; but in 1799, Futteh Ali, a late Ameer, for the purposes of irrigation, threw an embankment across it at Alibunder; and now fresh water presses the dam on the upper side, while the tide flows up to the lower. The river below the dam is called *Lonee*, or "salt." After the Fulalee rejoins the Indus, the course is for some miles south, deviating at last to the south-west, in which direction it may be said to enter the ocean in one vast volume. As it approaches the estuary, several minor streams branch off from the main trunk; but they never reach the sea, being absorbed by the sands of the desert, lost in an enormous salt morass, or abstracted by the natives for agricultural uses. Descending from Hyderabad, great part of the way to the sea, the Indus is in general about a mile in breadth, varying in depth from two to five fathoms; at Lahore Bunder it is four miles broad; still further down, at Dharajay Bunder, nine miles; and at the extreme of the land, twelve miles from shore to shore. Like the Nile and Ganges, the Indus is always described as having a Delta; but at present, except perhaps during the height of the rains, the expression does not apply, and the river cannot, with propriety, be said to have more than one mouth. Neither does the space of land miscalled the Delta, possess the rich soil and luxuriant vegetation seen near the debouchure of the more sacred stream: on the contrary, as the sea is approached, the territory between that and the river eastward exhibits short scrubby brushwood, arid sand, saline swamps, and shallow lakes.—*Description of Hindoostan*, by WALTER HAMILTON, Esq. 4to. London, 1820.

[BB]. *Traces in GRECIAN History, that Macedon had paid Tribute to Illyria and to Persia; compared with an allegation in PERSIAN History, that Philip agreed to pay a tribute in gold.*

P. 387.—“The tributaries within memory to Illyria and to Persia.”]—With regard to Macedon having been tributary to the king of ILLYRIA, there is abundant evidence in the Greek historians, that this was the case, particularly in the reigns of ARGÆUS, and ALEXANDER II. The claim was resisted by PERDICCAS III., whose defeat and death seemed but to confirm the dependence and subjection of his country: at which crisis his infant son, Amyntas, was set aside in favour of Philip, the brother of Perdiccas. Bardyllis, the Illyrian king, renewed the demand against Philip; and coming with an army to enforce it, was completely defeated; this decisive battle reversed the relations between the two states.—LELAND'S *Life of Philip*, vol. i. pp. 18, 29, 43.—*Translation of CURTIUS*, vol. i. Supplement, p. 132.

Of the other circumstance glanced at in the text, namely, that not long prior to Alexander's reign, Macedon had paid tribute to PERSIA, there are also corroborating traces to be found in the elder Greek authorities. Herodotus, *lib. V. cap. 17*, relates that AMYNTAS I. paid to Darius Hystaspes the tribute of *earth and water*, or symbol of homage. ALEXANDER I. was in close alliance with Xerxes at the time he invaded Greece; and Macedon appears to have risen to impotence under the tutelage of Persia. Although it received Persian residents as ambassadors, on the footing of a friendly and allied state, it was not until Philip's reign, perhaps not till late in his reign, when he was ready to invade Persia, that the forms of an easy vassalage were entirely shaken off.—See LELAND'S *Philip*, *passim*.

Some of the native Persian histories indeed assert, that Philip entered into a compact to pay the Great King an annual tribute of gold. But in their accounts of the earlier periods corresponding to ancient Grecian history, particularly in the fourth century before the Christian era, there is a palpable mixture of a large portion of fable, which cannot be detached from what may belong to true history, on any certain principle of selection. As in the series of native sovereigns there are evident omissions of individual reigns, causing chasms which can only be filled up, and a confusion of dates which can only be rectified, by supplemental information, derived from the Jewish and Grecian historians; so, when the Persian histories come to speak of the court and politics of Macedon, it is apparent, that the same defects and inaccuracies prevail in a superior degree. The want of precision, order, and coherence in the extant materials for a native history of ancient Persia,—is so different from the official regularity; and impartial truth, in registering transactions, of which the Book of *Esther* affords a specimen; that it is reasonable to believe, that in some convulsion of the state,—happening between the reigns of Ardishir Dirodaste, (Artaxerxes Longimanus,) and Ardishir Babigan, (the first Sassasian Artaxerxes) the venerable archives of the empire, embracing its CONTINUOUS HISTORY previous to the Macedonian conquest, had been destroyed. From the defective nature of the Persian histories of this period, which are extant, it is to be inferred, that—after the public documents had perished—what materials for future compilers casually remained in private depositories, were nothing but the magnified portraits of flattering biography employed on favourite single reigns; or the too-inventive and unfaithful narratives of heroic poetry. It may have been, that when the palace at Persepolis was burnt, the public records of the empire perished.

This mode of accounting for the irreparable deficiencies of the earlier native literature, is far from being entirely hypothesis.

The *Zein al Akhbar*, or, "Ornament of Chronicles"—cited in Sir WILLIAM OUSELEY'S *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 410—informs us, that after Sekander (Alexander) had arrived at Istakhr (Persepolis) the DERNEVISHT (Library) there was examined. It contained "many books treating of Zerdusht's (Zoroaster's) Religion, and of Philosophy, and Medicine, Arithmetic, and Geometry, and every other science. Of all these, Sekander commanded that translations should be made, and sent into Greece, and they were deposited in Macedonia, and the DERNEVISHT was burnt. Thus, of all the books which had been preserved, there, and among the Persians generally, none remained—except a few in the hands of some obscure individuals, who kept them amidst the secret recesses of the country."

The curious may like to see an extract from such Persian accounts as remain, on the subject of MACEDON PAYING TRIBUTE TO PERSIA.

