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OF

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—MACEDONIA AND THE MONARCHY.

PAGE

Historians of Alexander — Prophetic reference to his career—Boundaries of Macedonia—Its capital—Principal cities—The population—The royal family—Philip, the father of Alexander—The phalanx 5

CHAPTER II.

EARLY LIFE OF ALEXANDER.

(B.C. 356—336.)

Fabulous lineage of Alexander—His birth—Early training—Leonidas, his governor—Influence of the Homeric poems — Bucephalus — Aristotle — Instruction of the philosopher—Proceedings of Philip—Alexander's first battle—Projected invasion of Persia—Assassination of Philip 17

CHAPTER III.

ALEXANDER, KING OF MACEDON.

(B.C. 336—334.)

Accession to the throne—Conduct of Demosthenes—Measures of Alexander—Appointed captain-general of the Greeks—Interview with Diogenes—Campaign on the Danube—Capture of Thebes—Fate of the city—Contemplated invasion of Persia—State of the Persian empire . 34

CHAPTER IV.

ALEXANDER IN THE LESSER ASIA.

(B.C. 334—333.)

Passage of the Hellespont—The Troad—Battle of the Granicus—March to Sardis—Ephesus—Temple of Diana—Miletus — Halicarnassus—Winter quarters—Phaselis—Passage of Mount Climax—Gordium—Second campaign—Alexander at Tarsus—His illness—The Cydnus—Movements of Darius—The Amanian Gates—Battle of Issus. 51

CHAPTER V.

ALEXANDER IN PHŒNICIA, PALESTINE, AND EGYPT.

(B.C. 333—331.)

PAGE

State of Phœnicia—General submission of the cities—Resistance of Tyre—Its siege and capture—Singular relation by Josephus—Siege of Gaza—Alexander in Egypt—Foundation of Alexandria—Journey to the temple of Jupiter Ammon—Route described—Adventure by the way—The oasis of Siwah—Temple of Ammon—Fountain of the Sun 74

CHAPTER VI.

ALEXANDER IN MESOPOTAMIA, PERSIA, AND THE EASTERN PROVINCES.

(B.C. 331—326.)

Passage of the Euphrates and Tigris—Eclipse of the moon—Battle of Arbela—Occupation of the Persian capitals—Persepolis—Pursuit and death of Darius—Murder of Parmenio—Passage of the Hindoo Koosh—Campaigns on the Oxus and Jaxartes—Death of Cleitus—Capture of the Sogdian rock—Hunting grounds of Bokhara—Changed character of the army 108

CHAPTER VII.

ALEXANDER IN INDIA, AND HIS RETURN TO PERSIA.

(B.C. 326—324.)

Motives to the campaign—Ignorance of India—Passage of the Indus—The Punjab—Seasonal rains—Crossing of the Hydaspes—Encounter with Porus—Discontent of the troops—Return of the expedition—Descent of the Hydaspes—Adventures among the Malli—Descent of the Indus—Examination of the Delta—The Ichthyophagi—Sufferings of the army—Voyage of Nearchus—Alexander at Susa—His policy 139

CHAPTER VIII.

LAST DAYS OF ALEXANDER.

(B.C. 323.)

Alexander at Babylon—His improvements and projects—His sudden death—Official diary of his illness—Scene of his decease—Interview with the soldiers—Burial at Alexandria—Personal appearance of Alexander—His abilities, energy, and campaigns—His claims to the title of Great—His moral character—Guilt of his conquests—Designs of Providence—Successors of Alexander—Fulfilment of prophecy—Mission of the apostle Paul 171

THE LIFE

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—MACEDONIA AND THE MONARCHY.

Historians of Alexander—Prophetic reference to his career—Boundaries of Macedonia—Its capital—Principal cities—The population—The royal family—Philip, the father of Alexander—The phalanx.

HAVING traced the career of Cyrus,* the founder of the Medo-Persian empire, as far as it is known with any degree of certainty, the actions of Alexander, by whom that monarchy was subverted, may be now appropriately narrated. Both sovereigns range in the front rank of mighty potentates, and are expressly referred to as specially raised up to work out the high decrees of the Almighty. Both, under the influence of an absorbing passion for personal renown, devoted themselves to the work of conquest; exhibited wonderful energy in the prosecution of their object; and succeeded, with apparently disproportionate means, in hurling down colossal powers, substituting new dynasties, and completely changing the political

* See Life of Cyrus in Monthly Series.

condition of a large portion of the human race. Their respective eras are hence important epochs in the history of the world. Their names occur on its page in connexion with events of tragic and lasting interest. But the Macedonian being nearer to our times by two centuries than the Persian; flourishing also after the dawn of authentic secular annals; and belonging to a race renowned for the cultivation of letters, we have far ampler information respecting his movements, and can track his steps, appreciate his exploits, and form a judgment of his character, with greater exactness.

Still, many parts of the life of Alexander are not devoid of obscurity and doubt. His extraordinary campaigns carried him beyond the banks of the Oxus into the heart of Asia, a region geographically unknown to those of the ancients who told his story, and with which, even at the present day, the civilized world has gained no familiar acquaintance. All contemporaneous records have also perished. We depend, therefore, for materials upon writers of a later date, who compiled from documents existing in their time, and whose accounts, though agreeing as to the main events, are frequently discordant in matters of detail. Alexander is reported to have envied Achilles in one particular only, that of having had Homer to celebrate his achievements; and Arrian complains, that while the expedition of the younger Cyrus, and the retreat of the Ten Thousand, had received an honourable memorial from the pen

of Xenophon, the more marvellous career of the Macedonian conqueror had been comparatively neglected. But there was little reason for either envy or complaint. The age in which he lived cannot be justly charged with literary indifference to his actions; on the contrary, they seem to have been recorded by numerous writers, who erred on the side of rhetorical exaggeration. It is certain, that two of his companions in arms, who shared the perils of almost every campaign—Aristobulus and Ptolemy—survived their leader to become the historians of his wars. The latter especially, better known as Ptolemy Soter, king of Egypt, was adequately qualified for the task by a taste for letters, evinced in originating the celebrated literary institutions of Alexandria, and by his post in the Macedonian army, as one of the generals who had charge of the royal person, and who advised in matters of state. From the lost works of the two commanders, and other compositions which have not been preserved to modern times, our extant authorities, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Quintus Curtius, and Arrian, derived the information they have handed down respecting the life and campaigns of Alexander. Arrian of Nicomedia, a soldier, statesman, and philosopher, who flourished in the second century of the Christian era, and governed Cappadocia under the emperor Hadrian, has supplied the most ample and authentic narrative.

While Cyrus was named and addressed in

the prophetic writings upwards of a century before his appearance upon the stage of time, a less definite, but still striking allusion to Alexander, which preceded his birth by a longer interval, occurs in the inspired record. On the banks of the Ulai, the river of Susa, a great revolution in Western Asia was symbolized to Daniel by the visionary display of a struggle of animals. The qualities involved in most military enterprises are thus fitly illustrated by a reference to unintelligent brute force. Events, also, which are invested by the secular annalist with the pomp of circumstance, narrated in paragraphs of glowing words and inspiring metaphors, are often more truly represented by figures derived from commonplace or degrading exhibitions. Hence the vulgar strife of two of the inferior animals, a ram attacked and vanquished by a goat, was employed to picture to the mind of the prophet the overthrow of a vast Asiatic power by the prowess of the renowned Macedonian phalanx At the time the vision was revealed, the explanation of it was explicitly given: "The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia. And the rough goat is the king of Grecia: and the great horn that is between his eyes is the first king."* In allusion to this personification of the king of Grecia, universally admitted to be Alexander, it has been remarked as a singularly striking coincidence, that when he claimed to be

* Dan. viii. 20, 21.

descended from Jupiter Ammon—who, when represented in the human figure, had horns upon his head—he assumed the symbols indicative of his ancestry, and caused his head to be represented as horned. It thus appears on a medal now in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford. The symbol of the Grecian king is further described as coming from the "west," appearing on "the face of the whole earth," "touching not the ground," and completely triumphing over an opposing force—particulars which are verified in Alexander's march from the Hellespont to the countries beyond the Indus, in the extent of his conquests, the rapidity of his movements, and the overthrow of the Persian monarchy. We shall have occasion, in the course of these pages and of the sequel, to notice other illustrations of the "sure word of prophecy," which commend the record in which it occurs to our attention, as true in its statements, and Divine in its origin.

Being a Macedonian by birth, a brief sketch of Macedonia, its people, history, and form of government, will appropriately introduce his career.

Macedonia Proper, the native country and paternal kingdom of Alexander, comprised a portion of the present Turkey in Europe, stretching inland from the north-western shore of the Ægean sea, or Grecian Archipelago. The coast was long almost wholly occupied by independent Greek colonies, which were ultimately incorporated in the Macedonian monarchy.

The prominent feature is a peninsula, the Chalcidice of ancient geography, washed on the eastern side by the Sinus Strymonicus, now the gulf of Contessa; and on the western by the Sinus Thermaicus, now the gulf of Saloniki. The peninsula, at its south-easterly prolongation, forms three smaller ones, which terminate with three headlands. The most remarkable was anciently styled the Nymphæum promontory, now Mount Athos, through which, or rather through a narrow tongue of land connecting it with the continent, Xerxes cut a passage for his fleet, to avoid the doubling of a dangerous cape. Inland, the territory had also well-defined natural limits. On the east, the Strymon river formed the ordinary boundary from Thrace, a district extending from the stream to the Thracian Bosphorus, the present strait of Constantinople. On the north, the heights of Mount Hæmus, the Balkan of modern times, a range presenting few practicable defiles, were the frontier from the valley of the lower Ister, or Danube. On the west, a mountain chain, bearing in the southern part of its course the well-known name of Pindus, was the border from Illyria and Epirus. On the south, Olympus and the Cambunian mountains formed the line of separation from Thessaly, renowned for its breed of horses, its vale of Tempe, and lovely landscapes; the other genuine Greek states lying still more southerly.

These limits included a considerable area compared with that possessed singly by the

proud commonwealths of the south. The country had also a better soil, and more important streams contributed to its fertility. But no cities existed comparable to those of the democratic states, whose remains excite the admiration of the modern world. In consequence of imperfect civilization, the population was in general dispersed in agricultural villages over the estates of great landholders, in the same manner as society was constituted in western Europe during the feudal ages. Pella, the royal residence and capital, an insignificant town till the time of Philip, by whom it was enlarged and beautified, was situated on the banks of the lake out of which the ancient Lydias flows to the sea, a few traces of it being yet extant, called Palatiza, or the Little Palace. Thirty miles south-west, at the foot of Mount Bermias, was Beræa, a city whose inhabitants, in a subsequent age, received the eulogium of St. Luke, (Acts xvii. 11,) for their docility and ingenuous disposition. The maritime towns were more important, but were almost all occupied till a late date by independent Greeks, subject to Athens, or in alliance with it. At the head of the Sinus Thermaicus was Therme, which gave its name to the gulf, a large and prosperous place, afterwards called Thessalonica, well known from the preaching and Epistles of the apostle Paul, existing at the present day under the name of Saloniki ; on its east coast was Potidæa, and at a short distance Olynthus, both celebrated in the wars of Philip and the

orations of Demosthenes ; on the west coast was Methone, the scene of Philip's first victory over the Athenians, and Pydna, memorable as the place where the Macedonian monarchy was finally overthrown by the Romans. On the shore of the Strymonic gulf stood Stagira, the birthplace of Aristotle, who hence obtained the name of the Stagirite, near to which was the tomb of Euripides.

The population consisted of the descendants of various aboriginal tribes, among whom were the Macedni, first seated at the foot of Mount Pindus, from whom the name Macedonia is taken ; of Greek colonists, who gradually mastered the country, the first immigrants coming from Argos ; and perhaps far more largely of a mixed race, the fruit of frequent intermarriages among the conquerors and the conquered. Hence, till humbled by their prowess, the pure Greeks disdained the Macedonians, as having an admixture of what they proudly termed barbarian blood. Alexander I., who flourished more than a century earlier than his celebrated namesake, was not allowed to compete at the Olympian Games, until he had proved his Argive descent, and consequent purity of blood. Demosthenes, also, always pointedly discriminated between the Macedonian Philip and the Greeks, especially the Athenians, who claimed their descent from the highest antiquity, and wore gilded grasshoppers in their hair, to mark their pure extraction. But such a distinction came with a very ill grace from the orator,

whose maternal grandmother was a Thracian woman, and who was repeatedly taunted by his enemies with being a barbarian.

The royal family of Macedon was descended from the race of Temenus of Argos. The founder of the monarchy, Perdiccas, fixed his seat at Ægæ, or Edessa, a place on the river Lydias, to the neighbourhood of which his rule, and that of his successors, was for some time confined. The early history of the kingdom is obscure, nor did it acquire any degree of importance till Archelaus, the ninth king, ascended the throne, B.C. 413. He greatly improved the condition of the country, built towns, constructed roads, erected forts, disciplined an army, and promoted a knowledge of Greek learning among his subjects. Thucydides has commemorated his civilizing efforts; Socrates is said to have been invited to settle at his court; and during the latter part of his life it was the favourite residence of Euripides. A disastrous era followed this reign, chiefly owing to the succession to the throne not being governed by the strict principle of hereditary right, though confined to the same family. Hence came rival claimants, disputed successions and civil wars, throwing the kingdom into confusion, till Philip, the father of Alexander, established his authority over it, commencing his reign B.C. 359. He was an eminently gifted individual. To a commanding presence, he united polished manners and a ready elocution, which his bitterest enemies were

compelled to admire, while he combined great energy with cool forethought. Though subject to strong passions, and unhappily addicted to sensual pleasures, his love of self-indulgence was instantly sacrificed when objects of state policy were to be pursued. At Thebes he had been educated, studying military tactics, the language and politics of Greece, and the character of its people. Such a man was obviously fitted to cope with difficulties, to gain influence, and extend it. Accordingly, having seated himself upon the throne, and organized the army on the plan of the phalanx, Philip cautiously prosecuted a career of conquest, and succeeded in finally extending the Macedonian power far beyond the bounds of Macedonia Proper. The tribes of the Danube, Thrace and Illyria, Thessaly and all Greece, either acknowledged his authority, or silently acquiesced in his predominance.

The phalanx originally denominated a large and well-appointed body of troops in the Grecian armies. But Philip seems to have constituted a corps of definite strength under this title, subject to an improved system of tactics and discipline, and armed in a more formidable manner. Hence the phalanx became peculiarly associated with Macedonia, and with his own name as its inventor, though he only introduced it into his kingdom, and originated a more perfect organization of it. It consisted in his time of sixteen ranks of three hundred and seventy-five men each, amounting to six

thousand heavy-armed infantry. But different numbers were adopted in the division at different periods. We read of the quadruple phalanx, a mass of eighteen thousand men, which gives four thousand five hundred men for the single phalanx ; but Alexander distributed the former body into six brigades of three thousand each. The corps was generally arranged in the shape of an oblong rectangle ; but as occasion required, it could be thrown into the form of a hollow or solid square, a rhombus or lozenge, a triangle, or the arc of a circle. The defensive armour of the phalangite soldier consisted of a helmet, a breastplate of quilted linen, and the *aspis*, or long shield, which covered nearly the whole front of the person. His offensive weapons were the sword, and the celebrated *sarissa*, or spear, from eighteen to twenty-four feet long. When couched, the spear of a front rank man projected from fourteen to twenty feet in advance of him ; that of a second rank man projected from eleven to seventeen feet in advance of the first line ; and so on to the sixth rank. The front soldier had consequently the points of five spears, besides his own, in advance of him on each side. The hinder ranks, too, pressing against the foremost, increased their impetus in charging the enemy, or resisting an attack. Thus, in the wars of Alexander, whenever the loosely arrayed chivalry of Persia came to close action, it was scattered as dust before the wind by the dense order of the phalanx. Heavy-armed cavalry formed the

wings of the Macedonian army, and operated with the main body. Light troops occupied the rear, or the intervals between the phalanges, being used chiefly for skirmishing and pursuit; while squadrons of cavalry and infantry constituted a royal body-guard, to which the peculiar epithet of comrades or companions was applied. The sons of the best families in the kingdom composed the horsemen of the guard.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY LIFE OF ALEXANDER.

(B.C. 356—336.)

Fabulous lineage of Alexander—His birth—Early training—Leonidas, his governor—Influence of the Homeric poems—Bucephalus—Aristotle—Instruction of the philosopher—Proceedings of Philip—Alexander's first battle—Projected invasion of Persia—Assassination of Philip.

ALEXANDER III., commonly styled the Great, was the son of Philip II., king of Macedon, who claimed descent from Hercules ; and of Olympias his wife, a daughter of the royal house of Epirus, whose presumed lineage connected her with Achilles. This fabled genealogy associated him by both lines with Jupiter, the head of the Grecian mythology. An origin so illustrious in the esteem of a pagan populace was a carefully cherished sentiment. The flattery of courtiers strengthened it in the mind of the prince when he rose to power ; and the policy of the conqueror contributed to give currency to the legend, as auxiliary to conquest. But it exerted an influence upon his character as pernicious as it was decided. It produced that exaggerated idea of personal importance, which led him often to treat lightly the opinions, in-

terests, and rights of others; it rendered him arbitrary in disposition, self-willed to rashness, and intensely selfish. It generated, too, unbounded ambition as its natural fruit.

In the third year of his reign, Philip, on the same day that he took the city of Potidæa, received intelligence of three gratifying events —the defeat of the Illyrians by his general Parmenio, the success of his horses at the Olympic Games, and the birth of his son Alexander. The latter was born at Pella, B.C. 356. Hence Juvenal styles him the "Pellæan youth;" while, the city being in the district of Emathia, Milton has celebrated him as the "great Emathian conqueror," the most distinguished province of Macedonia being often put for the whole country. At that era, Greece was in the zenith of her literary glory, but had passed that of her political power. It was the age of Plato and Aristotle, of Æschines and Demosthenes. Of the philosophers, Plato is supposed to have been on intimate terms with Philip; while the father of Aristotle was a favourite physician at his court, and his celebrated son was soon afterwards in undoubted connexion with it. Of the orators, Æschines was a partisan of the Macedonian monarch at Athens; and Demosthenes, his bitter and unrelenting enemy. In subsequent years, when the conquests of Alexander had spread the terror of his arms through the east, the superstitious noticed the striking coincidence, that on the night of his birth the stately temple of Diana at Ephesus had been destroyed

by fire. This was the work of an incendiary, who intended by the deed to immortalize his name; and it seemed as though the general spoliation of Asia had been typified by the conflagration of one of its proudest structures.

The infant prince was committed to the charge of a lady, named Lannicè, as nurse, under the general superintendence of her mother Hellanicè. He became strongly attached to his foster-parent, treated her in after years with the highest consideration, and the members of her family also shared his regard. Her two sons became his confidential friends, and were officers of his army, both of them falling by his side in battle; while her brother Cleitus, who saved his life at the Granicus, received the most flattering honours, and was lamented with unbounded grief, after falling a victim to Alexander's unbridled passions. That great care was bestowed upon the physical education of the boy, may be inferred from the remarkable capacity to endure fatigue exemplified by him in his subsequent career; and also from the fact, that the Greeks in general paid strict attention to the proper training of the body in early life. Habits of luxury and effeminacy were guarded against; while exercise in the open air, light clothing, cold bathing, and temperate diet, were rigidly enforced. This regimen was directly adapted to render the frame robust and agile; and to its adoption may, to a great extent, be ascribed that combination of strength and beauty, mus-

cular energy, and graceful contour, so remarkably developed in the Greek form.

As the child grew up, Leonidas, one of his mother's kinsmen, was appointed his governor. This noble, a man of austere character and frugal habits, imposed a simple mode of life upon his pupil; he was also probably enabled by his relationship to enforce that obedience to it which an alien would have failed to secure. His discipline seems to have been severe even to hardship. Alexander retained a vivid recollection of it when arrived at man's estate, but reflected upon his early training without reproaching its author. On one occasion, when a table crowded with Asiatic luxuries was spread before him, he remarked, that Leonidas had stimulated his appetite differently, by appointing a night's march to give zest to his breakfast, and a scanty breakfast to season his supper. Upon observing him, at a sacrifice, throw into the censer more frankincense than seemed needful, Leonidas thus admonished him, "Wait," said he, "until you are master of the land where spices grow; you may then be liberal with your incense; in the meantime use what you have more sparingly." Alexander remembered the circumstance when victory delivered into his hands the spoil of Asia, its spices and aromatics, a large supply of which he playfully forwarded to Leonidas, with the message, "I have sent you frankincense and myrrh in abundance, so hereafter be more liberal to the gods."

Under this Spartan-like governor, an individual of another stamp, Lysimachus, an Acarnanian, officiated as preceptor to the prince. Although as tutor he did not, perhaps, fail to impart some useful knowledge, he is said to have recommended himself to his charge by the objectionable method of flattering his vanity and inflaming his ambition. He would expatiate upon his presumed descent from Achilles, upon the tale of Troy, and the deeds of the Homeric heroes. Aristotle afterwards fostered in a similar manner the military propensities of the youth. He caused a beautiful copy of the poems of Homer to be accurately transcribed for his use; and the influence of Alexander's early instructors appeared in after life in a passionate attachment to the Iliad and Odyssey, and in that predominating love of conquest which a blind admiration of them was calculated to inspire. They were his constant companions on the march and in the camp. At night they were laid under his pillow with his sword; and when a casket of extraordinary splendour, found among the treasures of Darius, came into his possession, it was set apart to receive the copy of the poems prepared by his philosophic teacher.

Endowed with great native energy of character, provided with the best assistants, and trained with care, it is quite credible that at a comparatively early period the prince was pre-eminent in all the accomplishments of his age, hardy and active in his habits, an adept in

manly and athletic sports, excelling in horsemanship, skilled in music, military exercises, and the use of arms; while that spirit of enterprise and genius for command were developed, which so remarkably distinguished his manhood. When an Athenian embassy, at the head of which was Demosthenes and Æschines, visited the court of Philip at Pella, the father, proud of the boy, then about eleven years old, caused him to play on the lyre, and recite verses, or declaim in dialogue with a youthful companion, for the gratification of his guests. But Philip is said to have embraced him with tears of joy, bidding him seek a kingdom more worthy of him than Macedonia, on the occasion of a celebrated action of his boyhood, the reducing to subjection, by address and courage, an apparently unmanageable Thessalian steed. This was the renowned Bucephalus, one of the large, powerful, and spirited horses for which Thessaly was famed, which afterwards bore Alexander through many of his campaigns, and was his favourite charger on the field of battle. The animal was so prized by his owner, that upon being captured by some Uxian bandits, a war of extirpation was proclaimed against the whole tribe unless they restored him, which was accordingly done. Bucephalus is reported to have died in the Punjab, in the battle with Porus, not of wounds, but old age, heat, and exertion. His master founded a city near the scene of the action, named Bucephala, in honour of the

steed. The site of this place the late sir A. Burnes thought he identified, at a mound, crowned with a village, on the banks of the Jhelum, the ancient Hydaspes.