"The reign of Darab the First* was distinguished by several wars; particularly one against Philip of Macedon, whom Persian authors denominate Phillippoos of Room. Though this war was at first unsuccessful, the historians of Persia state, that its termination was glorious: but this is evidently the foundation of a fable, which their national vanity has led them to form, respecting the birth of Alexander. They affirm that Philip was ultimately reduced to such distress, that he was glad to extricate himself, by agreeing to give his daughter† to Darab, and to pay to that prince an annual tribute of one thousand eggs of pure gold. Darab the First reigned only twelve years. He built Darabjird, a town about one hundred and fifty miles to the east of Shiraz; which, though fallen from its former grandeur, still boasts a number of inhabitants.

*The Darius-Nothus of Greek writers."

† This daughter, the same authors assert, was sent back to her father when pregnant with Alexander. Various reasons are assigned for her return. The author of the *Zeenut-ul-Mujalis*, who pretends to more particular information than others, declares it was on account of her bad breath."

“ Darab the Second (the celebrated Darius Codomanus of the Greeks) was, according to the report of Persian authors, the opposite of his father. He was deformed in body, and depraved in mind; and his bad administration, if they are to be believed, completely prepared the way for the success of Alexander. But it cannot be surprising, that a nation, distinguished for their vanity, should have given their countenance to any fable, however improbable, which palliated the disgrace of the conquest of their country. It is to this feeling that we must ascribe their tales respecting the descent of Alexander. That conqueror is described as a son of Darab the First; who, aided by the Persians themselves, easily possessed himself of a crown which was his right, and which was weakly defended by his unpopular and unworthy brother. Several, however, of the most respectable Persian and others. “ historians * reject this fable, and admit that Alexander was the son of Philip. The quarrel between the two states, we are told, originated in Alexander refusing to pay the tribute of golden eggs, to which his father had agreed. ‘The bird that laid the eggs has flown to the other world!’ is reported to have been the laconic answer of the Macedonian Prince, to the Persian Envoy who demanded the tribute.”—MALCOLM’S *History of Persia*, 4to. 1815. vol. i. pp. 69, 70.

The Translator has two comments to offer on this piece of Persian history.

1. The pretended marriage of Philip’s daughter to Darius-Nothus, is one of those jumbles of different times and persons which have arisen from the native historians having been compelled, in default of better resources, to derive a large part of their materials from poetical romances without dates. Thus, the only thing that can be traced in Macedonian history at all resembling this alleged sacrifice to peace on the altar of matrimony, is the following fact. The Persian nobleman, Bubaris, sent to Macedon by Darius Hystaspes, as a commis-

sioner of enquiry into the circumstances under which a previous ambassador from Persia had been assassinated at a court festival at Pella, and to demand satisfaction,—was conciliated by the daughter of Amyntas I. being given to him in marriage. Here the degree of humiliation on the part of Macedon was indeed greater, as the princess was wedded to a subject of the Great King.—LELAND'S *Life of Philip*, book I. § i.

2. The bare fact—itsself— of Philip's having agreed to pay tribute to Persia, in the early part of his reign—is not incredible: when we consider the exposed situation of Crenidæ, afterwards called Philippi, the site of many productive gold mines; and that Macedonia, in respect to the course of an invading army from Persia, lay like an outwork to Greece; and therefore if not strong enough to act boldly on the offensive, could only secure itself by a friendly compact, stipulating, at the best, for neutrality, and often performing deeds of indirect subservience.

Besides, when we find even the Grecian states, Argos and Sparta, Athens and Thebes, acting as vassal powers to Persia,—by sending out troops and ships to fight in her service,—see LELAND'S *Philip*, vol. i. p. 185, text and n. [B],—that fact removes all objection to our receiving the Persian account, that Philip had, at some distressing crisis, agreed to pay a tribute, on the ground of its being improbable.

[CC]. *On the Difficulties in reducing the MACEDONIAN dates in Alexander's History.*

P. 407, text and note.—“Alexander died on 28. Dæsius.”—The Translator would willingly have spared himself the responsibility, and the Reader the trouble, of discussing the difficulties which attend the double conversion of the Mace-

donian months into the corresponding months, or fractions of months, according to the Athenian and Julian Calendars. But the most able chronologists, after exhausting calculation on the materials, bring out different results; so as to make it unsatisfactory to refer to the tables of any one modern author for all the reduced dates. This is owing to the elementary works—which would have explained the exact relations between the Macedonian and Athenian Kalendars—having perished; and the information which has come down to us, defective as it is, happens to preserve many more details of the latter than the former.

The Translator will endeavour to distinguish between what is established, and what remains doubtful.

THE ATTIC KALENDAR.

It is known, that the Athenian was a lunar year, approximating in its commencement and duration to a solar period. Previous to the LXXXVIIth Olympiad, the civil year of the Athenians had commenced with the month GAMELION; but at that epoch, they adopted the cycle of Menon; and thence until the time of Alexander, and for some centuries beyond, the Olympiad commenced with the first new-moon which followed the summer solstice, and the first month of the first year, in each *alternate* Olympiad was HECATOMBÆON. The chronologists take it for granted, that every Athenian year in this cycle began with Hecatombæon: but this is not proved; on the contrary, some *Marbles* claiming a share of authority, exhibit the year distinctly commencing with one of the two next months:—and the Translator proceeds to offer an hypothesis for reconciling them; for some points of which, he is not aware that he can cite any great name as a shield from the responsibility of first drawing such inferences.

Dr. Vincent—*Voyage of Nearchus*, 2d edit. p. 531—says: “It has lately been proved, by the dissertation of Barthelemy on the Choiseuil Marble, that after all the learned labours of Petavius and Corsini, the arrangement of the Attic

“ months by Scaliger is finally confirmed.” But how is it confirmed? By allowing no weight to the *Marbles* which do not agree with it. Regarding it, however, as that which generally prevailed, the Translator adopts Scaliger’s arrangement for the basis of his hypothesis; taking the other series to be recurring exceptions, the cause of which may be explained, by calculating what portion of a lunar month the commencement of any year—not being the first of an OCTAETERIDE, a period embracing TWO OLYMPIADS—was postponed beyond the solstice.

Order of Months, according to SCALIGER & BARTHELEMY.

Hecatombæon
 Metageitnion
 Boedromion
 Pyanepsion
 Mæmakterion
 Posideon
 Gamelion
 Anthesterion
 Elaphebolion
 Munychion
 Thargelion
 Scirophorion.

The month of Hecatombæon, as the *primary order*, begins the first year of each Octaëteride; but the Translator thinks, that—notwithstanding the obscurity in which the want of any continuous series of monuments has left the subject—he can adduce probable evidence, that the second and third months of the primary series succeeded to the first position in the intermediate years as the new-moons happened to cast them, in the course of 99 months, until the revolution of a complete Octaëteride restored HECATOMBÆON to the first place in the civil year; and that to fill up the chasm caused by the precession of a lunar year of twelve months before the solar year, the resource was—not an embolism of ONE month in each *third* year; but an embolism of ONE

month in the *fourth* or *fifth* year, and of TWO in the *eighth* year, as the new-moon which determined the commencement of the following Octaëride should require.

Meanwhile it will be necessary to devote a few words to the vulgar length, and scientific equation of the lunar months themselves. All the months consisted nominally of 30 days: but as the time of each lunation extended only to 29 days and $\frac{191}{300}$ parts of a day; every alternate month was denominated *hollow* or *deficient*, and reduced to 29 days, by deducting one *exarismal* day: further as this was in excess by rejecting the fraction, once in three years one of the *hollow* months was absolutely accounted 30 days, and once in ~~thirty~~ years 31 days. But this embolism was purely lunar, and quite distinct from the more considerable embolism of an entire month at once; which last expedient was resorted to for approximating the lunar *Octaëteride*, or, *Series of Eight Years* to a solar period.

According to the system of Dodwell—de *Cyclis Græc.* Diss. IV. § 4—the embolismic months were introduced every *third*, every *fifth*, and every *eighth* year; and almost every chronologist who has touched the subject proposes to intercalate a month once in *three* years, though the authors of different systems do not agree on what stage in the series it were proper to commence. The fact is, that one thing, which made itself practically obvious to the Ancients who used the Attic Kalendar, has escaped the attention of modern theorists; namely, that the lunar year of the Athenians was not reduced by the Cycle of Menon, nor reducible, to an exact coincidence with the solar year, but only brought to approximate to the solstice within a fluctuating interval less than a lunar month—sometimes only by a fraction. Thus let us suppose any given Olympiad to begin twenty-eight days after the solstice: it is plain, that at the end of the third year, the precession of the lunations would have barely compensated for the excess with which the first began; and to make an embolism of a month at this stage, would reproduce the aberration which the ordinary

succession of the new-moons had rectified. The embolism of a month would therefore be better made in the *fifth* or *sixth* year, (unless Boedromion should sooner begin the year.) On the average, the first day of each Olympiad would be fourteen or fifteen days in excess compared with the solar year; and by letting HECATOMBÆON gradually fall back, though it might occasionally become the last month in the year, or even the penultimate—as some of the *Marbles* represent—it would, as it were, revolve round the summer solstice; nor, when preceding it, rarely deviate so far from the point to be approximated, as an embolism interposed without regarding the constant tendency to excess beyond the solstice might cause it to do.

There are many extant proofs that HECATOMBÆON was thus suffered to fall back.

Order in Two Marbles, placing METAGEITNIŌN first.

1. Metageitnion.—2. Boedromion.—3. Pyanepsion.—4. Mæmacterion.—5. Posideon.—6. Gamelion.—7. Anthes-
terion.—8. Elaphebolion.—9. Munychion.—CHANDLER'S
Marmora Oxon. XXI.

1. Metageitnion.—2. Boedromion.—3. Puanepsion.—4. Maimacterion.—5. Poseideon.—6. Gamelion.—7. Elaphe-
bolion.—8. Munychion.—*Marmora Oxoniensia*, Oct. 1791;
53. xx.

Order in Two other Marbles, placing BOEDROMION first.

1. Boedromion.—2. Pyanepsion.—3. Mæmacterion.—4. Posideon I.—5. Posideon II.—6. Gamelion.—7. Anthes-
terion.—8. Elaphebolion.—9. Munychion.—10. Thargelion.—11. Scirophorion.—12. Hecatombæon.—13. Metageitnion.—CHANDLER'S
Marmora Oxon. LIX. 1. p. 97.

Petavius writes thirteen months in the same order.—*Marmor.* lib. xliv. 1.

This evidence, that the arrangement of the months in the first table, adopted from Scaliger and Barthelemy, did not

extend to every year of every Olympiad, is direct and invincible. Viewing these specimens of a revolving order as parts of a consecutive series of 99 months, the Translator now offers a scheme of successive *Octaëterides* from the birth to the death of Alexander.

TABLE, tracing, on the Translator's Hypothesis, a REVOLVING SERIES of Attic Months, consisting of NINETY-NINE Lunations each. Calculated for FOUR OCTAETERIDES, corresponding with Thirty-two Solar Years and Eight Days.

Note. The LUNAR embolisms are allowed for at the rate of one day in 36 lunar months, with a special intercalation of one additional day after 30 common embolisms. The years in which they fall are marked "l. e. +" with the name of the month augmented. The INITIAL months only are marked in the *first, second, third* and other years of each Octaëteride where no embolism is assumed: but in such years as are augmented by extra months, the series is filled up, to show the place and quantity of the SOLAR-APPROXIMATING embolism, as it may require *one* or *two* supplementary months. The solar Bissextile years are marked "S. E."