When thirteen years of age, Alexander was committed to the care of Aristotle, the most celebrated philosopher of antiquity, and seems to have remained in almost constant association with him for about three years. They probably spent most of their time at Stagira, the native place of the peripatetic sage, which Philip had restored at his request, laying out a kind of Lyceum, with shaded walks and stone seats, on ground belonging to a temple of the nymphs, arrangements suited to his locomotive plan of delivering instruction. The Lyceum at Athens, opened as his school after Plato's death, was a house near the temple of Apollo Lycius, whence its name, attached to which was a garden with walks, where he taught his pupils. His lecture in the morning, on the abstruser parts of philosophy, was to a select class, and called the morning walk; that in the evening, called the evening walk, was on a popular topic, addressed to a more promiscuous group. Aristotle's restless genius and vast acquirements must have had a powerful influence upon the ardent and aspiring mind of the prince; but we are quite unable to appreciate it, for want of the requisite data. Yet it is not an unreasonable supposition, that a passion to explore the limits of the world, combined, as a distinct motive, with the love

of conquest, to determine the subsequent career of Alexander. Aristotle, also, perhaps laid the foundations of that intimate acquaintance with the political and geographical state of the territories invaded, the mutual jealousies of oriental satraps, and the limited authority of the nominal sovereign over them, which was afterwards manifested by the conqueror. Thus Aristotle might, in the language of Milton, be the man

> ——————"who bred
> Great Alexander to subdue the world."

But if we may depend upon the genuineness of a letter which has been current from very early times, the philosopher proposed to his royal charge more recondite themes than the investigation of nature, and the politics of nations. The epistle to which we have referred was addressed to him by Alexander, complaining of the publication of one of his treatises, which invaded the monopoly of knowledge enjoyed by his hearers :—

"ALEXANDER TO ARISTOTLE.

"HEALTH.

"You did wrong in publishing those branches of science hitherto not to be acquired except from oral instruction. In what shall I excel others, if the more profound knowledge I gained from you be communicated to all? For my part, I would rather surpass the majority of mankind in the sublimer branches of learning, than in extent of power and dominion.—Farewell!"

This letter illustrates the mingling of commendable and evil qualities in the temperament of the writer. He was ardently desirous of knowledge, yet not so much for its own sake, as for the personal distinction it conferred, avowedly seeking and esteeming it for selfish purposes.

The abilities and kindness of Aristotle won for him the reverence and attachment of his pupil, who was accustomed to say, that he loved him no less than his father; though he had little personal intercourse with him after he had entered upon the duties of public life, and none whatever subsequent to his leaving the shores of Europe. In one respect the scholar rose above his master, his native sagacity triumphing over the prejudices of education. The philosopher held in all its extravagance the opinion current among the Greeks respecting their natural pre-eminence as a race. He regarded, indeed, the distinction between them and the rest of mankind as somewhat comparable to that between man and brute, the master and his chattels. From this proud dogma, the revolting inference was deduced, that the law of nature justified and sanctioned the reduction of barbarians to a state of slavery; and the future lord of millions was accordingly taught to treat the Greeks as his subjects, denying to other nations the rights of men. But Alexander acted in direct opposition to the teaching, either from an intelligent apprehension of its falsity, or a conviction of

its impolicy; and he laboured after conquest, not to degrade the conquered, but to attach them to himself and to better forms of government by a conciliatory course, at the same time endeavouring to elevate their character by introducing an advanced civilization. Whatever benefit he derived from the instructions of the Stagirite, it was certainly, judging from the results, of an intellectual rather than of a moral kind. He did not learn to submit his passions to his judgment, to control appetite, restrain resentment, and direct attention to objects commended by their intrinsic worth. The victor of nearly the whole of the then known globe lived in chains to the evil principles of his nature, and died an early victim to the bondage. We know not what precise religious opinions were instilled into his mind; whether or not the philosopher directed his thoughts above the gods and goddesses of popular superstition to his own dim conceptions of a supreme and universal Deity; but no trace whatever of the sentiment is discoverable in the conduct of his riper years. On the contrary, a polytheism of the most latitudinarian kind was manifested by Alexander, who paid equal respect to the forms of worship established in different countries, however discordant they might be. Hence the humblest of the youth of England, though having no tuition but what is furnished by the Sunday or the week-day ragged school, is in far more favourable circumstances, inasmuch as he has

that Scriptural instruction which reveals the true God and Jesus Christ whom he has sent, and has access to that blessed volume which teaches him his position as a sinner, and proclaims the necessity of that faith in the blood of atonement which, when applied by the Holy Spirit, tranquillizes the conscience, sanctifies the soul, purifies the life, prepares for a happy death, and secures a blessed eternity.

During the education of his son, Philip had been gradually developing those aggressive designs, and making those acquisitions from his neighbours, which provoked the jealousy of Athens, as well as the other states of Greece, and ultimately led to an appeal to arms. They produced also those orations from Demosthenes, called Philippics—a word which has been naturalized in the Latin, and most of the languages of modern Europe, as a concise term to express indignant invectives. The first of these remarkable speeches was delivered while Alexander was a mere child, and for a period of fourteen years the orator and statesman untiringly devoted his eloquence and diplomatic skill to rouse his countrymen to combined resistance, and check the progress of the aspiring monarch. But instead of acting in concert, the republican states were in frequent collision with each other; most of them were torn with violent factions, besides having a party friendly to the Macedonian power. Under these circumstances, Philip's military skill and subtle policy combined with the disunion of

his opponents, to secure his triumph. Having reduced Thessaly almost to the condition of a dependent province, and conquered the tripartite Chalcidian peninsula, he mastered the Phocians, and procured to himself and his successor a cession of their place in the Amphictyonic Council.* This was a most important step, for it involved a formal recognition of his Hellenic character; and the people over whom he ruled being identified with himself, it amounted to an act of naturalization for them, the Macedonians being henceforth entitled to rank as pure Greeks. It was the ultimate object of Philip's ambition to head an attack upon the Persian empire, as general of a great Greek confederacy, for which purpose he sought to acquire an ascendant influence over all Greece, and subjugate the country lying between his territories and the Hellespont, the narrow channel convenient for the passage from Europe into Asia. The project of such a national war was popular in itself, and had often been mooted at Athens; but, aware that the aggrandizement of Philip would be fatal to their own independence, the Athenians were anxious to curb their powerful neighbour, and entered into an alliance with Persia to effect that object.

Alexander having completed his sixteenth year, Philip appointed him regent of the

* This was an assembly of deputies, with jurisdiction over the national religion and social disputes, which met at Delphi in the spring, and at Anthela near Thermopylæ in the autumn.

kingdom, while he went upon an expedition into Thrace, and prosecuted the siege of Byzantium. The public life of Alexander now commenced, but no event of importance occurred till, after an ill-observed nominal peace, war broke out between Macedonia and Athens. Early in the year B.C. 338, Philip marched southward through Thessaly and seized Elatea, a town which commanded the passage from Thermopylæ into the plains of Phocis and Bœotia. On an evening of the month of June, a messenger arrived at Athens with intelligence of this event. The tumult and consternation of the city during the night, we learn from the great orator of the time, who addressed the populace the next day, and carried a decree in favour of an alliance with Thebes against the common enemy. Their united army, with other allies, met the Macedonians under Philip and prince Alexander in the plain of Chæronea. A temple by the side of a small tributary of the river Cephisus long marked the encampment of the confederated Greeks; while a venerable oak, on the banks of the main stream, was believed, some centuries afterwards, to have overshadowed the tent of Alexander. He was now eighteen, and commanded one wing of the army, some experienced generals being stationed at his side. The triumph of the Macedonians was complete in the ensuing engagement. A thousand Athenians fell on the field, and two thousand were taken prisoners. Demosthenes, the leader of the war party, bore arms in the battle, and escaped in

the general flight, throwing away his shield to secure greater speed. Such an action was deemed the most disgraceful proof of cowardice; and under a sense of military dishonour, as well as of political failure, he withdrew for a time from public notice. Greece now lay prostrate at the foot of the conqueror; but after chastising Thebes, it suited his purpose to proceed with generous clemency, especially towards Athens, in order to lead those who could no longer impede his designs against Persia, to co-operate zealously in an invasion. In a congress held at Corinth, attended by deputies from all the states, with the exception of Sparta, it was resolved to attack the colossal but disjointed empire; and the king of Macedonia was appointed generalissimo of the Greek forces, to carry the resolution into effect. But dissensions in his own family, which proved fatal to himself, reserved the enterprise for a higher genius and an abler hand.

Attracted by the beauty of Cleopatra, the niece of one of his generals, Philip, who had before adopted the oriental practice of polygamy, sought her hand, and celebrated his marriage with riotous festivities. His wife, Olympias, a woman of impetuous passions, did not tamely submit to the indignity, and Alexander espoused the cause of his mother. A quarrel arose between the father and the son at the nuptial banquet; and as the king stumbled in his intoxication, the prince tauntingly observed, "See the man who would pass over from Europe to

Asia, upset in crossing from one couch to another." Olympias finally withdrew from the kingdom to Epirus, and Alexander retired into Illyria. Though both returned, it was to cherish resentment under the mask of reconciliation. The wife burned with impatience to be revenged upon her husband and her rival; the son, alarmed by unfounded suspicions of being excluded from the succession, intrigued to maintain his position. Meanwhile, Philip, busy with his projected expedition into Asia, consulted the Delphic oracle on the event of the enterprise, and is said to have received the ambiguous answer, "Crowned is the victim, the altar is ready, the stroke is impending." If the anecdote be true, we must view the oracle as a party to a wide-spread conspiracy against him, considering the event that speedily followed the delivery of the response. While celebrating a festival at Ægæ, the ancient capital of Macedonia, a youth of rank rushed upon the king, and inflicted a mortal wound with a Celtic sword. Pausanias, the assassin, despatched by the royal body-guard, while endeavouring to escape, might have been instigated to the foul crime by personal resentment, but the gravest suspicions rested upon others as being accomplices. There is no sufficient reason to accuse Alexander; and the majority of modern historians acquit him, though Niebuhr inclines to a conviction of his guilt. Olympias was on better grounds suspected, and undoubtedly rejoiced at the event. Persons in the Greek

states, and Persians, were supposed to be implicated, from their anxiety to get rid of a political foe. But the motives of the murderer, and the extent of the plot, were never ascertained. Philip fell late in the autumn of the year B.C. 336. His self-indulgence, if not the cause of his violent death, led to his fate being unlamented, and even regarded with exultation by some of his nearest connexions.

In after years, when the troops of Alexander, on their return from India, mutinied on the banks of the Tigris, he subdued the revolt by an address containing a just tribute to the memory of his father as an able ruler. The speech which Arrian has put into his mouth, is a fine example of rhetoric, and may represent in substance what passed upon the occasion. From a lofty stand, surrounded by his principal officers, he thus spoke to the mutineers: "I have no intention, Macedonians, to dissuade you from returning home; you have my full leave to go your own way; but I wish to remind you of the change in your circumstances, of your obligations to my family, and of the manner in which you now propose to repay them. I begin, as in duty bound, with my father Philip. At his accession, you were poverty-stricken wanderers, mostly clad in skins, herding your scanty flocks on the bare hills, and fighting rudely in their defence against the Illyrians, Triballi, and Thracians. Under him you exchanged your garbs of skin for cloaks of cloth. He led you from the hills

to the plains, taught you to withstand the barbarians on equal ground, and to rely for safety on personal valour, not on mountain fastnesses. He assembled you in cities, and civilized you by useful laws and institutions. He raised you from a state of slavery and dependence, to be the masters of the barbarians by whom you had so long been despoiled and plundered. He added Thrace to your empire, occupied the most advantageous situations on the sea-shore, thus securing the blessings of commerce, and enabling you to convert the produce of the mines to the best advantage. Under him you became the leaders of the Thessalians, of whom previously you entertained a deadly terror. By the humiliation of the Phocians, he opened a broad and easy entrance into Greece, which before could be reached only by one narrow and difficult pass. By the victory at Chæronea, where, young as I was, I shared in the danger, he humbled the Athenians and Thebans, the eternal plotters against the peace of Macedonia, and converted you from being the tributaries of Athens and the vassals of Thebes, to be the lord-protectors of both states. He then entered the Peloponnesus, arranged its affairs, and was declared captain-general of the Greeks against Persia. This appointment was no less honourable to himself in particular, than to the Macedonians in general. These are my father's works—great, if estimated intrinsically—trifling, if compared with the benefits conferred by me."

CHAPTER III.

ALEXANDER, KING OF MACEDON.

(B.C. 336—334.)

Accession to the throne—Conduct of Demosthenes—Measures of Alexander—Appointed captain-general of the Greeks—Interview with Diogenes—Campaign on the Danube—Capture of Thebes—Fate of the city—Contemplated invasion of Persia—State of the Persian empire.

SUDDENLY called to the throne under the most mournful circumstances, Alexander found himself in a difficult and dangerous position. Intelligence of the removal of the formidable Philip was received with the greatest exultation by the anti-Macedonian party in the Grecian states, and instant measures were adopted to profit by an opportunity apparently favourable to their regaining the ascendency. Demosthenes ostentatiously proclaimed his joy. Though his daughter had then lately died, he put off his mourning, in violation of national usage, appeared in public crowned with flowers, wore a robe of white, and exhibited other tokens of festive rejoicing. He was the first in Athens publicly to announce the event, and he pretended to have received information of it from the tutelar genius of the city. From this circumstance, those who take

a severe view of the orator's character, conclude that he was actually privy to the murder, and boldly ventured upon the announcement of it when the time arrived for the accomplishment of the deed. But it seems more probable that tidings of the assassination were instantly forwarded to him by some political ally, on whose messenger he enjoined secrecy, and then resorted to the trick of a supernatural revelation, to impress strongly upon the Athenians the importance of the event, and its friendly aspect towards the assertion of their independence. If this be a correct view of the case, he has been justly punished for the imposture, by having had the grave imputation attached to his memory of being an accessory to the homicide. All Greece was speedily in a ferment, and while Demosthenes disgraced himself by moving that religious honours should be paid to the memory of the assassin, he was unremitting in his efforts to induce his countrymen to assume an attitude of defiance, representing the youthful Alexander as a person from whom they had nothing to apprehend. Tributary barbarian tribes participated in the general movement for freedom—the Illyrians on the western border of Macedonia, the Thracians in the district towards the Hellespont, and the Triballians on the north of the Balkan.

The new monarch was but twenty years old when he came to the throne under such threatening circumstances; but he proved himself equal to the crisis—gifted with the

talents necessary to maintain his position—and soon triumphed over every danger, by the prudence, promptitude, and energy of his measures. Previous to celebrating the obsequies of his father, he told the Macedonians, that though the name was changed, they would find that the king remained. His first care was to secure himself at home. For this purpose, his early friends and companions in some follies, Ptolemy, Nearchus, and Harpalus, names prominent in his subsequent history, were not made objects of enviable notoriety—a common error with youthful sovereigns. They were not, however, forgotten by Alexander. The old ministers were continued in office; Antipater at the head of the civil, and Parmenio of the military administration. The former had been selected by Philip, after his victory at Chæronea, to conduct to Athens the bones of the Athenians who had fallen in the battle; and assured of his vigilant attention to state affairs, he once invited his guests at a convivial party to carouse, saying, "All is safe, for Antipater is awake." Parmenio had enjoyed an equal measure of confidence; for in allusion to the numerous commanders which the jealousy of the democratic states placed at the head of their armies, Philip sarcastically observed, "Fortunate Athenians, in possessing so many generals, while I have never seen one but Parmenio." In retaining the services of these two eminent men, instead of raising his personal friends to distinguished offices, the

merit of Alexander is enhanced by the consideration, that in the recent family dissensions they had acted with the father against the son.

His next object was to stifle in the germ the spirit of disaffection abroad, and secure for himself the position acquired by Philip—the political and military leadership of the Grecian republics. Proceeding southward in person, at the head of an imposing force, the states of Thessaly readily received him as the chief of their confederacy, and placed their troops and revenues at his disposal. Assembling the Amphictyonic Council at Thermopylæ, that body voted him their captain-general, an honour enjoyed by his father. He then advanced by rapid marches into Bœotia ; disconcerted his foes by the alacrity of his movements ; and overawed the hostile temper of Thebes and Athens, by showing himself fully prepared to put down open opposition. The Athenians, alarmed by his approach, hastened to conciliate him by an embassy, of which Demosthenes himself was a member, though he left it on the route, either apprehending personal danger on account of his intrigues, or overcome with mortification. Alexander now proposed to call a general congress of the states, in order to have his authority ratified in the most ample manner. It met accordingly at Corinth, and the youthful king was appointed to succeed his father as head of all Greece, for the prosecution of the war with Persia. The Spartans alone refused to sanction the arrangement, saying,

with impotent pride, "that their national inheritance was not to follow, but to lead." While he was at Corinth, the celebrated interview took place between Alexander and Diogenes. The cynic signalized his contempt for the habits of civilized life by selecting a tub for his usual residence, or more correctly, one of the great clay pots in which the ancients kept their wine. In this absurd dwelling, under the walls of the Corinthian gymnasium, he was visited by the aspiring monarch, and being questioned respecting his wants and wishes, made to the king's offer of service this striking reply, "Be so good as to stand from between me and the sun." The independence of the remark struck Alexander, harmonizing as it did with his own disposition, and he observed to his officers, "Were I not Alexander, I should wish to be Diogenes." But there was nothing worthy of respect in the motives of the cynical philosopher. Pride lay at the root of his scornful indifference to the ordinary conveniences of life, and his practical rejection of Alexander's proffered aid; for personal vanity may be as strongly present in ascetic observances as in luxurious ostentation.

His relations with Greece being settled for the present, Alexander spent the winter following his accession to the throne in Macedonia; but in the spring of B.C. 335, he left the kingdom to control the barbarous tribes on the northern frontier, who had assumed a threatening attitude. This was his first regular cam-

paign. The army marched from Pella to Amphipolis, and thence to the southern foot of the modern Balkan, where the mountaineers appeared in arms to dispute the passage of its defiles. They were strongly posted on the summit of a steep acclivity, guarded by precipices on each side; their front was protected by a line of wagons, which served as a rampart; while they were also ready to be rolled down, so as to break the phalanx as it advanced up the height. But anticipating the design, Alexander provided against it. On seeing the machines put in motion, the phalanx opened its ranks, where the ground admitted of the operation, and where it was impracticable, the soldiers lay down under the shelter of their interlinked shields; thus the wagons either passed harmlessly through the spaces suddenly opened to admit them, or with little injury rolled over the bodies of the troops defended by a solid brazen canopy. The manœuvre completely succeeding, the soldiers speedily mastered the pass, which seems to have been the one now traversed by the main road from Adrianople to the Danube. Leaving the mountain range, the army defeated the Triballians, or Bulgarians, in the great plain stretching between the Balkan and the river; and the right bank of the vast stream was gained below the present town of Widdin, probably not far from its mouth. Here Alexander met his fleet, which had been sent from Byzantium through the Euxine to join him. The Danube, towards

its confluence with the sea, forms several islands, one of which, then called Peucè, was occupied by the enemy, and was unsuccessfully attacked. But Alexander crossed the great water-barrier to the left bank, and advanced into the land of the Getæ, or Goths, speedily returning to the home side of the river, content with the achievement of having passed it. Tidings of his invasion being spread far and wide by the wandering tribes, some Celtæ are reported to have come to his camp, to seek alliance or to gratify curiosity. On being asked, what they feared most in the world, the reply was given, significant of a proud indifference to danger, "Lest the sky should fall."

Having forced submission upon his wild northern neighbours, Alexander directed his attention to the Illyrians on his western border, who were in movement against him. They were quickly reduced to subjection, but scarcely had this been accomplished, when alarming news from Greece called for his presence in the south. The Persian power, aware of the hostile combination that had been formed, threatening Asia with invasion, lavished its treasures upon the parties in the Greek states unfriendly to the Macedonian yoke, in order to dissolve the confederacy, and avert from itself the impending blow. Demosthenes was the chief agent in the transaction, and gold as usual was employed with effect upon the unquiet and malcontent spirits. Alexander's distant campaign favoured an insurrection. Regular communication with

him ceased when he crossed the Balkan, and no tidings being heard for some time, a report of his death sprang up. It was zealously propagated by those who wished it to be true, and used with success for the purpose of stimulating a revolt. In Thebes, which had a Macedonian garrison in the Cadmeia, a revolution took place; two officers, unaware of the danger, were surprised and massacred in the streets, and siege was straightway laid to the citadel. Athens sympathized with the movement, and promised to sustain it; Elis followed the example; but news of Alexander's approach effectually dissipated the illusion of his death, and suspended the operations of the auxiliaries, while the Thebans were left to their fate. In seven days, the king made a rapid march from Illyria, through the heart of Macedonia, and appeared in Thessaly; in six days more he was in Bœotia; and before the revolters heard of his having effected the passage of Thermopylæ, he was at Onchestus, in their immediate neighbourhood. The popular leaders, conscious of being too deeply implicated to be forgiven, determined on resistance, and the inhabitants, deluded by their representations, trusted to the strength of their walls for security against attack.

On approaching the city, Alexander had his own garrison, still holding the citadel, to cooperate with him, yet its fortifications appeared likely to render a long siege inevitable. He fixed his camp on the road to Athens, to cut

off communication with it and the disaffected cities in the south. But, contrary to his own expectations and those of the citizens, Thebes was not destined to endure a lengthened investment. It fell by a sudden and inadvertent assault. A skirmish, commenced without orders by one of his officers, brought on a general engagement, in which the Thebans were signally defeated. Flying in confusion to the nearest gates, they could not effect an entrance before the vanguard of the Macedonians came up in the pursuit. The conquerors broke in with the conquered; the main body of the besieging army sustained the efforts of the van; the besieged made a last stand in the market-place; and, after a desperate conflict, Alexander was master of the place. Indiscriminate slaughter and wholesale rapine for a time followed the triumph; six thousand of the inhabitants perished, and thirty thousand became prisoners, the victors losing little more than five hundred of their number. The Macedonians were not the parties guilty of the butchery. Bœotians and Phocians, the countrymen and near neighbours of the Thebans, were numerous in the victorious army; they had been deeply wronged by Thebes in the day of her prosperity; and the oppressor was now compelled to drink to the dregs the bitter cup she had unrelentingly extended to others. The infliction of injury is no justification of retaliation; vengeance has been forbidden to man by the precepts of the gospel; but that insolent exercise of power

which provokes exasperation, and stimulates revenge, rightly finds a place on the page of history, as essential to a true picture of events, and fraught with wholesome counsel to mankind to cultivate amicable relations with each other.

The fallen city was reserved for a still more terrible fate, and as it was inflicted in obedience to a decree of the Greeks themselves, specially summoned to deliberate upon the case, it must be accepted as conclusive evidence of the public odium in which the community was held. It was Thebes that betrayed the cause of national freedom, by actively aiding the Persians in their invasion under Xerxes. The old offence had not been forgotten, nor had the sentence of extermination, incurred by the treachery, been revoked. It was Thebes that, in the Peloponnesian war, constrained the Lacedemonians to slay the Platæans in cold blood on their surrender, and reduce their women to slavery and their town to ashes. It was Thebes that, at the close of the same war, when Athens was captured, vehemently but vainly urged its total destruction; the conquering Lacedemonians refusing "to put out one of the eyes of Greece." Adjoining towns had been mercilessly visited with fire and sword for disputing the political supremacy of the Thebans. But the hour of retribution had come; and upon the fate of the city being referred by Alexander to a council of his Greek confederates, the iniquity of the fathers was severely visited upon the children. It was resolved that the citadel

should be left standing to be occupied by Macedonian soldiers; that the city should be levelled to the ground, and the territory forfeited to the allies, except the ground belonging to the temples; while men, women, and children were to be sold as slaves by public auction. The severity of this decree was mitigated by comprehensive exceptions, and a liberal construction was put upon the exceptive clauses. All priests and priestesses were exempted; all, likewise, who had not participated in the revolt; and if, in the case of a family, fidelity could be shown on behalf of a single member of it, this circumstance purchased immunity for the rest. The dwelling and descendants of Pindar, the great Theban poet, were expressly saved from the general ruin, at the instance of Alexander. He

> ———"bade spare
> The house of Pindarus, when temple and tower
> Went to the ground."

With these exceptions, the decree was executed, and the materials of the proud buildings of Thebes contributed to re-construct on various sites those which had been ravaged by its citizens.

The capture and condemnation of the city struck with terror the foes of Alexander throughout the peninsula, and humiliating apologies were offered by the states implicated in the recent transactions to avert his displeasure. He was disposed to be content with the terrible example made; it was sufficient of

itself to overawe completely the most disaffected; and policy dictated the display of magnanimity, as directly calculated to heighten the impression produced by the work of retribution. The Athenians had just reasons to dread the resentment of the conqueror. They were celebrating the Eleusinian mysteries, when fugitives from Thebes announced to them its fall. Instantly suspending the rites, they returned in consternation to the city, and all hands were employed in conveying moveable property within the walls. An embassy was then despatched to appease the king, who limited himself to the moderate demand of having his inveterate enemy, Demosthenes, and some others, surrendered to him. Even this requirement was relinquished; for Alexander found himself in a position to express superiority by a clement course, and was moreover anxious to settle the affairs of Greece, in order to direct attention to the attack on Persia. On his return to Macedonia, festivals at Ægę, the primitive capital, and at Dium, celebrated his remarkable success—the campaign on the Danube and among the Illyrian mountains, with the irruption into Greece, having been accomplished in the spring, summer, and autumn of a single year.

It will now be convenient to glance at the history and state of the Persian empire, on the verge of the struggle with Alexander, which issued in its final overthrow.

The congress of the states at Corinth, which

decided upon war with Persia, has not unaptly been styled a diet of the western deliberating on the destruction of the eastern world. But if Europe took the initiative in the tremendous conflict which now ensued, the example of aggression commenced originally with Asia. Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy, extended his rule over the Greek colonies in the Lesser Asia, and accepted the waters of the Ægean Sea for the western limit of his dominion. But the second in succession from him, Darius Hystaspes, sought to pass the boundary, sending heralds into Greece, to demand of every city earth and water in token of subjection, and forwarding a vast army to enforce submission, which met a signal overthrow on the narrow plain of Marathon. The third monarch, Xerxes, conducted in person a still mightier armament across the Hellespont, through Thessaly to Delphi and Athens, marking his path with devastation, though eventually retreating precipitately, after the greater part of his force had been destroyed in the country he had hoped to subdue. Greece, although triumphant over these attacks, suffered dreadfully by them. A remembrance of the injuries inflicted struck its roots deeply into the national mind. A general persuasion sprang out of it that a quarrel remained to be settled with Persia, and compensation to be secured for destructive, though unsuccessful inroads, by an avenging return of aggression. After the campaign of the ten thousand Greek mercenaries in the

service of the younger Cyrus, against his brother Artaxerxes Mnemon, it ceased to be a point invested with any degree of doubt that the Asiatic power must yield to the European, in the event of a well-contrived combined attack being made upon it. That a small band of men, led to the unknown lands of the Euphrates, and there suddenly left without a leader and without a cause, in the very heart of oriental populations, should be able to fight its way through beleaguering hosts, and find it without chart or compass over the Armenian mountains, reaching the settlements of their countrymen after a year of peril—such a feat—the story of Xenophon's Anabasis—afforded decisive proof of the immense superiority of the Greek to the Asiatic character, and the real impotence of the great eastern despotism. A conviction of this kind seems to have been felt at the court of Persia; for thenceforth recourse was had to intrigues and bribes, loans of money and arms to the Greek states in aid of their internal quarrels, with a view to ward off from itself a combined and deadly blow.

All great empires founded by force alone, comprising far remote countries and different nations, are radically weak. Their feebleness is developed whenever the spirit of the founder ceases to animate the supreme government, and the central authority establishes no claim to the respect or obedience of distant provinces by the display of a decided superiority in

energy, character, and improving institutions. These elements of dissolution strongly marked the Persian monarchy. Its subjects consisted of various nationalities, differing in manners, languages, laws, customs, and interests. A race of incapable sovereigns filled the throne, and the personal influence obtained by their more vigorous predecessors, and which had kept together the incongruous mass, was no longer brought to bear upon the empire. A principle of cohesion being wanting, the discordant materials required only to be touched by a bold hand, to fall to pieces. Millions might swell the royal armies, but they were composed of doubtful or lukewarm adherents, ready to renounce their allegiance, and acknowledge any chieftain whose arms were crowned with success, even in a single instance. The Persian provincial governors, also, owing to the remoteness of their commands, and the inability of the court to control them, were very loosely connected with it, and conducted themselves more like independent than subordinate officers. It was a common persuasion, and has been since in the east, that services are only due to the sovereign while successful. A decided defeat was, therefore, interpreted as signifying that by right the royal authority passed away from the losing to the triumphant party. Even the semblance of a reverse has in modern times led to a real one, and a change of government. Mahmoud, of Ghizni, gained the battle which made him conqueror of India, owing to the

elephant of his opponent becoming restive, and bearing him away from the field. These considerations illustrate the real weakness of Persia, and explain the marvellous rapidity of Alexander's conquests—a single victory carrying with it the allegiance of entire nations, and their satraps.

A gleam of prosperity visited the Persian empire shortly before the events commenced which led to its downfall. During the closing reign of Artaxerxes Ochus, its authority in Egypt and Asia Minor was re-established after revolts by the abilities of the eunuch Bagoas, and two Greek soldiers of fortune, the brothers Mentor and Memnon, natives of Rhodes. Ochus perished the year after the battle of Chæronea, poisoned by his eunuch-minister. The diadem was given to his younger son Arses, who speedily shared the same fate, and received it from the same hands. Darius Codomannus was then raised to the throne, about the period that Alexander ascended that of Macedon. His military experience was considerable; his valour had been tried; he had conducted prudently the civil administration of Armenia; and being of mild and equitable disposition, there seemed to be the prospect of a prosperous reign, instead of one marked with the greatest calamities and reverses. Bagoas, the all-powerful minister, died soon after his accession, and is said to have been compelled to drink a poisoned draught which he had prepared for the sovereign. The Greek, Mentor, entrusted

with a satrapy including the whole western coast of Asia Minor, likewise died, and was succeeded in that government by his brother Memnon, who alone showed energy and discretion in the strife that was then impending. Such was the posture of affairs in the Persian monarchy when active preparations were going on in Europe to attack it. The ostensible object of the war was to liberate the Greeks of Asia from its yoke; but long familiarized to it, they showed little anxiety to have a change of masters, while success was problematical. Its real object was the personal distinction of Alexander, and aggrandizement at the expense of those who were considered natural enemies. Instead of the Asiatic Greeks being auxiliaries, or at least remaining neuter, they offered the only formidable opposition which the Macedonians had to encounter; and Alexander had to cut his way through thousands of them, before he passed through the defiles of the Taurus into the proper oriental world.

CHAPTER IV.

ALEXANDER IN THE LESSER ASIA.

(B.C. 334—333.)

Passage of the Hellespont—The Troad—Battle of the Granicus—March to Sardis—Ephesus—Temple of Diana—Miletus—Halicarnassus—Winter quarters—Phaselis—Passage of Mount Climax—Gordium—Second Campaign—Alexander at Tarsus—His illness—The Cydnus—Movements of Darius—The Amanian Gates—Battle of Issus.

LEAVING a competent force to secure the tranquillity of his own kingdom, Alexander marched for the invasion of Asia early in the spring of the year B.C. 334. His army consisted of about thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. Parmenio commanded the phalanx under the immediate eye of the king; his son Philotas had charge of the cavalry; and another son, Nicanor, led the hypaspists, a band of infantry more lightly armed than the phalangite soldiers. The other leading officers were Ptolemy, Erygius Calas, and Cassander. Proceeding from Pella to Amphipolis, and thence along the coast of Thrace, the troops reached in twenty days the margin of the Hellespont. No attempt was made to dispute their passage across it, either because the Persian court had not been thoroughly

aroused to a sense of its danger, or had been anticipated in its preparations by the alacrity of the invader. From Sestos, on the European side of the channel, a hundred and sixty sail, with many transports, conducted the army to Abydos, nearly opposite, on the Asiatic shore. The sites of embarkation and landing are closely contiguous to the present inner castles of the Dardanelles. The strait is here scarcely two miles wide, and has consequently a stream-like aspect, a powerful and constant current adding to the resemblance. Hence Xerxes characterized it as only a salt river. Moving in a reverse direction to Alexander, that monarch effected the passage at this point by a double bridge of boats; and it was at the same spot, in the modern age, that the Turks poured over from Asia into Europe.

With his own hand Alexander steered the vessel which conveyed him from his own dominions, never to return to them again. Libations were poured to the waves in the mid-channel; and on reaching the Asian coast, he apparently took formal possession of it, by hurling his spear into the ground before he leaped upon the strand. Landing in the Troad, and no enemy appearing to claim attention, he left the camp to examine the renowned site of the struggle commemorated in the Iliad. This is a level peninsular tract enclosed by the sea and the heights of Mount Ida. Simple curiosity was not the actuating motive, but a desire to honour the memory of departed heroes; the

vain imagination being also entertained, that the success of his own expedition might be promoted by paying respect to the martial prowess of his ancestors. Under these impressions, the plain watered by the Homeric streams, the Simois and Scamander, was doubtless trod with enthusiastic feelings. The village supposed to occupy the site of the ancient city of Priam was visited; the altar was shown which the credulity of the inhabitants held to be identical with the one at which the Trojan king was slain by Neoptolemus; and suspending his own armour as a votive offering in the temple of Minerva, it was replaced by some of the arms which hung there, said to have been worn by the warriors of antiquity. But the greatest reverence was reserved for the barrows or tumuli on the ridge of the Sigæan promontory—artificial mounds of ancient date, still existing, and traditionally regarded as the tombs of Achilles and Patroclus.

On rejoining the army, a north-easterly direction was followed, skirting the coast of the Hellespont, and passing by the cities of Percote and Lampsacus. The latter town was then so infamous for the vices of its inhabitants that the invader proposed to destroy it. But the doom was averted by the address of a native, the philosopher Anaximenes. Sent at the head of an embassy to implore the mercy of Alexander, and hearing him declare, in anticipation of the object of the mission, that he would not

comply with the request, the ambassador took him at his word, rejoining, "I have come to beseech you to *destroy* Lampsacus." The place was consequently spared, and has a representative on the spot at present under the slightly altered name of Lamsaki. The route of the troops was now determined by intelligence respecting the Persian forces, who were reported by the prodromi, or scouts, to be mustering beyond the Granicus and the eastern highlands of Ida. Spithridates, the satrap of Lydia and Ionia; Arsites, who governed the Hellespontine province; and Memnon, the Greek commander of the sea-coast, an officer of great military skill and experience, were the chief authorities in the invaded district. An army was hastily collected to defend it, superior in numbers to the Macedonian, but deficient in regular infantry, and far inferior in discipline, arms, and determination. Memnon, in a council of war, advocated avoiding a battle. He proposed to harass the advancing enemy with incessant attacks of cavalry, as well as to deprive him of shelter by destroying the towns, and to cut off provisions by consuming the harvest, and ravaging the whole country along his line of march. Although this mode of defence might not have been successful in the issue, it would have immensely augmented the difficulty of conquest. But, influenced by that jealousy of foreigners, and presumptuous confidence in their own prowess, which have ever distinguished the orientals, the Persian generals

rejected the advice, and resolved to contest the passage of the Granicus.

This stream has no natural importance comparable to its historical celebrity. It descends from the slopes of Mount Ida into the Propontis, the modern Sea of Marmora, and is altogether insignificant, except in spring, when the melted snows of the upland region convert it into a deep and rapid torrent. It was thus swollen when made the scene of the first conflict in this memorable struggle for the dominion of Asia. As the main body of the Macedonians approached its western margin, the Persians were seen strongly posted on the opposite side. The bank rose somewhat steep and high from the edge of the water, forming a very defensible position, but it was most disadvantageously held by its occupants. Instead of lining the stream with infantry, whose spears might have been employed with effect in resisting its passage, the heavy-armed troops were placed in the rear, and the cavalry posted in front, with slight darts for their principal weapons. Having surveyed the ground, and ascertained a spot where the river was fordable, Alexander formed his order of battle, and commanded the immediate advance of the army. He committed the care of the left wing to Parmenio, reserving to himself that of the right, which was to make the principal attack. Conspicuous, owing to the splendour of his equipments, and the respectful deference paid him, the Persians readily recognised the king, and immediately

strengthened with fresh masses that part of their force in direct opposition to him. Parmenio advised delay, deeming the attempt to force the passage a hazardous experiment under existing circumstances, and thinking it not improbable that, by avoiding precipitation, an opportunity might be secured to cross unopposed. But Alexander, after passing the Hellespont in triumph, would not allow the Granicus to bring him to a pause ; and, conceiving it of far more importance to his ulterior plans to make a powerful impression by force at the outset, than to gain an advantage by stratagem, the caution of the general was overruled.

After an interval of silence, the soldiers entered the stream to the sound of trumpets ; and moved in a slanting direction across its bed, raising triumphant pæans. On approaching the further bank, a shower of darts, with a furious charge of the Persian horse, threw the foremost into confusion ; and the advantage of the ground being completely against them, they were compelled to retire. But Alexander speedily came up to mingle in the strife, and his personal bravery, seconded by that of the companion guard, quickly changed the aspect of affairs, clearing the shore of its defendants, and enabling a condensed force to land. On equal ground, the cool courage and compact masses of the phalanx readily bore down all opposition. Rank recoiled upon rank, till general disorder seized the loosely arranged

bands, and all were put to flight except the Greek mercenaries, who remained at their post, either to be cut to pieces or taken prisoners. The king's life was at one moment in imminent danger, he being successively assailed by several chiefs of eminence. Mithridates he unhorsed with his spear; Rhæsaces shared the same fate, after inflicting a blow upon him, which struck off a part of his plume and helmet. Scarcely had this antagonist been overcome, when Spithridates, from behind, raised his scimitar for a stroke, the effect of which might have been deadly, had it been permitted to descend. Alexander was saved by Cleitus, the brother of his nurse Lanicè, who arrested the blow, severing with his sabre the satrap's right arm from his body. After gaining the battle, the victor employed himself in funeral honours for the dead. The wounded received personal visits, and were treated with extraordinary care. Privileges were granted to distinguished soldiers; and three hundred suits of Persian armour were sent to Athens, to be placed in the temple of Minerva, with the inscription, "From Alexander, son of Philip, and the Greeks, *excepting the Lacedemonians*, these trophies taken from the barbarians of Asia." The exceptive clause refers to the refusal of Sparta to acknowledge him as captain-general of Greece, and aid his warlike purposes. It was intended to be a stigma, but might be more justly deemed an honour. Regarding the country as now his own, Alexander strictly

charged the troops to abstain from plunder, and treat the Asiatics as fellow-subjects. No change was made in the government of the Hellespontine province, except that a Macedonian was appointed to administer its affairs in the place of the Persian satrap. The same taxes were to be paid by the inhabitants ; and Dascylium, a rich city on the Propontis, was continued as the capital.

The battle of the Granicus, probably fought in the month of May, involved the separation of the Lesser Asia from the empire of Darius. Numbers of the Perso-Greek cities only required the signal instance of success now given to tender their allegiance to Alexander; while the temperament of the eastern population proper to the district, disposed them to a prompt and cheerful recognition of the conqueror, a victory being superstitiously interpreted as the verdict of superior powers in favour of political change. Hence, with few exceptions, his further progress through the country to the Syrian gates was little more than the march of an acknowledged master, changing the executive officer of each province as possession was taken of it. Retracing his steps to the Troad, he proceeded southerly by Adramyttium, Pergamus, and Thyatira, to Sardis, the army encamping by the river Hermus, at a short distance from the city. Its keys were immediately surrendered by the governor, with those of the fortress, one of the strongest places in Asia Minor. The edifice crowned the summit of a lofty hill, and

overlooked on one side a perpendicular precipice, being of difficult access in other directions. Here had stood, before the days of Cyrus, the royal palace of the Lydian kings; and going up to the citadel, Alexander proposed to erect on the site a temple to Jupiter Olympius; while, to ingratiate himself with the people, he proclaimed the restoration of their ancient laws, and the abolition of whatever restrictions had been imposed by the Persians.

Leaving a garrison in the fortress, the Macedonians crossed the heights of Mount Tmolus, and descended the valley of the Cayster to Ephesus, a distance of about seventy miles, accomplishing the march in four days. The inhabitants, as in the case of most of the other Greek cities of note at this era, were divided into two hostile factions, an oligarchical and democratic. Each had been stimulated to the greatest excesses by political exasperation, but, supported by the Persian authorities, the aristocratic party had recently gained predominance, abusing its triumph by oppression. On the approach of Alexander, the hopes of the popular leaders revived, naturally expecting his countenance in consequence of the alliance formed by their foes. They were not disappointed. He formally restored democracy, but interposed his authority to secure the amicable transfer of political power, and prevent the expression of revengeful feeling. The Ephesians were at this period engaged in rebuilding upon a more magnificent scale the temple of

Diana, which had been destroyed by fire on the night of his birth. Alexander ordered the tribute paid to the Persian government to be devoted to this object, and afterwards offered to defray the whole expense himself, on condition of having his own name inscribed upon it as founder and dedicator. Too blindly attached to their idol to accept of the proposal, yet too prudent to appear in direct opposition to the king, the people ministered to his vanity, while refusing to gratify it in the particular way he requested, alleging "that it did not become one god to dedicate a temple to another." But his picture wielding a thunderbolt was placed in it. This was the work of the celebrated painter Apelles, who accompanied him into Asia, and who was paid twenty talents of gold for the portrait. Its admirable execution gave occasion to the saying, that of two Alexanders, the one, the son of Philip, was invincible, the other, he of Apelles, inimitable. The temple was in all its glory in the first Christian age, when the apostle of the Gentiles visited the city, and the populace vainly endeavoured to arrest his mission with the cry, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians." An ancient author describes it as standing at the head of the port, shining like a meteor. But in few spots has time wrought more signal changes. The name of the goddess has now no local remembrance, and no trace remains of the pomp of her heathen worship. The site where thousands congregated has long been abandoned to a few

wretched peasants, and the water-fowl of the Cayster. The port of the city is a morass. The city, too, blessed with the light of the gospel, but eventually unfaithful to it, has vanished, leaving only a few of its foundations behind—a striking proof that the threatening in the Revelation of St. John was not denounced in vain, "I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent," Rev. ii. 5.

On passing further to the south, Alexander encountered opposition at Miletus, the capital of Ionia, seated at the mouth of the Mæander; but it was soon compelled to surrender, while the inland towns of the province quietly submitted. The only formidable struggle was maintained at Halicarnassus, the capital of Caria, a maritime city of great strength. It was held by Memnon, the sole leader of note on the Persian side who survived the battle of the Granicus, and whom Darius had appointed, on hearing of that event, to the unlimited command of the Lesser Asia. The place was guarded towards the sea by two island forts, and protected on the land side by strong walls, with an exterior ditch, broad and deep. Memnon had here concentrated his whole disposable force, and collected abundance of provisions for its support. After repeated attacks by the besiegers, which proved more fatal to them than the action of the Granicus, the city became no longer tenable. It was therefore abandoned by its defenders, who set fire to its

dwellings, and retired by night to the island of Cos. Memnon, after this period, employed himself in maritime warfare, being furnished with a Persian fleet for the purpose; but after capturing several of the Greek islands, he died in the following year, the cause of his master sustaining an irreparable loss by his decease. Halicarnassus, of celebrity as the birthplace of Herodotus, and once the residence of the Carian kings, contained within its walls the splendid tomb erected by queen Artemisia for her husband Mausolus, which has given to all magnificent sepulchres the name of mausoleums. The city was rased to the ground by the conqueror, and its site is occupied by the modern Boodroom.

The western provinces being now reduced, and the summer drawing to a close, Alexander announced to the army, that all who were newly married when the expedition commenced, both officers and soldiers, might return home if they chose to spend the winter with their brides, directing them to meet him in the spring with as many fresh troops as could be levied. The proposal being eagerly accepted, three bridegroom generals took charge of the party. This was an extremely politic proceeding. It strengthened the attachment of the soldiers to the king, as an evidence of kind feeling. It could not weaken the army to any great extent, as the persons eligible must have been comparatively few. It contributed in the issue to increase it, the reports given in person

by the returned troops respecting the success and liberality of their leader, promoting fresh supplies of men and money. Parmenio, at the same time, with the greater part of the cavalry, was sent to take up winter quarters at Sardis. While making these arrangements, Alexander had no thought of remaining himself inactive. From Caria he marched along the south coast of Lycia, occasionally diverging into the interior, and waiting for a season at Phaselis, as it was now probably mid-winter. This rich city manifested its wealth, and its desire of his protection against some marauding mountaineers, by the present of a golden crown. It occupied a small peninsula, with Mount Solyma in the background. The peninsula has been largely wasted by the uncontrolled action of the sea; the entire region has long since lost its signs of opulence; the city is gone; and little remains to identify its site, save the stupendous mountain, its bold summit rising as an insulated peak to a majestic height. While reposing at this place, Alexander received information of a conspiracy against his life—rendered abortive by its discovery—in which Darius and one of his own officers at Sardis were implicated.