Year of the	
Olymp. CVI.	1. Hecatombæon (begins) July 16. A. C. 356.
	2. Hec..... July 5.
	3. Metageitnion (<i>l. e. Sciroph. +</i>) July 24.
	4. Met. July 14. (S. E.
	.. reckoned in the next year.)

Note. When Hecatombæon begins—and Scirophorion ends—the year, the series of months, it is generally agreed, succeed in the order of the first specimen, (p. 579, above,) which is taken from, and adapted to, ordinary years. When Hecatombæon begins and ends a year of thirteen lunations, nature makes the embolism. When Metageitnion begins the year, the order of the succeeding months is the same until the twelfth arrives, into which position Hecatombæon now

devolves. As long as Metageitnion begins the year, the summer solstice falls WITHIN Hecatombæon, and thus there is a close approximation to the solar standard, by suffering the common months to fall back. When Boedromion begins the year, the necessity for the embolism of an extraordinary month first occurs.—See *Specimens* in p. 581, above.

This Olympiad comprises 49 months, and is calculated to end with the month Hecatombæon; the series being carried on to the next Olympiad, to complete the Octaëteride.

- Olymp. CVII.* 1. Metageitnion July 2. A.C. 352.
 2. Boedromion (*l. e. Sciro. +*) July 20.

SIXTH YEAR.

Month of the Octaëteride	63.	Boedromion.....	July 20.
	64.	<i>Mæmacterion</i>	Aug. 19.
	65.	<i>Pyanepsion</i>	Sept. 17.
	66.	Posideon I.	Oct. 17.
	67.	POSIDEON II.....	Nov. 15.
	68.	Gamelion	Dec. 15.
	69.	Anthesterion	Jan. 13.
	70.	Elaphebolion	Feb. 12.
	71.	Munychion	Mar. 12.
	72.	Thargelion	April 11.
	73.	Scirophorion (+)	May 10.
	74.	Hecatombæon	June 10.

Note. The two months *Pyanepsion* and *Mæmacterion*—if we give equal credit to discordant Marbles—at times change places with each other. Plutarch says, that *Pyanepsion* was connected with, or just preceded, the Setting of the Pleiades, which then occurred about the 11th of October. From this, and from the order of both months being found frequently reversed, and *Pyanepsion* first, when *Hecatombæon* begins the year, the Translator infers, that the civil authority determined—for the current year—the position of one or two interchangeable and supplementary months, in order to approximate a spring and autumn month to the two cardinal points of a sidereal year. POSIDEON II. is the ordinary embolismic month, when but one is required in the year.

3. Metageitnion July 10.
 4. Met. June 29. (S. E.)

EIGHTH YEAR.

Month	87.	Metageitnion	.....	June	29.
	88.	Boedromion	.....	July	29.
	89.	Mæmacterion	.....	Aug.	27.
	90.	Pyænepsion	.....	Sept.	26.
	91.	Posideon I.	.....	Oct.	25.
	92.	POSIDEON II.	.....	Nov.	24.
	93.	Gamelion	.....	Dec.	23.
	94.	Anthesterion	.....	Jan.	22.
	95.	Elaphebolion	.....	Feb.	20.
	96.	ELAPHIUS	.....	Mar.	21.
	97.	Munychion	.....	April	19.
	98.	Thargelion	.....	May	19.
	99.	Scirophorion	.....	June	17.

Note. The supplementary month ELAPHIUS was introduced by the Athenians as near as might be to the Vernal Equinox, then falling, about March 26.—CORSINI, *Diss. Agonist.* I. § 6.—The elicitation of evidence, that there were at least two embolismic months bearing different names, provided to answer the deficiency of the ordinary year, when the Second Olympiad comprised Fifty Lunations,—is an additional argument for postponing the introduction of either beyond the third year; for if a month were intercalated every third year, as the various chronologists contend, POSIDEON II. would alone be equal to the office.

It would appear—from a notice recorded by the SCHOLIAST ON PINDAR, cited by CORSINI, *Fast. Attic.* vol. ii. p. 446—that under a more ancient system—which, it may be inferred, prevailed up to the era when the Cycle of Menon commences—two embolismic months were brought in together, exactly in the middle of the Octaæteride, the 50th and 51st months being called APOLLONIUS and PARTHENIUS. Hence, when the first Olympiad contained 49 months, the second began with APOLLONIUS; and when the first Olympiad extended to 50 months, the second began with PARTHENIUS. This is noticed, merely to show, that we have nothing to do with these months in Alexander's age.

SECOND OCTAÆTERIDE.

- Olymp.* CVIII. 1. Hec. (*l. e. Munych.* +) July 17. A. C. 348.
 2. Hec. July 7.
 3. Met. July 26.
 4. Met. (*l. e. Anth.* +) . . July 15. (S. E.)

Note. This Olympiad comprises 49 months, and ends with Hecatombæon.

- Olymp. CIX.* 1. Metageitnion, July 4. A. C. 344.
 2. Boedromion, July 23.

SIXTH YEAR.

Note. Order of months as in the second year of *Olymp. CVII.*, with the embolismic month *POSIDEON II.* The Translator infers, that Philip's *Letter to the Athenians*, stating that the Macedonian month *LOUS* corresponded with *BOEDROMION*, was written in *Olymp. CIX. 2.*—See, below, *APPLICATION OF THE TABLE*, and *TABLE II. Tests, No. 2.*

3. Metageitnion, (*l. e. Anth. +*) July 12.
 4. Met. (*l. e. SPECIAL Scir. +*) July 2. (S. E.)

EIGHTH YEAR.

Note. Order of months as in the Eighth year of *Olymp. CVII.*; with the two embolismic months *POSIDEON II.* and *ELAPHIUS.* The *Octaæteride* contains 99 months.

THIRD OCTAÆTERIDE.

- Olymp. CX.* 1. Hecatombæon, July 20. A. C. 340.
 2. Hec. (*l. e. Pos. +*) . . . July 9.
 3. Hec. June 29.
 4. Metageitnion, July 17. (S. E.)

Note. This Olympiad contains 49 months, and ends with Hecatombæon.

- Olymp. CXI.* 1. Met. (*l. e. Pyan. +*) . . . July 5. A. C. 336.
 2. Boedromion, July 25.

SIXTH YEAR.

Note. With the embolismic month *POSIDEON II.*, as in two places above.

3. Met. July 14.
 4. Met. (*l. e. Mæm. +*) . . July 3. (S. E.)

EIGHTH YEAR.

Note. With the two embolismic months, *POSIDEON II.* and *ELAPHIUS*, as twice above = in all 99 months.

FOURTH OCTAETERIDE.

- Olymp.* CXII. 1. Hecatombæon, . . . July 22. A. C. 332.
 2. Hec. July 11.

SECOND YEAR.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|--------------|-------|-------|---|
| Month | 13. | Hecatombæon | ..... | July | 11. |
| | 14. | Metageitnion | ..... | Aug. | 9. |
| | 15. | Boedromion | | Sept. | 8. <i>lunar eclipse</i>
on Boed. 13. Sept. 20. |

Note. This year, which requires no embolism, is produced thus far, only to show the day of the Eclipse which preceded the battle of Arbela. If it be enquired, admitting the Hypothesis of an OCTAETERIDE, or series of 99 Lunar months, Which of two Olympiads are we to take as coinciding with the first half, according to the ancient reckoning? This cardinal point will decide the question; for Hecatombæon must begin this Olympiad, to bring out the date of the Eclipse correctly; and, consequently, every eighth year, from *Olymp.* CXII. 1.—counting backwards and forwards—is the proper commencement of each Octaëteride.

3. Hec. (*l. e. Boed. +*) June 30.
 4. Met. July 19. (S. E.)

Note. This Olympiad contains 49 months.

- Olymp.* CXIII. 1. Met. July 7. A. C. 328.
 2. Boed. (*l. e. Boed. +*) July 25.

SIXTH AND EIGHTH YEARS.

3. Met. July 15.
 4. Met. (*l. e. Sciro +*) . July 5. (S. E.)

Note. The embolismic months are inserted as in *Olymp.* CVII., years 2. and 4.

FIFTH OCTAETERIDE.

- Olymp.* CXIV. 1. Hecatombæon. July 23. A. C. 324.

APPLICATION OF THE TABLE.

1. The monuments and historical passages, which are reconciled by this hypothesis, become in their turn so many points of support to it. Thus, first, the respective *Marbles* which begin with Hecatombæon, Metageitnion, and Boedromion, are successively exemplified in each revolving series of Eight years, which the Table traces; so that there is no occasion to set up some one of these monuments as a perpetual standard, and to discredit the rest.

2. The two passages in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, and in Philip's *Letter to the Athenians*, which appeared to modern historians and chronologists so repugnant, that they deemed themselves compelled—as the partisans of different systems—to follow one exclusively, and reject the other,—are shown, by the working of the hypothesis through the intervening years, to be perfectly consistent. In *Olymp.* CVI. 1. HECATOMBÆON is the first month of the Attic year; and in *Olymp.* CIX. 2. BOEDROMION has revolved into the first place. Consequently, when we find in two Greek authors—to whom the exact relation between the Attic and Macedonian Kalendars was familiar—that LOUS corresponded, at Alexander's birth, to Hecatombæon; and at the date of Philip's letter, to Boedromion; the simple adjustment of the difficulty is, to infer that LOUS kept a permanent place in the Macedonian year—whether as the *first*, or any other month in the numerical series up to the *eleventh*, is immaterial—while, by a different construction of the Athenian ephemeris, HECATOMBÆON and BOEDROMION, and of course the month between them, alternately succeeded to the first place.

3. Notwithstanding the paucity of ancient materials, much more might be done, than has yet been attained, towards constructing an Exposition of the principles in which the Macedonian and Attic Kalendars in some respects agreed,

and in many others differed, now running parallel, and now diverging,—if more credit were given to the Greek authors, for knowing how to reduce the dates, though they might happen to live three or four centuries afterwards; instead of too lightly impeaching the competence of Plutarch or Arrian to this then easy reduction, because they give a date, occasionally, which does not fall into a convenient place for carrying some modern system of chronology smoothly on through every stage. The safest course to more extended conclusions, is to take a specified correspondence in reduced dates, as *relating only to the current time*—until a sufficient number of examples are collected, to determine how far the styles of the compared Kalendars proceed on common principles, or the reverse.

4. All that has been stated tends to show how perfectly illusory those chronological tables are which represent the Attic months as permanently corresponding with any specific months of the Julian, or, indeed, of any other Kalendar; for even the nations, who reckon by lunar years, have different modes of introducing the embolisms.