A little to the north of Phaselis, a ridge of mountains, one of the offshoots of the grand range of Taurus, so closely approaches the sea that the waves play or dash against its craggy sides in hours of calm or storm. It anciently bore the name of Climax, or the Ladder, alluding to the regular gradatio[illegible] with which

the heights rise one above another as they recede from the shore. In ordinary circumstances, there was no passage along the beach; but when the wind blew strongly from the land, causing a retirement of the waters, it might be traversed, though the enterprise was perilous. Availing himself of a favourable breeze, Alexander pursued this course on marching from Phaselis, in order to avoid a tedious and fatiguing progress across the adjoining ridge. The adventure was safely conducted; but it was a rash experiment. The soldiers had to march a whole day up to the middle in water; and had an adverse gale arisen, the victor at the Granicus would never have seen another battle-field. Entering the province of Pamphylia, and receiving the submission of its coast towns, the army then struck inland, and crossed the Taurus, subduing the Pisidian highlanders, who had maintained a wild independence against the whole power of Persia. The entire Macedonian force re-united at Gordium, the ancient capital of Phrygia, centrally seated on the banks of the Sangarius, and perhaps on that account appointed as the place of rendezvous. Parmenio, with his contingent, there rejoined Alexander; the bridegrooms returned thither from their winter sojourn at home, bringing additional soldiers; and with the cutting of the famous Gordian knot, the first campaign in Asia terminated. This knot united some venerated relics preserved in the citadel; and, according to the legend, an oracle

had declared that the sovereignty of Asia should belong to whoever should untie it. Alexander is said to have cut it with his sword, unwilling to be foiled, yet perceiving the hopelessness of legitimately fulfilling the condition. In every part of Europe, for two thousand years, the phrase of "cutting the Gordian knot" has been applied to the conduct of those who, incapable of overcoming a difficulty by fair means, evade, or violently break through it.

The second campaign in Asia, that of the year B.C. 333, commenced with the great provinces of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia transferring their allegiance to the invader, upon which he rapidly marched through the Pylæ Ciliciæ, one of the defiles or passes of the Taurus, leading into the Cilician plains. Advancing upon Tarsus, its Persian governor hastily retreated eastward on his approach. This place, afterwards connected with the names of Cicero, Cæsar, and Mark Antony, but more distinguished as the birthplace of the apostle Paul, who described himself on a memorable occasion as a "Jew of Tarsus, a city in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city," narrowly escaped acquiring historic celebrity as the scene of Alexander's death. The river Cydnus, which now winds to the east of the modern town, flowed through the middle of the ancient capital. In the plains, the heat of summer is fiercely felt along its banks, while the cold and snow of winter still mark its sources on the Tauric highlands. Hence, as in the instance of similar mountain streams, till

the warm season has sufficiently advanced, it descends with a temperature in striking contrast with that of the atmosphere at the lower level. It was in these circumstances that Alexander, tempted by its limpid appearance, imprudently bathed, while oppressed with heat, and overcome with fatigue. The consequence was a violent and protracted fever, which for a time threatened to be fatal. But youth, with a naturally strong constitution and careful attendance, promoted recovery from the shock. The incident is related of this illness, that one of the physicians, Philip, an Acarnanian, presented a particular medicine to his patient, just after a rumour had been communicated to the king that it was a poisoned draught, which the bribes of Darius had induced him to prepare. The physician stood high in the esteem of his master, and Alexander refused to surrender his mind to the suspicion. He took the medicine, and was relieved by it, thus vindicating the reputation of his friend, and exhibiting an instance of high-minded confidence, which has often been the theme of panegyrists, and a subject for painters. The waters of the Cydnus are said to have proved fatal to the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, during the Crusades; but no property belongs to them, save what is common to rivers which in a short course descend from very elevated uplands into warm plains. Modern travellers have sustained no inconvenience from repeating the act of Alexander, avoiding its incautiousness. "We found

the water," says captain Beaufort, "undoubtedly cold, but no more so than that of other rivers which carry down the mountain snow of Mount Taurus; and we bathed in it without feeling any pernicious effects." Captain Kinnair, who also bathed in the stream, bears the same testimony.

Upon his recovery, Alexander marched to the Cilician coast to secure the maritime cities, while Parmenio was sent forward to master the mountain passes leading into Syria. Intelligence respecting the movements of Darius brought the prospect of a decisive conflict near, which became an all-absorbing object. The great king had crossed the Euphrates with the cumbrous array common to the potentates of the east on their expeditions. It consisted of his household and court, the royal treasure borne on mules and camels, the households of the principal officers, the Magian priesthood, the fighting men of a great variety of nations, and the camp followers; the gross number amounting to six hundred thousand, according to the estimate of Arrian. The soldiery included a corps proudly styled the Immortals, ten thousand strong, conspicuous by their costly attire. Another body of fifteen thousand, called the royal kinsmen, consisted of those who considered themselves allied by blood to the royal house; and there was a formidable band of mercenary Greeks, who consented for pay to fight against their countrymen, with many volunteers from southern Greece, politically

opposed to Macedonian supremacy. The desert lying between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, traversed by the vast host, was converted into a scene of luxury and magnificence. There were music girls, chaplet-weavers, cooks, perfumers, and the like. A crystal image of the sun, worshipped by the Persians, surmounted the pavilion of the monarch, while the sacred fire which symbolized the luminary, was borne on silver altars in a procession of priests. Darius was warned of the uselessness of this show as a means of repelling the invasion of his empire. A refugee from Athens is said to have told him that it would be of no avail against the terrible energy of Alexander's followers; that, intent upon securing the substantial excellence of their weapons, with the hardihood and discipline essential to an efficient use of them, they would despise his splendidly dressed troops; and the advice was given, that instead of parading his treasures, he should expend them in obtaining good soldiers, if gold and silver could indeed procure them. Instead of profiting by these suggestions, it was deemed an intolerable presumption to have offered them, and, in a transport of passion, Darius ordered the unfortunate counsellor to be put to death. The idea had full possession of his mind, that he had only to appear in person at the head of his mighty armament, to secure the defeat of a numerically inferior opponent. Though the experience of former ages was against such a conclusion, it may be doubtful whether Darius

had any knowledge of the humbling lesson received by his ancestors at Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa. It has ever been the policy of oriental states to bury defeats as far as possible in oblivion, and to chronicle only the events that are flattering to the pride of royalty.

The plains of Cilicia are separated from those of Syria by a branch of the Taurus, anciently known as Mount Amanus, which closely approaches the Mediterranean at the gulf of Issus, the modern bay of Iskenderoon. The principal pass through the range is near the coast, and was formerly called the maritime or lower Amanian gates, in contradistinction to another more inland and less frequented, styled the upper Amanian gates. On arriving within two days' march of the eastern base of the mountains, Darius waited. Policy dictated that there he should have awaited the arrival of his antagonist, in a position where extensive plains afforded ample room for his principal arm, the cavalry, to manœuvre, and the whole of his vast force to deploy. On the other hand, Alexander was unwilling to lose the advantage which the confined valleys of Cilicia offered for the vigorous employment of his smaller force. After some hesitation, he resolved to advance, and give battle to the Persians wherever they might be found. Accordingly, proceeding through the maritime or lower Amanian gates, and taking possession of Issus, where some invalids of the army were left, he pushed on along the shore to another pass, called the

Pylæ Syro-Ciliciæ, the gates of Syria and Cilicia, on the confines of the two districts. Having marched some miles further, the last mountain ridge alone remained to be surmounted which separated him from the valley of the Orontes. Here were the *Pylæ Syriæ*, or Syrian gates, now the pass of Beilan, the modern name being only perhaps a corruption of *Pylan*, the accusative form of *Pyla*. The advanced guard had probably occupied this defile, but the main body of the army was detained by a furious storm of wind and rain, when the surprising intelligence was received of the Persians being in its rear.

Yielding to his own self-confidence, and to the flattering representations of his courtiers, Darius had broken up from his position, and marched in search of his foes, sending his treasures and heavy baggage to Damascus, but detaining the royal family about his person. He advanced northerly along the eastern base of Amanus, and crossed it to the westward by the upper Amonian gates, while Alexander had been moving in an inverse direction on the opposite side. Thus the Persians came unexpectedly upon the rear of the Macedonians, cut off their communication with Cilicia, and took possession of Issus, where the defenceless invalids were cruelly put to death. But this apparently favourable movement was the cause of their signal overthrow. It placed them in a position in which their powerful cavalry could not act for want of space, while the ground

admitted of the compact phalanx operating with terrible effect. Scarcely crediting the intelligence he received, Alexander despatched a galley along the Issic gulf to reconnoitre. It soon returned to report that the standards of the vast oriental host were flying over hill and vale in the country behind him. Though completely taken by surprise, and perhaps at first seriously alarmed, he acted with customary resolution and promptitude. The soldiers were commanded to take refreshments preparatory to a march ; the sudden appearance of Darius from an unexpected quarter was explained as a circumstance in harmony with his own desires; the prospect of immediate battle was treated as the approach of a decisive victory ; the great prize of Asiatic dominion was expatiated upon to inflame the ardour of the troops ; and after an evening meal, the army retraced its steps, gaining the Syro-Cilician gates about midnight. Having secured the pass, watches were stationed on the neighbouring heights to guard against surprise, while the rest of the officers and men enjoyed a short repose. From an eminence ascended by Alexander, he saw the narrow plain extending along the shore towards Issus dimly illumined by the smouldering camp-fires of his antagonist. The next morning both armies were early in motion. The succeeding sunset witnessed one of them, immensely superior to the other in numbers, reduced to a disorganized rabble in full flight.

A strip of lowland, varying in breadth from

one and a half to three miles, separates the mountains of Amanus from the sea, through which a small river flows, formerly called the Pinarus, now the Dek-châï. Darius was encamped on the right bank of the stream when he heard of the advance of his rival, and the supposition was dissipated that he would fly before him. The Persian force included 30,000 Persian cavalry, 60,000 Cardaces, 10,000 Immortals, 15,000 royal kinsmen, and 30,000 Greek mercenaries. The contracted field compelled him to group it in dense masses behind each other, so that comparatively few could be in action at once. He himself, according to oriental usage, was in the centre of the front ranks, in a chariot of state, drawn by four horses abreast, richly caparisoned. Alexander, on his part, made careful dispositions for the struggle, retaining the command of the right wing, giving to Parmenio the charge of the left. He commenced the action by leading the light cavalry to the shallow river, and furiously charging across it, heedless of the cloud of arrows which poured from the quivers of the Persians. Gaining the opposite bank, the personal intrepidity of the Macedonians, their hardihood and discipline, speedily broke the ranks of their opponents, though the conflict was long and obstinately maintained. The station of Darius was a special object of attack, as well as of defence. Alexander mingled in the strife at this point ; and a splendid mosaic discovered at Pompeii

is thought to represent the encounter of the rival monarchs. But either yielding to a sudden panic, or owing to his wounded horses becoming unmanageable, the lord of Asia quitted the field; and, as usual in an eastern army, the flight of the sovereign was the signal for general dispersion. The royal chariot was speedily deserted by its alarmed occupant; his bow, shield, and robe of state, were hastily thrown aside; and mounting a fleet horse, he hurried through the upper Amanian gates, to place the Euphrates between himself and his adversary. The victors kept up the pursuit till the shades of evening gathered; the carnage was dreadful; the plunder immense. Retracing his steps to the camp of the fugitive monarch, Alexander took possession of his superb pavilion, and found the mother, wife, and daughters of Darius numbered among his prisoners. They were treated with the respect due to their sex and rank. The wounded were duly cared for; the dead were buried with imposing solemnities; and commendation was publicly given to those of the living who had signally distinguished themselves in the action. The battle of Issus was fought in October, B.C. 333; and by it the conquest of the Lesser Asia was not only completed, but the empire of Persia was shaken from the extremities to the centre.

CHAPTER V.

ALEXANDER IN PHŒNICIA, PALESTINE, AND EGYPT.

(B.C. 333—331.)

State of Phœnicia—General submission of the cities—Resistance of Tyre—Its siege and capture—Singular relation by Josephus—Siege of Gaza—Alexander in Egypt—Foundation of Alexandria—Journey to the temple of Jupiter Ammon—Route described—Adventure by the way—The oasis of Siwah—Temple of Ammon—Fountain of the Sun.

INSTEAD of following the routed forces of Darius, the victor gave a temporary respite to the vanquished. Prudential motives led to this decision. An advance into the heart of the empire would have been dangerous, while the maritime powers on the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean remained under its influence, or undecided as to their political course. By means of fleets, they might become parties to a formidable combination with the hostile states of Greece, attack Macedonia, recover the countries won by Alexander, and place him in perilous circumstances, an enemy being in the rear as well as in front. He determined, therefore, to guard against this contingency, and deprive Persia of the opportunity of operating against him by sea, before pro-

ceeding into the interior of continental Asia. Accordingly, sending a number of troops forward under Parmenio to seize the imperial treasure left at Damascus—a mission which was successfully accomplished—the main body of the army marched in the same general direction, but followed the coast line, on which the great Phœnician cities, with their numerous galleys, were seated.

Phœnicia Proper extended along the coast of modern Syria from Aradus to Tyre, a length of about a hundred and twenty miles from north to south; but it comprised a very narrow strip of land, the breadth perhaps nowhere exceeding twenty miles. Though past its most prosperous age, the territory was studded with flourishing cities, for the most part well fortified, and occupying islands adjacent to the shore—a position which rendered them more secure, and which was suited to the habits of a maritime people. They were equally the abodes of industry, and widely celebrated for their arts, manufactures, fleets, and commercial enterprise. The more important had a section of the neighbouring country under immediate control, with an independent form of civil government, which, though monarchical, was so strictly limited as to be almost republican. The stately Tyre was the dominant city, the first in point of opulence, population, and power. But the greatest as well as the least had now become tributary to Persia; and while allowed to retain the administration of their

own affairs, they had to furnish money, ships, and men, for the military expeditions of their common liege lord. It is probable that Tyre wielded some authority over the other towns, and used it oppressively; for they seem to have received Alexander as a deliverer, while resistance was offered by the leading city. Aradus, the Arpad of sacred history, on the north frontier, submitted at once, presenting a crown of gold to the great conqueror. This place was built on the modern island of Rouad, something less than a league from the shore, and commanded a dependency on the main land, now the site of Tartous. While he was at this point, two envoys appeared from Darius, the bearers of a letter to Alexander, which, though conveying no definite proposal, was evidently intended to open the way to peaceful negotiation. The writer complained of unprovoked aggression, and of having been forced into a war of self-defence. He admitted his own ill fortune hitherto in the struggle, yet assumed the style of an equal, requested the liberation of his family, and proposed the despatch of an accredited minister to his court to treat of an amicable arrangement.

The epistle elicited a reply which was, doubtless, altogether different to the one expected. It was sent by a special ambassador, with strict orders to deliver it, abstaining from oral communication. "Your ancestors," it began, "without any provocation, invaded Macedonia and the rest of Greece, and inflicted

serious injuries on us. I, being elected captain-general of the Greeks, passed over into Asia in order to take vengeance on the Persians. It was you who commenced the war." After enumerating various acts in support of this charge, the letter continues:—"I, therefore, warred on you, as you had evidently been the first to commence hostilities. Since I conquered first your generals and satraps, and lately yourself and army, and, by the gift of the gods, possess the country, I treat with particular attention those of your soldiers who fall not on the field of battle, but take refuge with me; and so far from their continuance with me being compulsory, they are willing to serve under my banners. As I now, therefore, am master of all Asia, come in person to me. If you have any fears for your personal safety, send some friends to receive my plighted faith. On coming to me, ask for your mother, wife, and children, and whatever else you may wish, and receive them, for every reasonable request shall be granted. Henceforth, if you have any communication to make, address me as the king of Asia, and pretend not to treat with me on equal terms, but petition me as the master of your fate; if not, I shall regard it as an insult, and take measures accordingly. If, however, you still propose to dispute the sovereignty with me, do not fly, but stand your ground, as I will march and attack you wherever you may be." This document is remarkable for its precise and outspoken tone. Without the slightest

circumlocution, or attempt to disguise, in order to ensnare, the purpose of the writer is unfolded, as well as the means to be employed in its accomplishment. No trifling amount of time, trouble, anxiety, and paper would have been saved, had modern diplomatists been similarly candid in their despatches.

The example of the frontier town was imitated by Byblus; and further to the south, Sidon, the parent city of Phœnicia, received the invader with every demonstration of welcome, having recently been subject to grievous injury by the Persians. Even the commercial emporium of the ancient world, Tyre, deemed it prudent to conciliate the advancing Macedonian by a deputation of the principal citizens, the customary present of a golden crown, and a promise of obedience. This proffered submission seems to have been made with some reserve, and was not meant to imply complete subjection as to a conqueror or master. Alexander marked the conditional terms of the envoys; but without formally noticing it, he announced his intention to enter the city, for the purpose of offering sacrifices to Melkart, its fabulous protecting deity; the name signifying "the city king." This deity was called by the Greeks the Tyrian Hercules, though entirely different from their own god of the same title, being identical with the Moloch of Scripture, whose altars were occasionally familiar with human victims:—

> "Moloch, horrid king, besmear'd with blood
> Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears."

The proposition having been communicated by the envoys to their fellow-citizens, it compelled them to make an undisguised disclosure of their intentions. They replied by ambassadors, that while anxious to consult the pleasure of their self-invited guest, they must decline to admit either Macedonian or Persian within their walls. The message offended the pride of Alexander, as it denied his absolute authority ; and dismissing the messengers with irritation, he resolved to effect his purpose by force of arms. The Tyrians must, of course, have anticipated this result, and have made up their minds for a struggle before delivering their decision. The love of independence did not alone actuate them, for they were already tributary, but probably a calculating spirit of self-interest was the more influential motive. The Persian empire was not yet overthrown: Alexander might fail in his ultimate purpose; and if the "merchant princes" succeeded in setting an example of successful opposition, advantages might be conceded to them, as an expression of gratitude and the reward of fidelity. The citizens had ground for encouragement. Their position was deemed impregnable, so long as the command of the sea was maintained ; and succour might be expected from Carthage, a flourishing and powerful colony, if any should be needed. Still, many were doubtful as to the issue ; and, as is usual in times of strong excitement, superstitious impressions gained currency. Some dreamed that Apollo, whose statue had been brought

into the city, announced to them its intention of leaving it, as favouring the cause of the foe ; and to prevent this, the senseless image was fastened to the altar of Melkart. On the other side, Alexander assured his army that, in dreams, he had received intimations of supernatural assistance, which might be depended upon, since the Tyrian Hercules was himself a party to them.

Tyre was originally founded upon the main land, but gradually extended its buildings to a rocky islet, separated from it by a narrow arm of the sea. The island portion of the city rapidly gained importance, such sites being preferred by the Phœnician traders ; and hence while the continental part existed, the sacred writers frequently refer to the insular position of the place. Thus the prophet Isaiah, in unfolding the "burden of Tyre," speaks of "the inhabitants of the isle." Ezekiel, also, addresses the prince of Tyrus as sitting "in the midst of the seas," and represents the "renowned city" as inhabited by "seafaring men," and as "strong in the sea." Nearly two centuries and a half before the Macedonian pitched his camp upon the shore, continental Tyre sustained a long and dreadful siege of thirteen years from Nebuchadnezzar. Though it does not appear to have been captured, yet the event induced the inhabitants to abandon the main land, leaving their houses, temples, and aqueducts to decay. They henceforth confined themselves to the island, and amidst the ruins of the original town, Alexander prepared to attack

the insular stronghold. Its position was strong by nature, and had been carefully fortified by art. Though the strait was narrow—not more than half-a-mile wide—yet a violent sea frequently rolled through it, and the water deepened to eighteen feet on the further side. High walls of hewn stone surrounded and protected the entire islet, which had copious springs in the interior, and could procure supplies of stores and provisions by means of its own galleys. There were two harbours; one on the north, towards Sidon, the other on the south, towards Egypt, and the mouth of the latter could be closed by immense chains. The people were second to none in point of energy, intelligence, mechanical genius and skill in maritime warfare. Tyre was thus apparently secure from an enemy who contemplated an assault, unprovided with a single ship.

The mode of attack adopted by Alexander was wholly unexpected by the Tyrians. His plan involved the construction of a causeway or pier from the main shore to the island, over which his troops might march with their engines, and assault the walls of the city. Abundant materials for such a work were at hand. Timber for the piles necessary to be driven was obtained from the forests of Lebanon, and the crumbling remains of continental Tyre supplied huge blocks of stone and heaps of refuse for the embankment. The words of Ezekiel were literally accomplished in the execution of this design: "They shall lay thy

stones and thy timber and thy dust in the midst of the water." No difficulty was at first experienced in the undertaking. The water was shallow, and the workmen were at too great a distance to be annoyed in their operations by the besieged. But as the depth increased, the labour became severe, and very slow progress was made; while coming within reach of missiles from the city and its galleys, incessant attacks rendered the completion of the project apparently hopeless. The men had to fight, as much as to toil. For their protection, as well as to repel assailants, two wooden towers were erected near the extremity of the mole, covered with hides, and surmounted with military engines. But by aid of a fire-ship, the Tyrian fleet burned the towers, and demolished the entire work. This event tried the energy and perseverance of Alexander, only to illustrate the strength of those qualities. He immediately ordered the construction to be recommenced, and upon a broader plan, for the purpose of having a greater number of defensive machines planted upon it. Convinced, also, of the necessity of employing a naval force, he collected one from the maritime cities which had tendered their submission,—Aradus, Byblus, and Sidon. Vessels were also obtained from Cyprus, Rhodes, and the southern part of Asia Minor; while engineers and mechanists were obtained from far distant quarters. Thus aided, the new causeway advanced rapidly, and the Tyrian fleet being kept at bay, it was carried forward to the island.

The walls of the city were at once assailed by battering-rams planted on the mound, and also on rafts and transports constructed to sustain them. They were defended by the inhabitants with desperate resolution. Burning combustibles and masses of stone were thrown upon the besiegers ; red-hot iron balls were shot from fire-casting engines ; huge grappling-irons caught hold of numbers ; and heated sand was discharged, which, penetrating between the armour and the skin, inflicted intense pain. But a practicable breach having been made, the citizens were driven from their fortifications, and after an obstinate conflict in one of the public squares, Alexander became master of the place.

The siege of Tyre lasted seven months, and probably terminated about Midsummer, B.C. 332. It cost the conqueror a greater number of men than the pitched battles and skirmishes taken together, which had been fought with the Persians. This loss, with the cruel treatment of some Macedonian prisoners, who were executed by the Tyrians in sight of their countrymen, inflamed the passions of the victors, and led to merciless retaliation. The king was spared, along with some of his principal subjects, who had sought refuge in the temple of Melkart ; the policy of respecting sanctuaries, and invoking the gods of every nation, being uniformly observed by Alexander. But eight thousand citizens perished in the first slaughter, and a far larger number, with their wives and children, were sold into slavery. The city was not itself destroyed, but survived to become

a populous and flourishing site at the commencement of the Christian era. The apostle Paul touched at it on his way from Macedonia to Jerusalem, and found a number of believers, with whom he tarried a week. It was taken by the Saracens in the seventh century; recovered by the Crusaders in the twelfth; and made an archiepiscopal see, of which William of Tyre, an Englishman, the well-known historian, was the first archbishop. Mastered finally by the Turks, it rapidly sank into complete insignificance; and became, in the seventeenth century, according to inspired prediction, "like the top of a rock, a place to spread nets upon," being a miserable village inhabited by a few fishermen. Modern Sur, the Arab name for Tyre, occupies a peninsula, accumulations of sand having converted the causeway of Alexander into an isthmus, more than a quarter of a mile in width. The ruins of an old church—some tottering walls of ancient date, and towers that mark the time of the Crusaders—a white-domed mosque—a few unconnected houses jumbled together on the sea-washed rock—and, rising above all, some waving palms, whose plumy tops seem to mourn over the surrounding desolation, are all the objects that now present themselves to the traveller, on a spot once "glorious in the midst of the seas," whose "merchants were princes, and whose traffickers were the honourable of the earth."*

* For a full description of this mercantile emporium of antiquity, the reader is referred to "Tyre," one of the volumes of this series.

Some time before the termination of the siege, a confidential eunuch, in attendance on the captive Persian queen, effected his escape, and found means to reach her unfortunate husband. Darius eagerly inquired after her welfare, and being assured that she was treated with the distinction due to a royal personage, along with his other relatives, he raised his hands towards heaven, and exclaimed, "O great God, who disposest of the affairs of kings among men, preserve to me the empire of the Persians and the Medes, as thou gavest it ; but if it be thy will that I am to be no longer king of Asia, let Alexander, in preference to all others, succeed to my power." Apparently encouraged by the report of the eunuch to renew attempts to negotiate, another embassy was sent to the Macedonian camp with a definite proposal. Darius offered ten thousand talents for the ransom of his family, the cession of all the country westward of the Euphrates, and the hand of his daughter in marriage, on condition of lasting peace and friendship. The answer returned was substantially the same as on the former occasion. The entire empire of the Persian monarch was demanded, with the absolute mastery of his person, family, and property. Darius, therefore, applied himself to the task of making defensive preparations, convinced of the hopelessness of all attempts to effect a compromise. A curious anecdote is related concerning this overture. When it was submitted to a council of officers, Parmenio unhesitatingly

declared, that if he were Alexander he should accept it. "So would I," rejoined the king, "if I were Parmenio." This reply to the aged veteran, alike discreditable to the head and heart of the speaker, together with his whole conduct, illustrates the baneful influence of success. It inflamed ambition, instead of satisfying it. It strengthened pride, imperiousness, self-will, and hardness of heart. These repulsive features, with others equally odious, become from henceforth increasingly prominent in the character of Alexander, abating our sympathy with the man, and interest in his fate, however admiration may be excited by his skill, daring, and magnificent designs.

Egypt was the next object of attention to the invader. His march thither lay through Judæa, the land of patriarchs, priests, and prophets, of inspired legislators, judges, and kings, whose names are recorded in sacred history. No notice occurs in holy writ of Alexander's passage through it, as it took place in the interval between the historical periods of the Old Testament and of the New. But Josephus gives a remarkable relation, derived from a traditionary source, respecting a visit paid by the conqueror to Jerusalem. He states, that the Jews having refused supplies of provisions to the Macedonians during the siege of Tyre, they viewed with alarm the approach of Alexander to their metropolis, upon which Jaddeus, the high priest, ordered the people to address supplications to the Almighty, to protect the nation, and deliver

it from the impending danger. Jaddeus is said to have been directed in a vision to crown the city with garlands, to throw open the gates, to go forth to meet the Macedonians, with all the priests in their sacerdotal robes, and not to fear, as God would provide for their defence. Rising from sleep, he communicated the message to the people, and calmly awaited the arrival of the king.

"On learning his approach to the city," the historian proceeds to say, "he went forth, attended by the priests and people, so as to give the procession a sacred character, distinct from the habits of other nations. The spot where the meeting took place was at Sapha, or the Watch Tower, so called because Jerusalem and the temple are thence visible. But the Phœnicians and Chaldæans, who followed the king, and expected him in his anger to allow them to plunder the city, and put the high priest to death with every species of torture, witnessed a far different scene.

"For when Alexander, from a distance, saw the multitude in white garments, and the priests in front, with their variegated robes of white linen, and the chief priest in his hyacinthine dress, embroidered with gold, and bearing on his head the cidaris, with its golden diadem, on which was inscribed the name of God; he advanced alone, prostrated himself before the holy name, and was the first to salute the high priest. But when the Jews, with one voice, had saluted and encircled the king, the

Syrian kings and the rest of his retinue began to doubt the soundness of his intellect. Parmenio then ventured to draw near, and asked, 'Why he, before whom all prostrated themselves, paid that honour to the high-priest of the Jews?' he answered, 'I did not prostrate myself before him, but before the God with whose priesthood he has been honoured. For while I was as yet at Dium, in Macedonia, I saw him in the same dress in my dreams. And as I was deliberating in what manner I should conquer Asia, he exhorted me not to hesitate, but to cross over with confidence, as he would be a guide to the expedition, and deliver the Persian empire into my hands. As, therefore, I have seen no other in a similar dress, as this spectacle reminds me of the vision in my sleep, and of the exhortation, I conclude that my expedition was undertaken under Divine providence, that I shall conquer Darius, put an end to Persian domination, and succeed in all my plans.'

"After this explanation, Alexander took the high priest by the right hand, and entered the city, while the priests ran along on both sides. He then went up to the temple, and sacrificed to God according to the directions of the high priest, and highly honoured both him and the other priests. Then the book of Daniel, and the prediction that a Greek was destined to overthrow the Persian empire, were shown to him. From it he concluded that he was the person signified, and, being much delighted, dismissed the multitude."

This story is not mentioned by any Greek writer. Its truth has been warmly contested. Perhaps a conclusion in favour of receiving it as a highly embellished account of a real adventure is the best supported by evidence. It is scarcely conceivable that Alexander would pass by the city of the Jewish kings without appearing at its gates, when his direct route was within a few hours' journey of them. The respect shown to the religion of the people, and the fiction of the dream, are in perfect harmony with his ordinary policy, and strongly sustain the credibility of the narrative. A somewhat parallel spectacle was exhibited in a later age, and might have been suggested by it, when Leo went out of Rome in full pontifical array, attended by his clergy, and impressed the superstitious mind of Attila in favour of the city.

All Palestine unhesitatingly acknowledged the sovereignty of the Macedonian, with the single exception of Gaza, a town on the frontier of the desert, between Judæa and Egypt. It occupied a high mound in the midst of a sandy waste, and was surrounded with strong and lofty walls. Batis, a eunuch, held it for the Persian monarch. Having taken a number of Arabs into pay, he defied the power of Alexander in the flush of conquest, and arrested his progress for some months by a vigorous defence. The king received a severe wound in one of the assaults, a dart cast from a machine penetrating through shield and corslet into his shoulder. Impatience at being checked excited

the besiegers to cruelty upon a breach being made in the walls, for the entire garrison was put to the sword in the final attack, while the women and children were sold as slaves. New inhabitants were introduced from the adjoining country, and the fortifications were strengthened. But "baldness" was to come upon Gaza, the king to perish, and the place to be forsaken. These are terms of sacred prophecy, not more certainly stated than literally fulfilled. Modern Gaza is not upon the ancient site; and no scene can be more solitary and bald than the spot once occupied by the lordly city of the Philistines. Scarcely a shrub, plant, or blade of grass interrupts and relieves the perfect barrenness of the surface, or anything but the jackal stealing over it, with a few ruins half-buried in the sand.

In seven days after leaving Gaza, the army reached Pelusium, the most easterly town of Egypt, after a march of about a hundred and seventy miles along the coast of the Mediterranean, through a desert which forms the natural boundary of the country. The fleet probably kept close to the shore carrying stores, as neither food nor fresh water could be obtained on the route. The ancient kingdom of the Pharaohs received unresistingly a new ruler in the person of Alexander, an event for which circumstances had long been gradually paving the way. Two centuries before his arrival, the Greeks had obtained permission to settle on the banks of the Nile, and they now formed an

important section of the population. Ever since the conquest of the territory by Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus, the natives had bent unwillingly to the yoke of their masters, had often renounced subjection, and required the presence of vast armies to enforce submission. They detested the Persians for their religious intolerance, which had been frequently exemplified in the desecration of temples, and exasperating insults offered to their gods. On the other hand, the Greeks conciliated favour by an accommodating spirit, readily holding the religious rites of the people in as much respect as their own. While the disaffection of the native Egyptians thus favoured a revolution, the Persian forces were too scanty to offer opposition. They had been largely withdrawn to fight the battles of Darius. The satrap fell at Issus. As the garrisons were not strong enough to guard the towns left in their charge, the commanders had no alternative but to yield up the fortified cities ; and without a siege, a blow or a struggle, the whole of Egypt acknowledged the authority of Alexander.

Leaving Pelusium, the army marched up the country, with the Nile on the right hand, and the fleet ascended the river. The troops halted at Heliopolis, a sacred city of great celebrity, renowned for its temples, and not long before the temporary residence of Plato and Eudoxus. Its mounds, with a remarkable obelisk, are seen near the modern village of

Matareeh. Close to this place, Alexander crossed the Nile to Memphis, where he met his fleet. This city, then the great capital of Lower Egypt, and in earlier ages of the whole country, stood on the left bank of the river, just above the apex of the Delta, a site occupied by the present village of Metraheny. Here, as if to intimate to the Egyptians that their new ruler was simply re-establishing the ancient monarchy, he went in state to the temple of Apis, and sacrificed to the sacred bull, as the native kings had done at their coronations; while favour with the populace was courted by splendid games, musical displays, and other festivities. Embarking at this point, he sailed down the Canopic or western branch of the river, to survey that side of the Delta; and on a track of land which separated the lake Mareotis from the sea, the foundation of a city was projected on account of the maritime advantages of the site. Orders were immediately given to carry the design into effect. Dinocrates, the architect employed in rebuilding the temple of Diana at Ephesus, was summoned to devise the plan and superintend its execution. One main long street ran through the city from the Gate of the Sea at the eastern extremity to the Necropolis at the western, and another shorter main street crossed it at right angles, running nearly north from the Mareotic lake. This arrangement was adopted to secure the benefit of ventilation from the north winds. Thus arose Alexandria,

so named after its founder, which has subsisted to this day, and been through the intervening period the commercial emporium of Egypt. It rapidly advanced to distinction under the Ptolomean successors of the conqueror, became second only to Rome itself, contained within its circuit of fifteen miles a population of three hundred thousand free inhabitants, with an equal number of slaves, and was renowned for its mathematicians, philosophers, and library, even more than for the extent of its commerce, or the splendour of its monuments. The present walls, which are chiefly the work of the Arabs, include a large portion of old Alexandria, but not the whole of it. Vestiges of buildings—the granite obelisk of Thothmes III., removed from Heliopolis, and placed before one of the temples, now absurdly called Cleopatra's Needle; spacious cisterns, or vaulted chambers beneath the houses, to which the water of the Nile was conveyed; and above all, the catacombs upon the coast, constructed in the best style of Grecian art,—attest the grandeur and extent of the ancient city.

The founder of the projected city proceeded from its site on a remarkable and hazardous expedition into the heart of the Libyan desert, accompanied by a detachment of his troops. Policy of state, personal vanity, some curiosity, and a romantic love of adventure, led to this enterprise, the two former motives being doubtless the most influential. Every Egyptian king had styled himself "the son of the sun,"

or of Ammon, the fabulous protecting divinity of the country, called Zeus Ammon by the Greeks, and Jupiter Ammon by the Romans. Alexander appropriated the titles of the ancient sovereigns to himself, and in order to be acknowledged by the priesthood in the same relationship to the national god, and firmly establish his own authority, he undertook a visit to one of the most celebrated shrines, an Ammonium, or oracle temple, situated in an oasis of the western desert. The worship of this divinity extended over a wide range of country, the whole of Egypt, a part of the north coast of Africa, and many parts of Greece and Asia Minor. Throughout this area, the sanctuary and oracle in the pathless wilderness were held in veneration ; and missions had been common from remote times to obtain a response on the subject of wars, colonial establishments, or the result of any important enterprise. Both Hercules and Perseus, conspicuous in the fabulous genealogy of Alexander, are legendarily reported to have penetrated the Libyan desert, and their descendant was anxious to emulate the deeds and fame of his ancestors. Crœsus, king of Lydia, once sent thither to ask advice as to whether he should undertake a Persian war ; and Lysander of Sparta twice went in person upon a similar errand. The journey presented formidable difficulties, owing to the nature of the country, want of water, great heat, and the sands drifting in clouds before the wind. Cambyses, the

second monarch of the Medo-Persian dynasty, attempted to reach the oasis of Ammon, starting from Thebes. He was at the head of a vast army, and contemplated a hostile purpose. But, after seven days' journey, he perished in the desert with his troops, either owing to an insufficient supply of water, or overwhelmed by the moving sands.

The oases are fertile spots in the sterile wilderness, occasioned by the presence of springs, which saturate the ground with moisture for some distance around them, and in many cases give rise to small streams, which meander through dells and valleys till they are finally lost and absorbed in the soil. The tracts thus irrigated are clothed with vegetation, natural or cultivated, and resemble islands of verdure in a sea of sand. Besides being often beautiful in themselves, they receive an additional charm from the contrast with the surrounding desolation, and offer to caravans and travellers a welcome supply of water, with an agreeable shade for halting furnished by clumps of palms, olive groves, and other trees. These green and fruitful spots in the tawny expanse of bare rock or sand, although generally small, are occasionally of considerable extent, and are the seats of a resident population. The Great Oasis of the Libyan desert, westward of Esneh on the Nile, consists of a chain of fertile tracts, extending about a hundred miles in length, and comprising many springs, villages, and ancient ruins, with

plantations of olives, liquorice, grain, and fruits. The Little Oasis, to the north, has the same physical character. Still further north, and upwards of three hundred miles west of the Nile, immediately above Cairo, is the oasis of Siwah, of very inconsiderable size, but the most interesting of all, because incontestibly proved to be identical with the oasis of Ammon visited by Alexander. Few Europeans have penetrated to this spot, owing to the natural difficulties of the route, and the marauding habits of the wandering Bedouins. But three of our countrymen, Mr. Brown, Mr. Hoskins, and Mr. St. John, accomplished the enterprise, the first in 1792, the last in 1847, both following the line of march pursued by the aspiring Macedonian.

Starting from the western mouth of the Nile, an indirect route along the coast was adopted by Alexander, on the recommendation of his guides, as presenting fewer obstacles, and affording better forage for cattle. None of the ancient historians make any statement of the number of people he took with him, though they sometimes speak as if he was accompanied by an army. But this is very improbable in itself, and contradicted by the fact, that no preparations were made for the journey on an extensive scale, only camels and skins being taken sufficient to carry water for four days. The journey along the shore terminated at Parætonium, a distance of about two hundred miles. No cities were encountered. The

entire region is described as deserted, but not waterless. At a subsequent period, it supported numerous towns, founded as Greek colonies, and the originally unproductive tract was rendered fertile by human industry. The cities gradually decayed, and were finally devastated by the Sassanidæ and the Saracens, after which the country returned to its primitive desolation, and has retained that aspect. Mr. St. John speaks of meeting with no four-footed animal except a gazelle and a hare, either in going or returning, unless a few rats, a tortoise, a chameleon, and legions of lizards are reckoned. Birds were in abundance; numerous pigeons appeared chased by hawks, falcons, and kites; and white gulls occasionally scudded the surface of the waves. Parætonium must have been not far from the eastern frontier of modern Tripoli. Its position has been identified with that of a place called Bareton by travellers, not indicated on the charts. It became a port of some consequence, for Mark Antony and Cleopatra landed at it as fugitives after the battle of Actium.

At this point, the king, warrior, and pilgrim, having taken in a supply of water, left the coast, and struck into the interior. His historians speak of a vast expanse of sand being traversed, the wind raising it up in clouds and columns, threatening the adventurers with destruction. It is not uncommon to see the loose particles driven along the surface by the breeze, like light spray, or filling the whole

atmosphere with a vast mist. But the plains in this part of the Libyan desert are table-lands, and have far more the appearance of a sea of stones than of sand. There are also ridges of strangely contorted and perfectly naked rocks intersecting the country, passed by defiles of the most desolate and savage character. Marvels are reported of the journey of Alexander, some of which are easily resolved into natural incidents, while the rest are doubtless referrible to misapprehended facts, which the distorted description conceals. After four days, the water in the skins was exhausted, and the horrors of thirst began to be felt. But at this juncture a copious rain came on, and revived the despairing party—an event regarded as a manifest interposition of the gods. The occurrence is perfectly credible, however unusual in the desert; and a scanty shower descending so seasonably would naturally have its magnitude overstated. Afterwards, the guides became completely bewildered respecting the right direction, and the travellers wandered about uncertainly for some time, till delivered from a painful dilemma by two crows or ravens, the track being recovered by following their flight. This incident was likewise interpreted as a supernatural interposition, nor is the apparently idle story a fiction. These birds are looked upon in the African desert as indicating the vicinity of a well, near which their roosting-places are chosen, and routes are always determined by the position of the sites

where water may be obtained. Two ravens encountered Belzoni as he was approaching a locality of this description. It is remarkable, that a spot on the line of Alexander's march is at present called the Nugb el Ghrâb, or the Pass of the Crow, which seems to commemorate his extrication from difficulties, and may possibly have been originated at the time by it, as the names of places in the desert are generally permanent. More remarkable still is the fact, that the Bedouin guides of Mr. St. John lost their way, and the party halted an entire night, fearful of losing it irrecoverably. While in a state of suspense the next day, two crows were seen wheeling in the air, and then taking a south-west direction. The guides determined to follow the course indicated by the birds, and speedily fell in with a well-defined track. At present, the benevolent practice of marking the road for future travellers prevails to some extent in the Libyan desert. This is done by piles of stones at short intervals, raised by the industry of successive caravans. The Arabs are particular in rearing these monuments, and clearing away the accumulations of sand which otherwise would soon obscure them, regarding it as a sacred duty ; but the aboriginal Berber race are said to view this usage with great dislike, preferring the wilderness in its primitive pathlessness.

Eight days appear to have been consumed in the passage from the Mediterranean shore

to the oasis of Ammon. The journey may be readily performed in four, but leisurely movements in the strange region might be deemed expedient, and the loss of the track created delay. The figure of the god called Ammon was *Krioprosopic*, or that of a man with the head and horns of a ram. Jewels and ornaments, the gifts of devotees, enriched the statue. It was carried about on great occasions by a train of eighty priests, followed by a procession of matrons and virgins singing his praises. Alexander, on his approach, seems to have been met by a procession of this kind, and forthwith conducted to the temple, where the chief priest delivered from the shrine oracular responses to his questions. He went alone into the innermost sanctuary, and did not reveal what passed, except by the general statement to his followers, that the answers were satisfactory. Willing or unwilling, the presiding priest had no alternative but to hail the master of Egypt as the son of Ammon, and promise him the empire of the world—a service which the offerings of the royal traveller doubtless rendered sufficiently acceptable. We are not to suppose that Alexander was himself deceived. Among a people who worshipped and built temples to their kings, he deemed it politic to claim such honours by having his relationship to the national deity formally declared, while among his own friends he probably allowed his assumed divinity to be made the subject of many a joke.

The Macedonian admired the locality, and the ancient writers are profuse in terms of admiration respecting its scenery. It was a green and shaded valley, surrounded by parched sand hills, irrigated by springs of fresh water, and clothed with plantations of olives, laurels, and palms, cultivated by a resident population. In other parts were salt lakes, and snowy tracts of fossil salt. The inhabitants traded with Egypt in the mineral, which from the name of the place was called salt of Ammonia. It was so highly valued as to be deemed a suitable present to kings and dignitaries, to whom it was sent in baskets; and even the monarchs of Persia had their table supplied with salt from this remote spot. The valley extends for sixteen or seventeen miles, nearly in an east and west direction; but the available land is confined to a district in the centre, about five miles long by three or four broad. The sterile and fertile grounds run into each other, rendering it difficult to determine where the one ends and the other begins. Fresh and salt waters also are closely contiguous, both at their source, and in their direction. From the top of Gebel-el-Monta, or the Mountain of the Dead, a hill honeycombed with catacombs, Mr. St. John obtained a splendid view of the whole oasis. "It is difficult," he states, "to convey an idea of the pleasure I experienced in viewing the prospect that developed itself on all sides around me. It could scarcely have possessed more elements of the beautiful. The

verdure, the lakes, and the arid hills may be found elsewhere, and be deemed to afford contrasts sufficiently striking; but perhaps here alone are added in such close juxtaposition the glittering desert and the snowy fields of salt, looking like vast glaciers just beginning to melt beneath that sultry clime.

"In addition to this view, which may be obtained with little variety from almost any of the hills I have mentioned, many details of the scenery of the oasis are extremely pleasing. I never wish to enjoy prettier walks than some of those we took during our stay. There is generally a garden wall or a fence on either hand of the lanes, with pomegranate trees bursting over it in redundant luxuriance, and hanging their rich tempting purple fruit within reach of the hand, or the deep-green fig tree, or the apricot, or a huge ragged leaf of the banana, or the olive, or the vine. The spaces between these are not left idle, being carpeted with a spacious growth of bersim and lucerne that loads the air with its fragrance, and is often chequered with spots of a green light that steals in through the branching canopy above. Sometimes a tiny brook shoots its fleet waters along by the wayside, or lapses slowly with eddying surface, rustling gently between grassy banks or babbling over a pebbly bed. Here and there a rude bridge of palm trunks is thrown across, but the glassy current frequently glides at will athwart the road. At one place there is a meadow; at another, a

copse; but on all sides the date trees fling up their columnar forms, and wave aloft their leafy capitals. Occasionally a huge blue crane sails by on flagging wing to alight on the margin of some neighbouring pool; the hawk or the falcon soars or wheels far up in the air; the dove sinks fluttering on the bough; the quail starts up with its short, strong, whirring flight; and sparrows, with numerous other small predatory birds, go sweeping across the fields." In one respect the place differs from the ancient representations of it, which speak of its salubrious climate. Dangerous remittent fevers now infest the spot, and annually visit all the oases in the summer and autumn, being caused by the neglect which allows the collection of stagnant fœtid water that ought to be used up in irrigation.