5. To those persons who reject the Translator's hypothesis, in order to adopt some other, the dates of the Initial Newmoons for the current years of Alexander's life, will still be useful. The equations have been carefully calculated, on the following basis: Of the moon's synodic revolution, the mean time equals 29 days, 12 hours, and $\frac{11}{15}$ parts of an hour. TO ALLOW FOR THE 12 HOURS, the alternate months are 30 and 29 days. It is usual to reckon Hecatombæon uniformly a full month, and Metageitnion a hollow month, and so on through the twelve months of the primary series in p. 579; by which means the half-day in the embolismic months is totally neglected, or left to chance. To avoid this source of accumulating error, the Four Octaëterides are treated as a series of 396 lunar months; and 30 and 29 days are assigned to each alternately, whatever be the name of the month. TO ALLOW FOR THE $\frac{11}{15}$ PARTS OF AN HOUR, one day is

added to every thirty-sixth month, whatever number of days are attributed to it in ordinary years, making 31 or 30 days as may happen: thus, ten out of fifteen parts of the fraction are disposed of. To meet the minute fraction remaining, the three-hundred-and-sixtieth lunation is reckoned to extend to 32 days, if it fall upon a *full* month, augmented with the more frequent embolism. The Ancients appear to have made it fall so. As it must occur once in thirty lunar years, the Translator has preferred introducing it once, near the middle of the current term of 33 pure lunar years, rather than twice at the extremities.

The well-established date of the Eclipse is the cardinal point—and test—of the other dates. The first Julian date in the series anticipates that assigned by Barthelemy by one day, and Dodwell's by five days. The last date comes out precisely in agreement with Dodwell's computation; which may be ascribed to its being nearer the epoch of the Eclipse, so that minute causes of error had not time to operate.

THE MACEDONIAN KALENDAR.

The Ancient classics tell us very little about the Macedonian Kalendar; from which the Translator infers, that it was more simple in its construction than the Athenian. Volumes have been written on the disputed point, Whether in the time of Philip and Alexander, the Macedonian year was lunar or solar? Corsini thinks, that in the time of Philip, the Macedonian as well as the Athenian months were lunar.—*Fast. Attic.* vol. ii. p. 462. In accordance with this, the Translator infers, from the way in which Plutarch mentions the corresponding months at the date of Alexander's birth, that both were then lunar: "the sixth of *Hecatombæon*, which the "Macedonians call *LOUS*." If *Lous* had been one of the months of a solar year, it would have been necessary to have given the date of the corresponding day, as the two kinds of months do not coincide either in their commencement or

duration. The very same inference flows from the terms of Philip's *Letter*, (cited in Demosthenes' Oration for the Crown,) already alluded to in establishing another point, the consistence of the two passages. "Do you, therefore, meet me in arms at Phocis, with provisions for forty days, within this present month, called by us LOUS; by the Athenians, *Boedromion*; and by the Corinthians, *Panemus*." This special notification of the corresponding names shows, that there was great fluctuation in this respect; while the omission of the day when Lous would expire implies, that the current months of both people would end together.

With regard to the year in which this letter was written: it had been easily determined, if "Mnesiphilus," the name of the Archon in the citation of it by Demosthenes, had been found in the series of Principal Archons, collected from Athenian monuments. From its not being so found, Corsini deems the passage to be corrupted: but Mnesiphilus might have been an inferior archon, whose office was to attest state papers. Usher and Dodwell suppose Philip's *Letter* to have been written in Olymp. CVIII. 1.; eight years after Alexander's birth. De Sainte-Croix dates it ten years after. Corsini places it in Olymp. CX. 3. According to the Translator's calculation above, Boedromion comes out in Olymp. CIX. 2, as the first month of that Athenian year.—See, below, *Test*, No. 2.

What has been stated seems to prove, that up to this period the Macedonian year was LUNAR. Dodwell considers the same usage to have continued long beyond the term of Alexander's reign; and that the Macedonians did not begin to reckon by solar months and years until Olymp. CXXXV. 3.

In the sixth year of Alexander's reign, the Cycle of Menon, which consisted of nineteen lunar years, was superseded by the Period of Calippus, commencing at the summer solstice. This extended to seventy-six lunar years.—*Examen Critique*, p. 602. Both these styles provided rules for adjusting the dates of festivals, and points which belonged to

the rural almanack, on principles of which the exposition has not come down to modern times : but neither system could affect the commencement and duration of the months, which depended on the phases of the moon. Up to the end of Alexander's reign—there can, therefore, be little hazard of error in treating both years as lunar.

It remains to construct some arrangement of the Macedonian months, which will consist at once—with the point established, that *LOUS answered, at the different stages of a revolving period, alternately to HECATOMBÆON, METAGEITNION and BOEDROMION*; and with other gleams of light from ancient monuments. The first result can only be produced, by assuming, that the primary month of the Macedonian year was *permanently* fixed to the first New-moon after some solar period; and that the *EMBOLIMIC MONTH*, required to bring up the civil year to the solar standard, was supplied as soon as the deficiency occurred,—that is to say, whenever thirteen new-moons fell in the civil year, the *NAME* of one of the common months was *REPEATED*. This simple arrangement, so different from the complex machinery of the Attic Kalendar, would equally accord with astronomical exactitude; and the solar-approximating embolism would correspond with that of Nature's Cycle.

TABLE II. *exhibiting the Translator's Hypothesis of the MACEDONIAN Lunar Year in the Age of Alexander.*

Dius	Artemisius
Apellæus	Dæsius
Audynæus	Panemus
Peritius	Loûs
Dystrus	Gorpiæus
Xanthicus	Hyperberetæus.

In beginning the year with *DIUS*, and ending it with *HYPERBERETÆUS*, the Translator adopts the opinion of Corsini, as expressed in the following passage. “ While the “ cycle of Meton was adhered to, and during the period of “ Calippus, the Macedonian year ought to be reckoned to

“begin from the *autumnal equinox*, and *Dius* to be regarded as the first month,” [both these points are adopted as bases] “corresponding with the Attic Mæmacterion, and the Roman October;” [sometimes it did, and sometimes it did not so correspond; the greater anomalies of that lunar, and the regularity of this solar Kalendar, equally oppose a uniform coincidence:] “and in conformity with this, *Hyperberetæus* was the last month.”—CORSIMI, *Fast. Attic*, vol. ii. p. 462.

The Translator finds no mention of the EMBOLIMIC MONTH, though there must have been one.