The temple of Ammon, after having borne the brunt of ages, is represented by some majestic remains on a slightly elevated platform of rock, in the centre of an open glade. On approaching the site, a ruined gateway is seen standing immediately in front of the fragments of a chamber. Huge masses of calcareous stone lying in picturesque confusion, parts of the shafts of columns, capitals of alabaster, and other architectural monuments, cover the surface of the ground, and indicate the former existence of a considerable pile of buildings upon the spot. The temple was enclosed by a wall of immense thickness, nearly four hundred feet from north to south, and

more than three hundred feet from east to west, a considerable portion of which may be made out. A variety of chambers, probably the residences of the priests, with a central apartment or sanctuary, where the responses of the god were delivered in the midst of Druidical gloom, seem to have composed the interior, perhaps surrounded by an inner enclosure. The north end of the sanctuary remains, and exhibits a peculiar construction. The side walls, though six feet in thickness, are formed of comparatively small blocks, while the roof consisted of immense masses, some of which are still aloft. They are literally beams of stone, twenty-seven feet in length, four in breadth and depth, stretching from side to side, and projecting a little beyond the walls, so as to form a kind of exterior cornice. Hieroglyphics—processions of human figures with tablets above their heads, and representations of eagles or vultures, flying after each other, on a ground interspersed with stars—appear on many of the blocks. These were originally painted blue and red, as traces of such colours still remain. Among the hieroglyphics, the camel occurs as a character, and a bird resembling the ostrich. There are also sculptured representations of a hideous-looking personage with ram's horns, doubtless meant for the ram-faced Ammon.

In the neighbourhood of the temple, the ancients commemorated the "Fons Solis," or Fountain of the Sun, which the Macedonians

viewed with interest and veneration on account of the supposed diurnal change in the temperature of the water, from cold at noonday to heat at midnight. The following passage occurs in Lucretius :—

> "A fount, 'tis rumour'd, near the temple purls
> Of Jove Ammonian, tepid through the night,
> And cold at noonday; and th' astonish'd sage
> Stares at the fact, and deems the punctual sun
> Strides through the world's vast centre, as the shades
> Of midnight shroud us; and with gay reverse
> Maddens the well-spring: creed absurd and false."

Ovid makes a similar statement :—

> "Thy stream, O horn-crown'd Ammon! in the midst
> Chills us at noon, but warms at morn and eve."

Herodotus mentions further, that while the natives used the water to fertilize their gardens, this was only done at midday, the time of its greatest coolness. This celebrated fountain is a remarkably deep and clear pool, of a slightly bitter taste, enclosed in ancient times with masonry, fragments of which still remain. It is probably a thermal spring. Modern visitors describe the surface as continually covered with bubbles, which rise from the bottom, and give to the pool the appearance of being almost constantly in a state of effervescence. But the change of temperature assigned to it is apparent only, resulting from the strongly contrasted temperature of the external air at noon and night. Amidst the burning heat of midday, the water will feel cool to the hand, and be warm at night, when the atmosphere is in an opposite condition. Though divested

of mysterious properties, the fountain is an object of singular beauty, and of no little interest, when we reflect that thousands of years ago princes and sages stood by its margin, gazing with wonder and veneration upon its surface. The transparent water bubbles as gaily as ever, and reflects as brightly the splendour of the heavens, while time has impressed its changes upon everything human once associated with it. Shattered and moss-grown masonry peeps out at the brink from a growth of reeds and rushes intertwined with creeping plants; surrounding palms open between them, long, majestic, and shady vistas, like the solemn aisles of a great cathedral; while a rill emerges from the spring, and runs rippling towards the mouldering temple of the unshrined, dethroned, and nearly forgotten Ammon.

Alexander probably returned to the Nile by a direct route through the desert. At Memphis, he received reinforcements from Greece, and ambassadors from several of the states to congratulate him on his success. Having reviewed the troops, he arranged the government of his new kingdom, and wisely retained the ancient division of the country into two nomarchies or chief judgeships; one comprising Upper, and the other Lower Egypt. To the office of chief judges, who were charged with the due administration of justice, and formed the highest civil rank known to the natives, he appointed two of their own number, acting upon the principle of interfering as

little as possible with the established usages of the land. At the same time, to maintain his own authority, garrisons under Greek generals were stationed at Memphis and Pelusium, the chief fortresses; but their commanders were expressly enjoined to respect the ancient common law. The wonders of the hundred-gated Thebes did not tempt him to advance up the river, as information was received that the entire military force of the Persian empire was rapidly collecting in the country beyond the Euphrates, with the view of risking another battle. In the spring of the year B.C. 331, Alexander accordingly returned to Tyre, and prepared for a final and decisive encounter with Darius.

CHAPTER VI.

ALEXANDER IN MESOPOTAMIA, PERSIA, AND THE EASTERN PROVINCES.

(B.C. 331—326.)

Passage of the Euphrates and Tigris—Eclipse of the moon—Battle of Arbela—Occupation of the Persian capitals—Persepolis—Pursuit and death of Darius—Murder of Parmenio—Passage of the Hindoo Koosh—Campaigns on the Oxus and Jaxartes—Death of Cleitus—Capture of the Sogdian rock—Hunting grounds of Bokhara—Changed character of the army.

Towards the middle of the summer, B.C. 331, the grand attack upon the Persian empire commenced. Marching to the Euphrates, the army crossed the river at Thapsacus, probably about the end of July. This point of the great stream, nearly due east of Aleppo, was the most ancient and frequented of the passages over it, being fordable in the season of low water. Xerxes, the younger Cyrus, Darius, Alexander, and Crassus, here successively conducted armies from bank to bank. Merchant caravans passed for ages in a more peaceful manner; and at the same place, during the modern epoch, hordes of Arabs, Tartars, and Turks have poured across the boundary river; for the Euphrates may be

said to form the dividing line between the eastern and western parts of the old world. No attempt was made to dispute the passage with the invader, who had a bridge of boats constructed for his forces. Pleased with the site, he caused a city to be founded on the eastern bank, which received the name of Nicephorium. The miserable town of Racca now occupies the spot, once a flourishing place, the favourite residence of Haroun al Raschid. For nearly two months we have no information respecting the march of the troops, or of any events relating to them, except that a northerly course, through Mesopotamia, was pursued, the country in that direction being hilly, less exposed to the heat of summer than the southern plains, and abundantly supplied with the necessaries of life. Upon approaching the Tigris, some scouts were captured, from whom the intelligence was obtained, that Darius, at the head of a vast armament, was in motion on the opposite side. The tidings caused Alexander to hasten his march, in order to avoid a contested passage of the river; but no enemy appeared on arriving at it, for bold movements and military skill were alike qualities foreign to the Persian monarch.

It was in the vicinity of old Mosul, a place now in ruins, but about twenty-five miles north of the present city of that name, that Alexander crossed the Tigris. Though unopposed, the passage was effected with difficulty, owing to the rapidity of the stream, its steep banks, and obstacles in its bed. As the soldiers had to

wade through the water, holding their arms and equipages above their heads, they were in great danger of being swept away by the strength of the current. No fatal casualty occurred, but in many cases the men had to abandon their weapons and baggage to save themselves. A few days' rest recruited their vigour after a forced march, and restored discipline. During the interval, an almost total eclipse of the moon excited the apprehensions of the superstitious troops, who were unacquainted with the physical cause of the phenomenon. Having wandered to a far distance from home, explored pathless deserts, scaled rugged heights, and crossed dangerous rivers, their minds were predisposed to indulge misgivings, especially as it was known that a mortal struggle impended with a vast host of enemies. The waning of the orb in the height of its splendour—the change from customary brightness to a murky and copper hue—was connected with evil forebodings, as a manifestation of the displeasure of Heaven to men engaged in an enterprise of presumptuous daring. Even to minds informed by the light of science, the spectacle is not merely one of curiosity and interest. The temporary obscuration humbles the intellect that has predicted it, and awes the spirit by the grandeur and regularity of the movements which combine to produce the effect. Alexander was at no loss for soothsayers to interpret favourably the mysterious portent, and confidence revived at their

verdict, that the moon being on the side of the Persians, her impaired lustre intimated their defeat. The eclipse has been referred, by the calculations of astronomers, to the night of September 20th. If the Macedonians triumphed in the ensuing conflict, the issue was far different upwards of a century and a half later, when a lunar eclipse preceded the decisive battle of Pydna, which destroyed the independence of Macedonia, and reduced it to the condition of a Roman province.

In the meantime, Darius, having collected the whole available force of the east to his banner, had been marching northward in the country on the eastern border of the Tigris. Leaving his heavy baggage, the reserve, and the non-combatants at Arbela, he advanced to the river Lycus, now the Greater Zab, where five days were consumed in passing his vast host over the bridge. He then moved to the village of Gaugamela, or "the camel's house," so called from the legend of a dromedary having been there maintained at the public expense, for saving by its speed the life of a Persian king, said to have been Darius Hystaspes. The village cannot now be identified; but it stood on the great plain between the mountains of Kourdistan, the Tigris, and the Zab, part of which was occupied by ancient Nineveh, and is now overlooked by the mound of Nimroud, the scene of Mr. Layard's remarkable discoveries. This open ground was selected for the battle field, in order that the

numerous cavalry, scythed chariots, and elephants, might operate freely; for the defeat at Issus was attributed to the cramped position of the troops rather than to the superior prowess of their antagonists. Further to facilitate easy evolution and rapid movements, hillocks and other inequalities of the surface were carefully removed. The estimates given of the force are enormous exaggerations; but, after the greatest conceivable reduction, there was doubtless a sufficient number of fighting men encamped to trample the Macedonians to the dust, had the army possessed an efficient leader, and been inspired with a common sentiment. There is no reason to impute deficiency of personal courage to the soldiers of Darius. They were the bravest warriors of Asia, consisting of hardy races gathered from the high valleys of Cabul, the plains of the Oxus, the provinces of the Caspian Sea and Persian Gulf, the mountains of Armenia, and the levels of Syria, with a formidable body of mercenary Greeks. But they were strangers to each other in language and alien in habits, with enmities subsisting between different hordes, and no principle of attachment to a definite cause to give them cohesion. They had been brought together by the influence of subordinate authorities rather than by deference to the sovereign; and thus formed a heterogeneous mass, ready to fall into confusion on the occurrence of any mischance, and become completely disjointed by a well-directed blow.

A southern march of three days brought Alexander into the neighbourhood of Darius, without his precise position being known, the country having been cleared of its inhabitants. But on the following day a reconnoitring squadron of the Persian cavalry was seen, and some prisoners taken, from whom certain intelligence was obtained that the grand encampment lay at no great distance. Alexander now halted, and devoted four days to the task of preparing for battle, by giving some repose to his soldiers, and forming an entrenched camp in which to leave the invalids and baggage during the engagement. The army consisted of forty thousand infantry and seven thousand cavalry; a mere handful of men compared to the numbers they were about to oppose. But while their circumstances in a distant land invigorated resolution, the ability of their chief inspired confidence, and his conduct had not yet in the slightest degree impaired affection. It was now the early part of October, and nearly two years had elapsed since the victory at Issus. Soon after midnight, on the fifth day of the halt, the army left the camp, expecting to reach the enemy as the morning broke. But the distance was greater than had been supposed, and the sun was high above the horizon, when from a gentle elevation the Macedonians caught sight of the Persians, presenting apparently interminable lines of troops and ranges of tents. The two armies were still about four miles from each other; but the voices and

noises of the many nations in the opposite host were distinctly wafted in a general murmur through the distance by the autumnal breeze. Alexander deferred the contest, yielding to the advice of Parmenio, and explored as far as possible the intervening space, in order to ascertain if any concealed trenches and pits had been constructed. But he rejected the proposal of the general to attack by night, refusing to steal a victory, as he expressed it, and resolved to conquer without guile.

The action of the next day witnessed his most sanguine expectations of success amply realized. Particular details concerning it are somewhat voluminously given by the ancient writers, but they are of little interest to the general reader. The immense disproportion between the two armies proved no disadvantage to the less numerous, better disciplined, and more united body, though the victory was not gained without a severe struggle. It was mainly achieved by the phalanx, the companion cavalry, and the extraordinary vigour of the commander. Many divisions of the Persian host behaved with courage, and the mounted Asiatics made a strong resistance. But Darius seems to have acted without heart or hope, being the first to turn and fly, according to Arrian, and his flight was the signal for a general rout. The fugitives directed their course to the Zab, hotly pursued by the foe ; and the bridge being speedily blocked up with numbers, more perished in attempts to ford the river

than fell by the sword of the victors. Alexander reached the stream the same evening, where he rested till midnight, and was early the day following at Arbela, after which the battle received its name, as the nearest important place to the scene of action, though from forty to fifty miles distant. It was his earnest wish to capture the Persian monarch, but he was disappointed in this object. Darius had fled across the mountains in the direction of Ecbatana, escorted by a detachment of Bactrian cavalry, but the whole of his treasure and equipage fell into the hands of the conqueror. No local memorial exists at present of this important contest, unless a place called Beit Germa, or the house of bones, refers to it.

The battle of Arbela marks an epoch in the history of Western Asia. It extinguished a dynasty, terminating the monarchy of the Medo-Persians. Though Darius was still alive, he was completely powerless, and practically dethroned; for the fairest portion of his empire had either been wrested from him, or lay open for the invader to take possession of it. For the first time, also, European influence was established over a large section of the oriental world, and the door of knowledge respecting the countries of the further east was unlocked to the nations west of the Hellespont. The same event forms an era in the life of Alexander, when his character began rapidly to deteriorate, and his conduct reflected the melancholy change. The accomplishment of

early and long-cherished dreams of glory had a withering effect upon the better qualities of his nature. Generous forbearance suffered largely from the pride of success, while concern for the feelings and circumstances of those around him, the foundation of strong personal attachment, materially abated. On becoming great and powerful, he became capricious, tyrannical, and cruel; abandoned self-control; gave the rein to his passions freely; and was hurried by paroxysms of temper into crimes, which brought remorse to his own mind in calmer moods, alienated friendship, and remain as blots upon his career. Led by policy and vanity to assume the state of an Asiatic sovereign, he copied the excesses and despotism of eastern royalty. While adopting its public appearances, he contracted habits of gross dissipation. This change, like all other instances of moral declension, was not a sudden, but a gradual process, nor did his character become thoroughly corrupt; for even to the very last, Alexander preserved traces of the moderation, self-denial, sense of justice, and elevation of sentiment, which distinguished the commencement of his extraordinary life.

From the scene of the decisive conflict, the victorious army marched southwards to take possession of its more important fruits, the wealthy capitals in the basin of the Euphrates and Tigris. The gates of Babylon were thrown open to receive the approaching conqueror, and a long procession of the principal inhabit-

ants advanced to greet him with presents. They had never been well affected towards the Persians, who treated them as a subject people, and had maintained an oppressive government. Hence Babylonia, like Egypt, was prepared for a change of masters, and the new ruler was welcomed in the city with streets strewed with flowers, and smoking with incense. Alexander contemplated reviving the ancient importance of the "glory of kingdoms," by making it the capital of his empire, but was arrested by the hand of death when commencing the project. Susa, a favourite seat of royalty, submitted as a matter of necessity, and placed its treasures at his disposal. Some monuments being found within its walls, which had been carried off as trophies from Greece, he ordered the brazen statues to be sent back to Athens, where they re-appeared upon their pedestals. Persia Proper, corresponding to the modern province of Fars, was next entered. The route, which was afterwards followed by Tamerlane, lay along the valley of Ram Hermuz, and through the difficult mountain pass of Kelat Suffeed, the "White Castle." As the original seat of the Persian race, from which they emerged to become a conquering people, and regarded as a kind of sacred centre to the empire, the inhabitants anticipated a wrathful visitation from Alexander, in revenge for the injuries which successive sovereigns had inflicted upon Greece. They assembled, therefore, under the satrap to defend their passes ;

but overcoming opposition, the invader forced his way to Persepolis, where their anticipations were verified. This city was viewed as the head or metropolis of the entire monarchy, even after the seat of government had been removed to Susa and Ecbatana. It was the place where the kings occasionally appeared in their greatest splendour, entertaining the grandees of the court on solemn festivals, as when "Ahasuerus made a feast unto all his princes and his servants;—when he showed the riches of his glorious kingdom, and the honour of his excellent majesty, many days." It was not only their grandest residence in life, but their home in death. The bodies of deceased monarchs were interred in the neighbourhood; their robes and personal effects were preserved in sepulchral treasuries; and the chief members of their households were expected to reside near their tombs. Thus representing the might and majesty of the empire, the overthrow of Persepolis was calculated to be a visible token to the people that its power was no more, and that the star of a new dynasty had risen upon the nations of the east. Alexander, therefore, allowed his soldiers to plunder the city, while, after a triumphal feast in the royal palace, he consigned it with his own hand to the flames. If this outrage was committed, according to a common relation, in a moment of intoxication, it can scarcely be doubted that it was an act with which his mind had become familiar, viewing it as a measure of retributive justice

for the sack of Athens by Xerxes. Monuments of the Persepolitan palace, composed of enormous blocks of marble, covered with enigmatical inscriptions and symbolic figures, solitary in their situation and peculiar in their character, mark its site and proclaim its magnificence, rising above the deluge of years which has swept away almost every trace of Susa, Ecbatana, and Babylon.

The reported movements of Darius drew Alexander from the south in the early part of the year 330. The unhappy sovereign had lingered at Ecbatana, the capital of Media, a residence of the royal race, whither he had fled for refuge. He still retained the name of king; had collected some faithful troops, was independent, but insecure. It is very improbable that he calculated upon again being able to raise an army for another battle. But the possibility of personal daring exposing his rival to some fatal mischance might be reckoned on, with the feasibleness of regaining his position, if prepared with a force to act in such an emergency. Should no such event occur, he must have expected speedy pursuit ; in which case, his plan seems to have been to retire to one of the north-eastern provinces on the Oxus, securing his passage by a sufficient body-guard, and trusting for future safety to the remoteness of the region. Alexander, by rapid marches, entered Media in twelve days. Darius fled from the capital on hearing of his approach, and left the summer palace of his race to be occupied by a

new master. Following the course of the fugitive, Alexander pressed on to the ancient Rhagæ, in the neighbourhood of the present Teheran, travelling with such rapidity that horses and men were completely overcome with fatigue. After a halt of five days, he crossed the Elburz mountains by the pass of the Caspian gates—one of the defiles leading through the range to that sea—and soon afterwards learned that Darius had been arrested by the satraps who attended him, and was a prisoner in their hands.

Bessus, the powerful satrap of Bactria, a district corresponding with the modern Bokhara, was the principal actor in the treacherous movement against the unfortunate monarch. The object of the confederates was to secure their own independence, either by his murder, or by delivering him up to his pursuer, as circumstances and interest might direct. Tidings of such intentions increased the eagerness of Alexander to overtake the party, and rescue one of a line of kings from traitorous subjects and injurious treatment. He redoubled his exertions for successive days, placed himself at the head of a body of picked men capable of vigorous effort, and at last came up with the retreating band. His presence threw the conspirators into consternation. They wished their captive to leave the vehicle in which he was confined, mount on horseback, and fly with them. Upon his refusal, preferring to trust himself to an open enemy than accompany treacherous friends, a

mortal blow was inflicted, and Alexander reached the chariot to find its occupant a corpse. "This," says Arrian, "was the end of Darius, who as a warrior was singularly remiss and injudicious. In other respects his character is blameless; either because he was just by nature, or because he had no opportunity of displaying the contrary, as his accession and the Macedonian invasion were simultaneous. It was not in his power, therefore, to oppress his subjects, as his danger was greater than theirs. His reign was one unbroken series of disasters. First occurred the defeat of his satraps in the cavalry engagement on the Granicus; then the loss of Æolia, Ionia, both Phrygias, Lydia, Caria, and the whole maritime coast as far as Cilicia; then his own defeat at Issus, followed by the capture of his mother, wife, and children, and by the loss of Phœnicia and all Egypt. At Arbela he was the first to commence a disgraceful flight, where he lost an innumerable army, composed of barbarians of almost every race. Thenceforth he wandered from place to place as a fugitive in his own empire, until he was at last miserably betrayed by his own retinue, and loaded, king of kings as he was, with ignominy and chains. Finally, he was treacherously assassinated by his friends. Such was the misfortune of Darius while living. After his death, he was buried with royal honours, his children were brought up and educated in the same manner as if their father had been still king, and the conqueror married his

daughter. At his death he was about fifty years old."

Having been rejoined by the main body of his army, Alexander had to dismiss his Greek auxiliaries, whose term of service had expired. They naturally wished to return to their western homes, and were discharged with suitable rewards. Even some of the Macedonians seemed to have thought it high time to discontinue making forced marches and exploring strange countries. But upon an appeal being made to their loyalty, they pledged themselves to follow their king wherever he might lead them, and some of the Greek confederates were induced to remain. The effective force of the army was, however, reduced to twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. From this period, through the next four years, Alexander acted the part of a knight-errant seeking adventures, far more than that of a general with a definite object in view. He traversed countries inhabited by bold and daring tribes, difficult by nature, seldom explored by travellers, and little known to geographers, some of which have never since been visited by an European force. Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, and other districts, at present comprehended under the names of Khorasan, Bokhara, Turkestan, and Afghanistan, were overrun or entered; for though conquest was spoken of, the inhabitants were simply overmatched whenever they ventured upon a struggle, and resumed their independent habits as soon as the invaders departed.

"Macedonia's madman" is a title as truly applicable to Alexander through the whole of this part of his career, as when he fired the Persepolitan palace, or, intoxicated with wine, slew his friend Cleitus. It would be unprofitable to detail minutely his operations in regions quite unknown to the majority of readers; and many of the localities named in his campaigns have never been identified. A general idea of the movements of the army, with some leading incidents, is all that need be attempted.

The remainder of the year, after the death of Darius, was chiefly spent in the countries bordering the southern shores of the Caspian Sea, and in the northern parts of modern Khorassan, passing easterly within the limits of the present Afghan territory. Here a plain of extraordinary fertility by the side of a river was selected for the site of a colony, to be called Alexandria Ariorum. The city survives under the name of Herat, a place of commercial importance, conspicuously connected with the causes which led to our recent unhappy interference in Afghanistan. In this neighbourhood an incident occurred which throws a dark shadow upon the character of Alexander. Philotus, the son of his old and faithful general Parmenio, being arrested on a charge of treasonable conspiracy, was brought to trial before a number of his comrades, found guilty, and put to death by the spears of the jurors. The evidence was of a very questionable nature, chiefly founded upon his own statements while

under torture. But he had exasperated the king, who appeared against him as prosecutor, and seems to have been sacrificed quite as much to private resentment as to public justice. Parmenio, the father, was at the time absent in Media, where he had been left with a strong detachment of the army. But he, too, was condemned, as implicated in the same charge; and without being heard, a messenger was at once despatched, with an order commanding a subordinate officer to despatch the veteran. This was a mode adopted by the Persian kings in capital proceedings; as also by the Turkish sultans in modern times. The death-warrant of an individual was signed, and entrusted to a particular person for execution, the time, place, and manner, being left to his discretion. Mounted on a swift dromedary, the messenger crossed the great salt desert of central Persia, and reached Ecbatana in eleven days. The warrant was obeyed by the officer to whom it was addressed; and Parmenio fell beneath his sword, while reading a letter which had been forged in his son's name for the purpose of throwing him off his guard. The general was seventy years of age, almost the whole of which period had been spent in the service of the royal family of Macedon. Nothing is more improbable than that after a long term of devoted loyalty, he should have given the slightest countenance to any plot against the life of his sovereign. All the known facts of the case tend to the inference, that the

son had been unfairly dealt with, and that the father was murdered from an apprehension of his just resentment. The barbarous iniquity of the transaction needs no comment.

After a winter spent in Afghanistan, the army proceeded northwards into ancient Bactria, in the spring of B.C. 329, crossing the lofty range of mountains which divides the districts, and separates the waters flowing southwards to the Indian Ocean from those which descend to the lakes of central Asia. This range, the Paropamisus of the ancients, and the Hindoo Koosh of the moderns, has peaks rising to the height of eighteen thousand feet above the sea, covered with ever-during snow. It appears to have been crossed not far from the present Cabul, probably by the route which Burnes followed from that city in 1831, and thus describes :— "We commenced the ascent from the pass of Hajeeguk, which was about a thousand feet above us, and twelve thousand four hundred feet from the sea. We took our departure early in the morning of the 22nd of May. The frozen snow bore our horses, and we reached the summit before the sun's influence had softened it. The thermometer fell four degrees below the freezing point ; the cold was very oppressive, though we were clad in skins with the fur inside. I often blessed the good nawab of Cabul, who had forced a pelisse of otter skin upon me that proved most useful. The passage was not achieved without adventure, for there was no road to guide us through the snow ;

and the surveyor, Mohammed Ali, along with his horse, went rolling down a declivity one after the other, for about thirty yards. This exhibition in front served to guide the rear to a better path. We were now about to commence the ascent of the pass of Kaloo, which is still a thousand feet higher than that of Hajeeguk; but our progress was again arrested by snow. We doubled it by passing round its shoulder, and took a side path through a valley, watered by a tributary of the Oxus, which led us to Bameean." Alexander's troops suffered severely from cold, snow, and fatigue on the journey; but still, in the simple language of Arrian, "he moved forwards not a bit the less; with difficulty, indeed, through deep snow, and without provisions; but still he moved on." No mention is made by his historian of Bameean, an immense city in the heart of the mountains, consisting of an apparently endless series of caves, excavated in the rocks on both sides of a valley, with two gigantic idols, a male and female figure, cut in alto-relievo on the face of a hill. Both the caves and images are mentioned by the historian of Tamerlane, and were probably constructed in the interval.

The object of the expedition was to subdue Bessus, the satrap of Bactria, and the leading conspirator against Darius, who had assumed the royal name, and placed the tiara erect upon his head—the symbol of sovereignty. The traitor fled in terror before his assailant, but so completely laid waste the country, that on

leaving the mountains, Alexander found himself in a wilderness instead of a land of plenty. He rapidly pursued the fugitive to the Oxus of the Greek writers, called the Jihoon by the older Asiatics, and the Amoo by the present inhabitants of its banks. This is the largest of the interior rivers of Asia, and the loftiest in its source of any known stream, descending from the high table-land of Chinese Tartary, and flowing through the deserts of Turkestan to the Sea of Aral. Arrian speaks of it as entering the Caspian, from which an actual change of course since his time has been surmised, and travellers have anxiously looked out for the dry river bed. But the historian doubtless committed a geographical error. In other respects the notices of the stream agree with its present aspect. It was about six stadia in breadth at the point where Alexander reached it. The season would be the early summer, when the snow was melting in the mountains, and the river tolerably full. The current was rapid, and the water deep. Burnes, who saw it for the first time in June, and who was in the line of the conqueror's route, describes it rolling in the grandeur of solitude, about eight hundred yards wide and twenty feet deep, the flow swift, and the water loaded with the soil of the highlands. The Macedonians lighted fires on some elevated ground, that the distressed in the rear might perceive they were not far from their comrades; and sand hillocks are still common along its course, with outer banks,

which limit the influence of the inundations. No boats or rafts being procurable, nor materials for constructing them, the soldiers passed over by means of floats made of the tent-skins stuffed with dry grass and reeds. The hazardous operation was safely performed in five days. Burnes made the passage in a singular manner, now common, but quite peculiar to the country. A pair of horses swam across, drawing a boat after them, to which they were yoked by a rope fixed to the hair of the mane. The description of the population of the river in remote ages, "They exercised robbery and lived by spoil," correctly pictures the present habits of the nomadic Turkoman tribes.

Soon after passing the river, Bessus was betrayed into the hands of his pursuer, who ordered him to be scourged, mutilated, and sent into Persia to be put to death by the relatives of Darius. The traitor deserved punishment, but Alexander acted with disgraceful barbarity, which his own historian justly condemns. He had plainly imbibed the spirit of oriental despotism, and his future conduct supplies little to distinguish him from the ruthless warriors who have been the scourge of Asia. The army marched next to Maracanda, a place which has preserved the greater part of its ancient name in that of Samarcand, the seat of the government of Tamerlane. Leaving here a garrison, the untiring commander pushed on to the Jaxartes, the river Sihoon, or Sir, of modern geography. He had now reached the

north-eastern limit of the great empire of Cyrus, having traversed a region to which that conqueror had penetrated, but which had never been held by his successors except in the loosest kind of subjection. His position bordered on the western frontier of the present Chinese empire; and to commemorate the advance a site was selected for a city, to be called Alexandreia Eschata, or "Extreme." Probably Khojend, on the left bank of the Jaxartes, may be the place in question. At this point danger threatened the army, and disaster befel it. An insurrection spreading through the country in the rear, a strong detachment was sent to secure Maracanda, while the main body repressed hostility in its neighbourhood with merciless ferocity. At the same time barbarian races appeared on the opposite side of the river—wild horsemen—whose menacing attitude apparently challenged an assault. Accepting the defiance, the troops passed the stream, and inflicted chastisement upon the fierce Scythians, as they are called, the nomades of the Tartarian steppes. But they returned to hear of the almost total destruction of the detachment, nearly five thousand strong, sent to repress the revolt at a distance. Unskilful leaders suffered themselves to be decoyed to a remote and unfavourable position, where the soldiers were surrounded by the tribes of the desert, and nearly all of them perished. By an extraordinary march of four days, Alexander gained the scene of the first and greatest disaster

that ever befel his arms; it was on the banks of the Polytimetus, or "highly valuable," perhaps a translation of the native name into Greek. The river is identical with the one on which the modern city of Bokhara is seated. Arrian describes it as terminating in the sands, and though the Bokhara river empties itself into a lake, yet through a great portion of the year the supply of water is too scanty to force the passage, and the sands of the desert absorb it. With shocking injustice and cruelty, Alexander revenged the loss of his soldiers, ravaging the valley of the river in its whole length and breadth, and indiscriminately venting his wrath upon the peaceful as well as the hostile inhabitants.

The army remained over the year B.C. 328 in the countries of the Oxus and Jaxartes, dealing with a rude but high-spirited population, marching and counter-marching to check hostile outbreaks, and reduce secluded strongholds. The death of Cleitus, and the assault of the Sogdian rock, are the main events.

The fate of Cleitus is intimately connected with the conduct of his master in making his outward state correspond to that of the Persian kings. He wore the tiara erect, adopted the Median dress, assumed the most distinctive ornaments of royal attire, and exacted on great occasions, not only from the Asiatics but from the Greeks and Macedonians, the homage of personal prostration. The formality observed in approaching the royal presence, though not

exactly the *kotou* of the Chinese, was an attitude too servile for independent minds to brook. A Spartan is said to have gone through the process by dropping a ring, and stooping to pick it up. It has been said that Alexander was personally indifferent to the ceremony, and acted simply from policy, deeming it necessary to secure respect for his authority with oriental subjects. But it is more probable that views of policy were advanced more as an excuse than a motive; and that he was really influenced by self-elation, the effect of unparalleled successes upon an aspiring temper. As a foreign custom, the exaction was offensive to the Greeks, and doubly so as a piece of Asiatic etiquette; for the observance of it would not only place them upon a level with the conquered people, but involve a still more humbling consideration. Callisthenes is represented as urging this objection with force; "I call upon you, O Alexander, to remember Greece; and that the whole object of your expedition was its welfare; to subject Asia to Greece, not Greece to Asia." He argued likewise against the prostration, on the ground that it exceeded the reverence due to any mortal: "Alexander, in my opinion, is worthy of every honour which, without exceeding due bounds, can be paid to a man; but a strong line of distinction has been drawn between divine and human honours. It is unbecoming, therefore, to confound these distinctions; to swell men by excessive honours beyond their fair proportion, and thus, as far

as depends upon us, by granting equal honours to men, degrade the gods to an unseemly humiliation." There were not wanting sycophants to assert, that Alexander was more than mortal; that his deeds had far surpassed those of Hercules and Bacchus, who were worshipped; and that his divinity had been admitted at the shrine of Ammon. But the feeling of opposition was so strong that the king was compelled to leave the ceremony optional. Still the mooting of the question gave dissatisfaction to some of his trustiest followers, and originated heart-burnings in the camp.

Among those who opposed Alexander's partiality to oriental usages, Cleitus was one of the most vehement. He had been the companion of his youth, the preserver of his life at the Granicus, had risen to become one of his principal generals, and perhaps grafted upon his services the habit of taking greater liberties than position or prudence warranted. It happened at a banquet, when both were present, that courtly tongues began to expatiate upon the exploits of the king, and to minister to his vanity by extravagant praises. Flattery of this kind was always acceptable to him, but Cleitus interposed to check it, as tending to favour the introduction of the hated ceremony. He spoke of armies being often unjustly treated in the case of victories, the credit being given to the general, and none reserved for the soldiers. But opposition only roused the flatterers to more excessive adulation. They

began to draw a parallel between Philip and Alexander, disparaging the merits of the father in order to extol those of the son. Cleitus, on his part, defended Philip, under whom he had served, and drew an equally disparaging picture of the actions of Alexander, till, waxing warm in the altercation, and being heated with wine, he became rude and violent, repeatedly exclaiming, as he extended his right hand, "This hand, O Alexander—this hand saved your life." The king, equally inflamed with wine, and furious with passion, attempted to rush upon him, but was held back by some of his attendants, while Cleitus was hurried out of the banquet chamber. But Alexander was not to be restrained. Seizing the spear of a sentinel, he hastened after the object of his wrath, who, quite as frantic as himself, was returning to the room, having broke away from his guards. A single thrust of the lance was fatal to Cleitus, who fell dead upon the spot. Thus ended a drunken revel. The deed was scarcely done when bitter repentance seized the doer. For three days he kept his chamber, rejected his customary food, and execrated himself for having slain the brother of his nurse. But in vain was his remorse to restore the life of a faithful though erring follower, or remove the stain from his own character which such an act necessarily fixes upon it.

The Sogdian rock, or, as it was emphatically called, the "Rock," from its remarkable difficulty of access, was one of those hill-forts in

the country beyond the Oxus which are common in India and various parts of Asia. It was completely insulated, and so precipitous on all sides as to be deemed perfectly incapable of ascent, except by a single narrow path, which a few defenders might hold. On a broad platform at a considerable height there was a fortress, with a garrison, in which Oxyartes, an unsubdued chief, had placed his wife and family. An insulated hill near the pass of Derbend, often mentioned in the history of Tamerlane's expeditions, is probably the precise spot. Alexander determined upon the capture of this stronghold, but almost despaired of success upon seeing it. When summoned to surrender, the defenders returned the taunting question, "Have the Macedonians wings?" A high reward being offered in the army to the first twelve men who should succeed in scaling the rock, a large number appeared as candidates for the adventure, tempted by the prospect of wealth and independence. Three hundred of the most expert and able were finally selected. It was resolved to attempt the most precipitous side in order to deceive the garrison, and to make it by night. Deep and solidly frozen snow lay upon the ground, and filled up interstices in the rock. The climbers were furnished with the iron pegs which were used to fasten the tents, and cords were attached to each by way of ladder. These pegs were driven into crevices of the cliff, and firmly held by the hard snow, so as to sustain the weight of the

body. But more than thirty of the climbers lost their hold or their footing, and perished. The rest succeeded in reaching the summit, and when seen at daylight by the inhabitants of the rock actually above their heads, they deemed it useless to contend with men answering to their conceptions of genii, and surrendered at discretion. Among the captives was Roxana, the beautiful daughter of the chief, whom Alexander resolved to marry, and whose countrymen were conciliated by the alliance to acknowledge themselves his subjects.

Another adventure in this region deserves notice. Both the oriental sovereigns and the satraps had extensive grounds stocked with wild animals for their own hunting, corresponding to the chases of our Norman kings. One of these preserves or parks on the banks of the Euphrates, belonging to the satrap Belesis, was laid waste by the Greeks under the younger Cyrus, but its site is at present capable of being identified. Quintus Curtius thus refers to another, in the district of Bazaria, which is supposed to be the modern Bokhara :—"Of the barbarous splendour prevailing in these parts, there is no stronger mark 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 by a wall, and interspersed with towers for the reception of the hunters. In one park it was said that the game had remained undisturbed for four

generations. Alexander, entering it with his whole army, commanded that the beasts throughout it should be roused from their lairs." In this excursion the king was attacked by a lion; and rejecting the proffered aid of an attendant, he succeeded in despatching the king of beasts with his own hand. Burnes, when in Bokhara, procured a manuscript description of the country in Persian, which mentioned it as having been at one time a hunting thicket. He found also in the volume a passage referring to one of its rulers, at a date long posterior to the age of Alexander, which confirms the main features of the above relation, and illustrates the permanence of national usages. It is as follows :—"This is the account of Shumsabad, which was built by king Shumsoodeen. He purchased a tract of country half a furlong in extent, and laid it out in gardens, orchards, and houses of surpassing splendour; and he dug canals and aqueducts, and expended a great sum of money. In addition to this he constructed a preserve for animals, and bounded it by walls which were a mile in extent; he brought pigeons and birds of every description, as well as the domestic animals, and placed them in this preserve; he likewise introduced the wild beasts of the field, the wolf, the fox, the hog, the deer, the nelghee; those that were tame he separated from those that were wild: and the latter he enclosed by higher walls, that they might not escape. When king Shumsoodeen died, his brother succeeded him; and he

added to the buildings, and increased the number of animals in the preserve." It is very evident that Bokhara had for a series of ages, upon a varying scale, its "New Forests" and "Zoological Gardens."

Towards the summer of B.C. 327, Alexander repassed the mighty barrier of the Hindoo Koosh, and conducted a series of desultory excursions along its southern side, attacking the mountain tribes, storming hill-forts, and preparing for a campaign in the country beyond the Indus. With a view to this expedition, the following winter was spent in the neighbourhood of Cabul. By this time the army must have lost much of its original character. Battle, and the fatigues of the march, had made extensive havoc. Numbers had been drafted off for the garrisons formed, and the colonies planted; a large detachment of fourteen thousand men having been left to secure the country of the Oxus. Probably the Europeans remaining did not amount to half the force that at first crossed the Hellespont; but the reductions were more than supplied by the enlistment of auxiliary natives in different districts. The army thus corresponded to the Anglo-Indian of the present day in its complexion, consisting of European and Asiatic troops, disciplined and commanded by Macedonian officers. The fate of the Greek colonies planted in the countries recently traversed, has excited much inquiry, and originated no little speculation. The soldiers would, of course,

intermarry with native women in their respective localities, becoming the founders of mixed races ; and there are tribes now existing in the valley of the Oxus which boast a descent from the Macedonian warriors. Travellers in the region have thought they perceived traces of a Grecian lineage in the form and features of its inhabitants. However doubtful these identifications, the historical fact of the country having been overrun by the troops of Alexander is confirmed by the traditions of the ignorant natives, who are familiar with the name of Iskander the Great, and with corrupt legends of his adventures and exploits.

CHAPTER VII.

ALEXANDER IN INDIA, AND HIS RETURN TO PERSIA.

(B.C. 326—324.)

Motives to the campaign—Ignorance of India—Passage of the Indus—The Punjab—Seasonal rains—Crossing of the Hydaspes—Encounter with Porus—Discontent of the troops—Return of the expedition—Descent of the Hydaspes—Adventures among the Malli—Descent of the Indus—Examination of the Delta—The Ichthyophagi—Sufferings of the army—Voyage of Nearchus—Alexander at Susa—His policy.

CURIOSITY, together with the reputed wealth of the region, and the ambition of over-stepping the limits of preceding conquerors, even the boundaries of the world as then known to European geographers and western Asiatics, contributed to lead Alexander across the Indus. After the warfare of the last three years—far more fruitful of blows and toil than profit—it appears surprising that the Macedonian soldiers should have been willing to venture into more remote and untried lands. But the very barrenness of the recent campaigns might be an inducement. Though nothing positive was known of the country to which their attention was directed, yet ample compensation for all their toils might be anticipated in it, for

rumour had long and loudly spoken to the western nations of its opulence; while Phœnician commerce had brought its rich products to their market, as cotton, spices, ivory, and precious stones. It is certain, that when this hope was disappointed, the troops refused to advance, and stopped the career of their leader. A Persian India is mentioned as a component part of the Persian empire, forming a separate satrapy, and forwarding its tribute to the royal treasury. But its limits are lost in uncertainty, and probably a territory is meant contiguous to the Indus, but not beyond it. In the early days of the monarchy, perhaps Darius Hystaspes conducted his armies across the river: but his successors were too much occupied by wars with their revolted subjects, and with Greece, to follow the example, and acquire permanent control. In the latter years of the empire, its authority did not extend to the borders of the stream. Hence, previous to the expedition of Alexander, the only knowledge of India possessed by Greek or Persian was scanty in the extreme, indefinite, or inaccurate. Herodotus had written of it as the richest and most populous part of the world, bounded on the east by a sandy desert, which no one was acquainted with, the engirdling ocean lying beyond it. Ctesias, during a long residence at the court of Artaxerxes, collected marvellous relations of its products, but appears not to have heard of the Ganges, of the country on its banks, or of the peculiar constitution of society. Alexander, who never

neglected to obtain geographical information wherever accessible, as essential to his plans of conquest, failed in India for want of it. He evidently had no conception of the extent of the region before him, and committed the important error of entering it in the rainy season, which exposed his troops to suffering, and provoked them to disobedience.

Immense preparations were made for the campaign. It opened in the spring of the year B.C. 326. The army was collected in the valley of the Cabul river, the route afterwards followed by Tamerlane and Nadir Shah in their invasions. It is universally agreed that the Indus was passed at or near the modern Attock. This has been an ordinary point of passage for ages; as the great boundary stream here flows through a contracted channel, and is not more than two hundred and sixty yards wide before its periodical rise. Burnes, in the middle of March, found the current strong, but tranquil, the water very deep, and of an azure blue colour. It could scarcely have been later than April when Alexander crossed, because of the swell commencing from the melting of the snow in the Himalaya Mountains. Nor could it have been earlier, because the rainy season soon came on, and the summer rains are not known to begin in northern India till June. Two generals, with a detachment, had previously been sent forward to construct a bridge for the passage of the army, for which the forest-trees

on the banks of the river supplied ample materials. Runjeet Sing, the late ruler of the Sikhs, retained a fleet of thirty-seven boats constantly at Attock, to be thrown across the stream when required by his troops. These boats were placed at a short distance from each other, and the communication completed by planks. But such a bridge is said to be only practicable between November and April, when the violence of the current is diminished; and even then it is difficult to keep the boats stationary, owing to its strength. Alexander's historian conjectures, that his bridge consisted of boats, connected by planks, the whole kept steady by "huge wicker baskets," full of stones, let down from each prow. It is a singular coincidence, after the lapse of two thousand years, to find the same expedient in practice on the spot to resist the current. But instead of wicker baskets, Runjeet Sing employed skeleton frame-works of wood, filled with stones, attached by strong ropes to his boats.

Gaining the left bank, the army entered the Punjab, or Land of the Five Streams, now a part of the Anglo-Indian empire. The name refers to five rivers by which it is watered, which rise in the boundary mountains to the north, and pursue a south-westerly direction to the great frontier current. They are, from north to south, the Hydaspes of the Greeks, or the modern Jhelum ; the Acesines or Chenab ; the Hydraotes or Ravee ; the Hyphasis or

Beas; and the Hesudrus or Sutlege. The first and second unite; the third flows into the joint stream; the fourth and fifth blend their waters; and all merge in a common channel before reaching the grand trunk of the Indus. Ancient representations of the country intersected by these rivers are true to its present aspect, as for the most part level and champaign, occasioned by the quantities of soil washed down from the mountains, and deposited by the inundations.

The first ruler encountered was the prince or rajah of the territory stretching from the Indus to the Hydaspes. He hastened to conciliate the invader by an offering of two hundred talents, three thousand oxen, ten thousand sheep, and thirty elephants. At his capital, called Taxila, the army halted, and appears to have stayed some time, as the seasonal rains began to fall heavily. These rains are swept up from the Arabian Sea by the south-west monsoon, and consequently reach the shores of India at a later period, as they proceed from south to north. At Anjengo, in the extreme south, they are not experienced before April is far advanced; at Bombay they fall towards the close of May; at Delhi about the end of June; and in the Punjab they commence about the same period. Alexander may, therefore, be supposed to have been in Taxila at Midsummer. Festivities, horse races, gymnastic contests, and other amusements marked his stay—expedients to divert the

soldiers, who began to suffer from the season, and were unhealthy. The site of the capital is with probability referred to the present village of Manikyala, situated on a spacious plain, about midway between the rivers. It has a "tope," visible for many miles, one of those singular mounds of masonry of which there are several examples between Peshawur and Cabul, apparently the tombs of a race of princes once reigning in Upper India.

Advancing to the Hydaspes, a rajah of different spirit, named Porus, confronted the troops. He had a standing army of thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, and two hundred elephants, with two hundred and fifty war chariots, and ranked among the most powerful rulers of the country. The opposite bank of the river was lined with infantry and cavalry, while the stream itself was in flood, little less than a mile in breadth, rolling strong and turbid. The hopelessness of openly attempting the passage was at once apparent. If successful in crossing, difficulty might be apprehended in re-forming the army, as the horses were likely to become unmanageable at sight of the elephants, and even throw themselves from the rafts before landing. Stratagem was therefore resorted to. For many nights the soldiers were led up and down the river, making loud noises to attract attention. Parallel movements were made by the enemy, in the expectation that a passage would be attempted, till such demonstrations were disregarded, as nothing serious

followed. Suspicion having been lulled, and a suitable site selected at some distance from his camp, Alexander placed himself at the head of a strong detachment to make in earnest the hazardous experiment. A whole night was consumed in constructing rafts for the embarkation. The rain fell in torrents, and a tropical thunder-storm exhibited its terrible grandeur. But if the strife of the elements distressed the men, it served their purpose, by concealing the noise of their movements, and rendering the enemy more unsuspicious. The preparations were completed by the early dawn, and the opposite bank gained in safety.