To supply this indispensable approximation to the solar standard, he doubles every THIRTY-SECOND month, on whatever NAME in the series this revolving intercalation may fall—*Dæsius* alone excepted; for as that month lay under the imputation of being unlucky, we cannot suppose that it was ever repeated. Another exception, is: when the duplication of the thirty-second month does not fall within one of those lunar years which have thirteen new-moons. The Translator, in producing the months of fifteen successive years, found only one instance for applying this exception; and then he doubled the thirty-third month. Granting this to be the probable way in which the embolismic month was supplied in the Macedonian year, it will account for the absence of any particular name for it.

TESTS OF TABLE II.

These will be applied only to such Epochs in the Reigns of Philip and Alexander, as have the months expressed, by the ancient historians, according to the nomenclature of both Kalendars; and those are very few.

No. 1.

Birth of Alexander.

<i>Olymp.</i> CV. 4.	<i>Dius</i> (begins).....	<i>Posideon</i> I.....	A. C. 357.	<i>Oct.</i> 24.
	<i>Apellæus</i>	<i>Posideon</i> II.....		<i>Nov.</i> 22.
	<i>Audynæus</i>	<i>Gamelion</i>		<i>Dec.</i> 22.
	<i>Peritius</i>	<i>Anthesterion</i> ..	A. C. 356.	<i>Jan.</i> 20.

	Dystrus	Elaphebolion.....	Feb. 19.
	Xanthicus	Elaphius	Mar. 19.
	Artemisius	Munychion	April 18.
	Dæsius	Thargelion.....	May 17.
	Panemus.....	Scirophorion.....	June 16.
CVL. 1.	Lous	Hecatombæon	July 16.
	<i>Alex. born</i> 6.....	6.....	21.
	Gorpiæus	Metageitnion.....	Aug. 15.
	Hyperberetæus	Boedromion	Sept. 13.

Note. The months are carried back into the 105th Olympiad, to show the beginning of the MACEDONIAN year.

The next step in the analysis is to exemplify how LOUS, which we have seen answer to *Hecatombæon*, may come, in another year to synchronize with *Boedromion*.

No. 2.

Date of Philip's Letter.

<i>Olymp.</i> CIX. 1.	Dius.....	Pyanepsion ..	A. C. 344.	Sept 30.
	Apellæus	Posideon		Oct. 29.
	Audynæus	Gamelion		Nov. 28.
	Peritius I.	Anthesterion ..	A. C. 343.	Dec. 27.
	Peritius II.....	Elaphebolion ..		Jan. 26.
	Dystrus	Munychion		Feb. 24.
	Xanthicus	Thargelion		Mar 26.
	Artemisius	Scirophorion ..		April 24.
	Dæsius.....	Hecatombæon ..		May 24.
	Panemus	Metageitnion ..		June 22.
CIX. 2.	Lous	Boedromion		July 22.
	Gorpiæus.....	Mæmacterion ..		Aug. 20.
	Hyperberetæus	Pyanepsion		Sept. 19.

The Translator can find only one more expression of the double dates, in the course of Alexander's history.

No. 3.

Battle of the Granicus.

<i>Olymp.</i> CXI. 2.	Dius.....	Posideon I....	A. C. 335.	Oct. 21.
	Apellæus.....	Posideon II.....		Nov. 20.
	Audynæus	Gamelion		Dec. 19.
	Peritius	Anthesterion ..	A. C. 334.	Jan. 18.
	Dystrus	Elaphebolion ..		Feb. 16.
	Xanthicus	Munychion		Mar. 18.
	Artemisius	Thargelion		April 16.

	Artem. II. (DÆSIUS) Scirôphorion.....	May 16.
	Panemus.....Hecatombæon	June 14.
CXI. 3.	Lous	Metageitnion
	Gorpiæus	Boedromion
	Hyperberetæus	Mæmacterion
		Sept. 11.

It would have been more satisfactory to the Translator, if in thus producing the months according to his hypothesis, he had found Plutarch's two expressions of the same date, occurring in separate parts of his work, to confirm each other. Describing the circumstances which preceded the battle of the Granicus, he says: "Some of Alexander's officers thought that a proper regard should be paid to a traditionary usage with respect to the time. For the kings of Macedon used never to march out to war in the month *Dæsius*. Alexander cured them of this piece of superstition, by ordering that month to be called *Artemisius the Second*."—PLUT. *Vit. Alex.*—In another passage he observes: "The month *Thargelion* was also remarkably unfortunate to the Barbarians; for in that month Alexander defeated the king of Persia's generals near the Granicus."—PLUT. *Vit. Camill.*—Here is no appearance of Plutarch's having reduced the dates; for then they would have occurred together; but rather of his having taken them, separately as we find them, each from some primary author. And perhaps the primary author who thus named *Thargelion* did not advert to the Attic Kalendar; but spoke according to the order of months and style of some other Grecian state.

M. de Sainte-Croix thinks, that the substitution of *Artemisius the Second* was not a permanent arrangement.—*Examen Crit.* p. 614.—The Translator can see no motive to it, but the temporary one of removing a superstitious impression in the army. Had there been thirteen New-moons in this year, the device of repeating *Artemisius* would have been less clumsy, as not causing even a transient dislocation.

The different principles on which the two Kalendars were constructed,—are adequate to account for the anomalous appearances which result, when the Macedonian and Attic

months of different years are compared. There is no occasion then to have recourse to the supposition, that the Macedonian Kalendar was new-modelled, as often as a month which is known to answer, at one specified date, to this Athenian month, appears from the historical notice of another period, to answer to another. The hypothesis of Petavius, adopted by Usher, of *ancient lunar* months, and *new solar* months—the latter falling two months earlier than the former—gratuitous in its origin, is not necessary to account for fluctuations of no greater latitude. Nor is the *Philippean Style* which Philip—after instituting—did not live to see commence; nor the *Autumnal Style*, which Alexander—under the same circumstances—left as a legacy to his Syro-Macedonians; to be interpreted, as Scaliger views them, as so many capricious modifications of the Macedonian year, now abolishing, and now restoring the old practice of commencing it at the Autumnal Equinox. Corsini regards the new *Philippean Era*, as nothing more than a public ordinance of Philip,—when his conquests had added several countries in Europe and Asia to the Macedonian dominions—directing that his subjects in the new states should uniformly use the Macedonian Kalendar.

YEAR IN WHICH ALEXANDER DIED.

It is not easy to adjust the year in which Alexander died. The obscurity of the primary notices—and the plain repugnance in some retrospective accounts, compiled three, four, or five centuries afterwards—have induced some eminent chronologists to date his death in the year A. C. 324; and others equally eminent, to place this era in 323. The Translator will, therefore, exhibit both dates as competing alternatives; and subjoin the authorities for each.

First Alternative.

Olymp. CXIII. 4. Dæsius 28.....Thargelion 28.....A. C. 324. *June 20.*

Second Alternative.

Olymp. CXIV. 1. Dæsius 28.....Thargelion 28.....A. C. 323. *June 10.*

Touching the MONTH: the date which has come out is sufficiently in unison with the expressions of Curtius, (lib. X.

cap. x.) and Plutarch, (*Vit. Alex.*) pointing to the season of summer, and a sultry climate. It is also near enough the time of the Olympic games—*forty-five days prior*—to derive some support from a relation which had much currency in the table-talk of antiquity, that Diogenes died on the same day, while on a journey to be a spectator at the approaching games.—PLUT. *Sympos.* lib. VIII. c. 1.—SATYRUS *apud* S. HIERONYM. *adv. Jovian.* lib. II. No light can be drawn from a notice in ÆLIAN, (*Var. Hist.* lib. II. cap. 25,) where it is said, that Alexander was *born*—and died—on the *sixth* Thargelion. The first point is irreconcilable with Plutarch: and the last with Eumenes—unless we suppose Ælian to have taken this from some Greek writer, who intended some other Kalendar than the Attic. Several of the Greek states retained one or more months of the same name, long after the gradual aberrations of peculiar Kalendars had caused them to fall more or less at diverging stages in the year.

As to the YEAR: the question, *Whether the Dæsius in which Alexander died, should be assigned to Olymp. CXIII. 4., or CXIV. 1.?* would be easily answered, or, rather, would never have occurred, had there not been unfortunately a chasm both in the histories of Curtius and Arrian, which falls between Alexander's return from India, and his death; rendering the extant narrative an uncertain criterion, whether the course of events would fill up the time, if extended to June A. C. 323.

I. *Ancient Authorities for the Earlier Date.*

So Alexander reigned twelve years, and then died.—MACCABEES, book I. chap. i.—ERATOSTHENES *apud* CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* lib. I.

A passage in another author to be cited, implies, that either Demetrius, or Diogenes Laertius, believed that both Alexander, and Diogenes the Cynic, died at the end of the 113th Olympiad.—DEMETRIUS MAONES. *apud* DIOGEN. LAERT. lib. VI. cap. ii. § 2.

Alexander died at Babylon, in the XXXII. year of his age.—EUSEB. *Chron.*

II. *Ancient Authorities for the Later Date.*

All agree that Alexander died in the 114th Olympiad.—JOSEPH. *contra Apion*, lib. I. § 22.

He reigned twelve years and seven months.—**DIOD. SIC.** lib. XVII. § 117.—**CASTOR.** *apud EUSEB.* p. 33.

The term of his life was thirty-two years and eight months; and of his reign twelve years and eight months.—**ARISTOT.** *apud ARRIAN.* lib. VII. cap. 48.

He reigned thirteen years.—**CORNEL. NEP.** in *Eumen.*—**TIT. LIV.** lib. XLV. c. 9.

He reigned seven years OVER ASIA.—**GEORGIUS SYNCHELLUS,** p. 260.—**ABULFEDA,** *Annal.* vol. I. p. 7.

Did not Alexander die in his thirty-third year?—**CICERO,** *ut supra.*

At his death, his age was thirty-three years and one month.—**JUSTIN.**

The term of Alexander's life, brought out by the Translator's calculation, if we stop at the earlier date of Olymp. **CXIII. 4. DÆSIUS 28. = A. C. 324, June 20,** is thirty-two years, wanting one month; and if we proceed to Olymp. **CXIV. 1. DÆSIUS 28. = A. C. 323, June 10,** the sum will be thirty-two years, ten months, and twenty days.

The Translator proposes the extreme alternatives in this way: because he believes, that the middle course, by which we carry Dæsius into the *beginning* of the 11th Olympiad—to **Aug. or Sept. A. C. 324**—cannot be sustained. *Dæsius*, he reckons, must fall just before the end of the Olympic year.

The scale may be turned by throwing in the relative date of the accession of Philip Aridæus. The Chronological Canon attributed to Ptolemy, marks this accession on the 1st Thoth, first month of the Egyptian year, 425th from the era of Nabonassar. Dodwell reduces this Egyptian date to 12th Nov. A. C. 324.—But this is inconsistent with the date of Alexander's death, unless there had been an interregnum of five months; and history indicates the reverse. Hales accounts for this neglect of precision, by shewing that it is systematic. "The principles upon which this truly scientific Canon was constructed, are thus to be explained:
" **RULE 2.** *Each king's reign begins at the Thoth, or New-year's day, before his accession; and all the odd months of his last year are included in the first year of his successor.*"
This brief and comprehensive writer cites **DODWELL**, for the



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