Alexander advanced without delay to the attack of Porus, who had no alternative but to collect his whole force, and move from his post, to occupy the most advantageous ground for a battle. The river was thus left unguarded, and the remainder of the army passed over it in front of the camp. The Indians, though defeated in the ensuing engagement, long maintained the contest, and won the respect of their foes by skill and courage. Their elephants especially annoyed the Macedonians, broke their ranks, and disordered the phalanx, till losing their drivers, and smarting with wounds, they became indiscriminately dangerous to friend and foe. Unlike Darius, the rajah was one of the last to quit the field, and was captured in the pursuit. The fallen prince behaved with placid dignity on being brought into the presence of the victor, and his manly bearing was appreciated. On being

invited to prefer a request, he replied, that he only sought to be treated as a king, and declined to name any particular personal favour. Porus was allowed to retain his dignity, and received with honour as an ally. There was, perhaps, more of policy than magnanimity in this proceeding; for Alexander must by this time have perceived, that without auxiliaries he could not hope to conquer a country which widened before him, and exhibited larger crowds as he advanced. Two cities, or military posts, were founded near the scene of his victory, named Nicæa and Bucephala, the latter after his steed, which had died of wounds or fatigue in the action. Timber was ordered to be felled in the forests lining the upper course of the Hydaspes, and to be floated down the stream, for the purpose of building a fleet to navigate the inland waters.

On arriving at the Acesines, it was passed without difficulty, and likewise the Hydraotes, at a point below the modern Lahore. Thence the army marched to the Hyphasis, or rather to the river formed by its junction with the Hesedrus, now the Sutlege; here its course stayed. Beyond the river lay the great sandy desert, which separates the Punjab from the basin of the Ganges. Of the fertility and populousness of the latter region, ever considered the genuine home of the Indian races, some information had doubtless been obtained. But however reports of the great kingdom of the Prasii—the present Bengal and Oude—with

its capital Palibothra—perhaps near the modern Patna—might excite the ardour of Alexander, a very different impression was made upon the minds of the soldiers. They saw no definite end to their toils, no limit to their marches, and had been abundantly disappointed in the present campaign. The gold expected in the hands of the natives, to be cheaply obtained by the sword, had not been found. Exposure to drenching rains, and camping on damp ground, had proved fatal to numbers, besides inducing general sickness. Suffering, with greater remoteness from Macedonia, and the diminished probability of surviving to return, directed their minds with irresistible force to the thought of home, and produced a general determination at any rate not to have the distance widened. Alexander was speedily aware of the temper of the army, and that the officers were as much disinclined to advance further as the men. Summoning the principal commanders to a council, he addressed them upon the subject, and earnestly urged an onward movement. But, at the same time, he seems to have been fully sensible that however persuasion might succeed, the exercise of authority would be useless.

Silence followed his address. At last, pressed to speak freely upon the question, Cœnus, the oldest of the generals, delivered his sentiments. Though the speech attributed to him by Arrian is the composition of the historian, it may be considered a faithful expression of

the opinions and feelings of the army. After referring to his age and standing, he reminded the king how few of the Macedonians and Greeks who originally commenced the expedition remained. "When you saw," said he, "the Thessalians no longer encountering dangers with alacrity, you acted wisely and sent them home from Bactria. Of the other Greeks, some have been settled in the cities founded by you, where all are not willing residents; some still share in our toils and dangers. They and the Macedonians have lost some of their numbers on the field of battle; others have been disabled by wounds; others left behind in various parts of Asia; but the majority have perished by disease. A few out of many now survive. Nor do they possess the same bodily strength as before, while their spirits are still more depressed. Those whose parents are still living, long to revisit them. All long to behold once more their wives, their children, and the homes of their native land. This natural desire is pardonable in men who, by your munificence, will return powerful and wealthy—not, as before, poor and without influence. Do not, therefore, wish to lead us contrary to our inclinations; for men whose heart is not in the service, can never prove equally useful in the hour of danger. And, if agreeable, do you also return home with us, see your mother once more, arrange the affairs of Greece, and place in your father's house the trophies of our great and numerous victories."

Alexander abruptly dismissed the officers, as they all signified their approval of the views of the speaker. He re-assembled them the next day to make another attempt, but failed to overcome their reluctance, and remained secluded in his tent for three days, hoping in vain for a favourable change. Then submitting to the necessity of the case, he signified his resolution to retreat, to the joy of the whole army. The Sutlege was therefore the boundary of his extraordinary progress. On its farther bank twelve gigantic altars were erected as a memorial of it, which time has long since levelled with the dust.

The veil was removed from a considerable portion of India by this remarkable expedition. It seems to have been in a comparatively tranquil condition, with firmly established institutions, indicating a period of long repose, disturbed indeed by the jars of neighbouring princes, but not distracted by extensive revolutions. In the notices of the people which have been preserved, we recognise habits and manners characteristic of the inhabitants at the present day. Such notices of course refer to Upper India. The country was densely peopled and generally cultivated, filled with various tribes, living under different and independent forms of government; some being ruled by princes, while others possessed a republican constitution of an aristocratic character. All were warlike, and, by the testimony of the invaders themselves, the most courageous race

of Asia—a quality of which our own troops had experience in the late Sikh war. The complexion of these nations is described as swarthy, but not black, like that of the Ethiopians. They were not enervated by effeminate habits. Their stature was tall and slender, and they had a proportionable agility in their movements. The rajahs appeared in public on state elephants, and the number of these animals in their service indicated generally their consequence and power. Garments of fine cotton were ordinarily worn by the great men, either wrapped round the shoulders, or enveloping the head. Their beards were dyed of various colours. They had costly earrings of ivory, and the more affluent were distinguished by an umbrella with an attendant to bear it. A difference of rank was also marked by the fashion of the shoe, which was high and decorated, according to the consequence of the wearer. The people were divided into castes, between which there were no intermarriages, while trades descended from father to son. Sugar or honey, as it was called, made from canes, without the assistance of bees, was noticed; and the mode of planting rice in water, with the distillation from it of a strong spirit, the arrack of the natives. The general food of the population, *pillaus* made of rice, the custom of shampooing, the cotton turbans, the great banyan or Indian fig-tree, the devotion of widows to the flames, and various other peculiarities, attracted the attention of the

Greeks. Recluses were also met with, dwelling in groves, and practising fanatical penances, the prototypes of the modern faqueers.

The troops retraced their steps with alacrity, whatever might be the mood of their captain. On arriving at the Hydaspes, they laboured with cheerful hearts and ready hands to construct the fleet, in which some progress had already been made by the settlers in the new towns of Nicæa and Bucephala. Vessels were also obtained from the natives; and the line of the Indus was pitched upon for the return route. In felling the timber, consisting of firs, pines, and cedars, which the river still abundantly supplies from the upper parts of its course, troops of monkeys and baboons were disturbed in their ancient haunts, and congregating on the summit of a hill, the workmen mistook them from a distance for a detachment of hostile natives. When the arrangements for the navigation homewards were completed, the army was divided into three corps. Hephæstion was placed at the head of one on the left bank; Craterus took the command of another on the right; and both were sent forwards to an appointed rendezvous. Alexander followed with the third on the stream, in about two thousand transports of all kinds, including several war galleys. Nearchus was appointed admiral, and Onesicritus the chief pilot. On the morning of the embarkation, the Hydaspes, or Jhelum, presented an animating spectacle, never before exhibited

on its bosom, nor since. Ships of war, horse-transports, and rafts with baggage, floated on its broad surface, while crowds of Indians collected on the banks to gaze on the novel scene. After religious ceremonies, the trumpet sounded, upon which the vessels were released, and began to drop down the river, amid the plash of oars, the shouts of the rowers, and the barbaric music of the admiring natives, who accompanied the fleet for some distance.

Having overtaken the divisions on shore, the expedition proceeded to the point of junction with the Acesines or Chenab. This is the largest of the Punjab rivers, and the rest successively lose their names on merging in it. At the confluence, the two streams being confined in a narrow channel, rushed through it with immense impetuosity, while strong eddies were formed by the meeting of the waters, and by obstacles in the bed. The aspect and noise of the foaming current alarmed the inexperienced mariners, who appear to have lost all presence of mind. Some of the galleys were shattered by running foul of each other, and two sunk with the greater part of their crews. Though rapids exist at the spot in the months of July and August, when the rivers are swollen, the navigation has now no formidable difficulties. The action of the water, in the course of centuries, may have worn away obstructions and improved the channel. Proceeding to the junction of the Hydraotes or Ravee with the Chenab, the expedition tra-

versed the territory of the Malli, whose name has been preserved in that of the city of Mooltan, on the left bank, locally called at present, "Malli-than," the place of the Malli. This numerous and powerful tribe assumed a hostile attitude, and military operations were necessary to secure a passage. Probably while scouring this part of the country, the adventure occurred of an officer killing the largest snake which the Macedonians saw in India. This was a boa constrictor, twenty-four feet long. It is remarkable that the royal Bengal tiger was not encountered, though the skin of one was shown, and many reports were heard of the ferocity of the animal.

Alexander, in reducing the Malli, exhibited great personal rashness, placing his safety and life in the utmost hazard. Perhaps the disappointment of an enforced return preyed upon his mind, and rendered him reckless. One of his adventures calls our own Cœur de Lion to remembrance by its chivalric extravagance. In storming a strongly garrisoned fortress, he was the first to gain a footing on the walls. At that moment the scaling ladders broke under the weight of the numbers that thronged them. He stood therefore for awhile alone, conspicuous by his armour, and exposed to every missile. But without hesitation, which would have been fatal, he leaped down on the inside, where the height was not great, and placing his back to the wall, slew the governor of the fortress, who was the first to assail him,

and cleared the space within the sweep of his arm. Three of the soldiers, who had clung to the walls when the ladders gave way, speedily joined him. But one of these was slain, and the king himself was desperately wounded by a shaft from the formidable Indian bow. "The bow," says Arrian, "is six feet long. The archer places the lower end on the ground, then steps forward with his left foot, draws the string far back, and discharges an arrow nearly three cubits long. No armour can resist it when shot by a skilful archer, neither shield, nor breastplate, nor any other defence." Alexander had fainted, and his two surviving comrades, who attended more to his preservation than their own, were already wounded, when others, who, with the energy of desperation, had scaled the walls as they could, came to his help. For a time it was doubtful whether he could survive. His death was at first currently reported in the camp; and on being conveyed to it, his recovery was long and tedious. During his illness, the army remained stationary at the point where the Chenab receives the Ravee, about fifty miles above the present Mooltan. A large banyan tree attracted the attention of the soldiers, and fields of beans marked the site, crops which are still grown upon the spot. From thence, passing by the discharge of the joint streams of the Sutlege and Beas into the river, the expedition reached the Indus without events of importance.

The navigation of the great river from its junction with the united waters of the Punjab, and the examination of the Delta, occupied the spring and summer of the year B.C. 325. Soon after entering upon it, the old, the feeble, and wounded soldiers, with the heavy baggage, and some brigades of the phalanx, were detached to the right under Craterus, with orders to proceed by easy stages direct towards Persia. Alexander himself continued with the fleet, and the remainder of the army marched along the left bank. The Indus, like the Nile and the Ganges, reaches the ocean by many mouths, which, diverging from the parent stream, form a delta of rich alluvial soil. At the distance of sixty miles from the sea, and a few miles below the city of Tatta, the river divides into two branches, each of which becomes subdivided. The principal separation is as ancient as the days of the Macedonians, for it is mentioned by the historians of the expedition. Of the two branches, the one on the left, or the eastern, pursues a southern course to the ocean, following the direction of the grand trunk of the river; while the other on the right, or the western, deviates at once from the general track of the Indus, and flows to the sea almost at right angles to it. Not far from the point of division, or the apex of the delta, near Tatta, if not on its site, Alexander found the city of Pattala, from which the inhabitants fled on his approach. He immediately perceived its advantages as a naval station, and began to

strengthen the citadel, giving orders for a harbour to be formed, and docks to be constructed, while he proceeded to explore the eastern and western arms of the river.

In the western branch, now called the Buggaur, which signifies to "destroy," great dangers were experienced from the violence of the waters. The monsoon blew from the sea, and drove up its billows against the impetuous current of the river, producing an angry swell, in which the galleys became unmanageable. Some were driven ashore and wrecked, while others were damaged by coming into collision with each other. But on proceeding further, another phenomenon excited greater alarm and astonishment. This was the tide, its rapid flow and ebb, to which the Macedonians were wholly unaccustomed, as tidal influence is scarcely perceptible in the Mediterranean, to which their maritime experience had hitherto been confined. It is probable that not an individual among them had as yet seen the true ocean. Arrian states, that Alexander's ships were left upon dry ground—a recession of the water, at which he and his friends, never having perceived it before, were so much the more surprised. But what increased their astonishment was, that the tide returning a short while after began to heave the ships, so that some of them were swept away by its fury, and dashed to pieces, while others were driven against the bank and destroyed. Into the modern as into the ancient Indus, the flood-tide rushes with immense im-

petuosity, and forms a *bore*, owing to the confined space. The water rises in a ridge of several feet, which is swept along with great violence, endangering the craft on the river, and inundating the country on its margin. The ebb takes place as suddenly; and thus vast tracts are rapidly converted alternately into navigable expanses and flats of mud. Two of Burnes's boats were stranded where, half an hour previously, there had been abundance of water. Quintus Curtius states, that at high tide the fields skirting the river were inundated, and only "tops of knolls" were seen on either hand, like "little islands." This is exactly the appearance now presented by the mangrove patches on the banks at a corresponding season.

The left or eastern side of the Delta was next explored. On reaching the sea, never before seen by Europeans, or at least by those who have left any record of their visit, Alexander sailed out upon its surface. He wished to satisfy himself upon the point, that the great open ocean really lay expanded before him, by ascertaining whether any land peered above the southern horizon. He likewise disembarked upon the coast, between the two extreme mouths of the river, and travelled along it with a party of horse, causing wells to be dug to supply his navy with water. These operations evidently pointed to the Indus becoming the eastern boundary of his dominions—to the resources of the vast region through which it

flowed being developed by commerce—and the country brought into maritime communication with the western part of his empire. Hence, convinced that an open sea extended from the mouth of the river to the Persian Gulf, he ordered Nearchus to proceed homeward with the fleet by that route, while he led a division of the army along the shore, the two parties co-operating and assisting each other as occasion might require. The preparations were completed towards the close of August B.C. 325; but as the south-west monsoon opposed the departure of Nearchus, he waited at Pattala for a favourable change, while the land force started in advance. It is somewhat remarkable, that the voyage of Alexander on the Indus, one of the most authentic facts of ancient history, is not attested by any extant traditions on the spot. His memory indeed survives, as Sikundar the Persian, renowned for memorable deeds, but Cabul is referred to as the scene of his exploits. In the east, as in the west, ages of darkness and distraction have to a great extent drawn a veil over truth, and superseded it by fable.

The route of the land force lay through the southern part of modern Beloochistan. This was the most desolate and sterile of all the countries included in the empire of Persia, neglected because of its barrenness, and therefore very little known to the ancients. It has been only partially explored by the travellers of recent times, but their accounts confirm the reports of Alexander's historians. Ranges of

bare and rocky mountains run parallel to the shore, dividing tracts of sandy desert, intersected by a few water-courses, which are visited by sudden torrents in the rainy season, but remain dry through the greater part of the year. From March to November the heat is terrific, not exceeded perhaps in any other region of the globe. The Macedonians entered this region towards the close of summer, when the earth had been baking for months beneath a torrid sun. They found it impossible to follow the coast-line, according to the original plan, owing to its aridity. It is thinly inhabited by a miserable and savage race, living almost entirely upon fish, and who were hence called by the Greeks the Ichthyophagi or fish-eaters. "Few of these people," says Arrian, quoting Nearchus, "obtain the fish by fishing, for few of them possess the proper boats, or understand the art, most of the fish being caught on the retreat of the tide. Some, however, have nets fit for this purpose, frequently two stades in length. These nets are woven out of the bark of the date tree, which is twisted after the manner of flax. When the sea has retreated, and the land appears, the dry parts of the shore are of course destitute of fish; but whenever the tide remains in hollows of the beach, they are found in great numbers, some small, others large, which are taken with nets. Of these, the more tender kinds they devour raw, as they take them out of the water; the larger and tougher they bake in the sun, and when

dry, grind into a sort of meal, of which they form loaves, while others convert the same into a sort of pudding. Even their cattle feed in like manner on dried fish, for their country is destitute of meadows and bare of grass. They also take in many places crabs, oysters, and shell-fish. Some of these people inhabit desolate situations, destitute of wood, and producing no cultivated crops, and these depend entirely on fish for their subsistence. A few, however, cultivate some small portion of land, and make the bread they obtain a sort of side-dish; fish being their main support. The better sort among them construct houses by collecting the bones of cetaceous fishes cast on shore by the ocean, which serve for the frame-work of their habitations." The habits of this miserable race continue precisely the same as they were two thousand years ago, both as to their food, the fodder of their cattle, and the construction of their cabins.

On pursuing an interior course, generally two or three days' journey from the sea, though sometimes in sight of it, the soldiers suffered dreadfully from the combined evils of heat, hunger, and thirst. In fact, it was the unanimous testimony of those who had been the companions of Alexander from his entrance into Asia, that all former labours and privations were surpassed by the perils and hardships of this march. Nature showed a wild vigour in the districts bordering on India, both in its animal and vegetable productions. The

country was fruitful in aromatic trees and shrubs, particularly the myrrh-bearing plants, and the nardus, from which spikenard was extracted, flourished in great abundance and perfection. The Phœnicians who accompanied the army, being well acquainted with the value of these commodities, loaded their beasts of burden with what they collected, while the plants diffused a grateful fragrance through the air, as they were crushed by the tramp of the advancing columns. Venomous reptiles also abounded, and shrubs bearing thorns of immense length annoyed the horses. But the signs of vegetation quickly disappeared, and as the country further to the west was penetrated, perfectly desert plains of fine soft sand, so hot by day as to blister the feet, had to be traversed. The sand perpetually shifting with the wind, and drifting in ridges, obliterated all traces of a road, and even the guides were compelled to steer their course by the stars. Pottinger, in modern times, describes the high waves of sand which he had to cross in this region for a distance of about seventy miles. The troops marched in the night, owing to the tremendous heat, but it often happened that they were still far from a watering-place at the day-dawn, and had to travel to it exposed to the full solar glare. The beasts sank beneath their burdens and perished, the baggage was abandoned, the men in great numbers died of fatigue and thirst, and but for the example of indomitable fortitude afforded by Alexander, despair would

probably have seized upon the army to its destruction. He took his full share of every hardship. Instead of riding among the cavalry according to custom, he dismounted, and walked in full armour, beneath the burning sun, at the head of the infantry. On one occasion, a small quantity of brackish water, found in a hollow, was carefully brought in a helmet for his refreshment. He took the water, and thanking those who had preserved it for him, poured it out on the sand. The action, it has been justly remarked, marks not only the great man, able to control the cravings of nature, but the great general; for every soldier who witnessed the libation, and the self-denial of the king, received as strong a stimulus to his fainting faculties as if he had partaken of the refreshing draught.

The severe sufferings of the army terminated after a march of sixty days. On entering Carmania, the country presented a more promising aspect, fertile and highly cultivated tracts being met with, watered by copious streams, and yielding a variety of natural productions. Fruits of every kind, particularly grapes and olives, were found in the greatest abundance. At the capital of the province, the modern Kirman, the division detached under Craterus, before descending the Indus, joined the main body. Few difficulties seem to have been encountered by this corps, its route lying through a less desolate region, along the valley of the Helmund river. At the same place,

Alexander had the satisfaction of hearing of his fleet, which safely arrived under Nearchus in the Persian Gulf. This voyage, the first of any importance of which we have a distinct record, deserves a brief notice.

Nearchus was a native of Crete, but became a Macedonian citizen by settlement at Amphipolis. He occupied a prominent position at the court of Philip, attached himself to the party of Alexander, and was treated by him with the utmost distinction on succeeding to the throne. Upon the conquest of the Lesser Asia, he received the government of the southern provinces, and was separated from the king for some years, finally joining him in Bactria at the head of a body of auxiliaries. Appointed to the chief command of the fleet on the Hydaspes, he gave sufficient proof of capacity and skill to render his offer of conducting it through the ocean peculiarly acceptable to Alexander. The admiral promised that he would bring the ships to Persia, "if the sea were navigable, and the thing feasible for mortal man." He redeemed the pledge, and the safe result of the enterprise is mainly attributable to his prudence and courage.

After waiting some time in the Indus for the cessation of the south-west monsoon, Nearchus commenced his voyage, probably towards the close of September, B.C. 325. But the favourable breeze, the north-east monsoon, or trade wind, had not yet set in steadily. In consequence of this, after sailing out of the river,

and advancing a short distance along the coast, the fleet was compelled to remain upwards of three weeks in a harbour, which received the name of the port of Alexander, now Sonmëány Bay. Leaving this place towards the close of October, the eastern monsoon grew steady, enabling the ships to make rapid progress ; but great dangers were encountered from rocks, shoals, and the usual perils of an unknown navigation. Three of the vessels were lost in a storm. Nearchus relates, that when, in this part of his voyage, he stood out to sea a considerable way to the south, the sun was vertical at noon, and cast no shadow. But he here undoubtedly exaggerates his own achievements, substitutes speculation for experience, as no part of his course would bring him within twenty-five degrees of the equator. The greatest distress was experienced from the want of provisions, as the sandy and barren shores of the Ichthyophagi were coasted, and the difficulties of the commander were augmented by the murmuring of his followers at the scarcity. No meat or corn was to be procured, and but little water. Famine thus threatened the expedition. Fine turtle were to be had in abundance, but, with exquisite simplicity, the starving Greeks never conceived it possible to feed upon such an animal, and the Arab natives at present stoutly reject the aldermanic diet. On arriving at a part of the shore dotted with date trees, the crews signalized their joy at the prospect of obtain-

ing vegetable food. At the spouting of a whale they were thrown into consternation, till the monster sank quietly below the surface, alarmed by their shouts and the clashing of arms. At length, having doubled Cape Jask, the fleet anchored at the mouth of the river Anamis, near the far-famed Ormuz of after times. Some of the mariners going on shore, fell in with a Greek, who had wandered to a distance from the camp of Alexander, and from him they received the pleasing intelligence that the king was not far off in Carmania. The admiral repaired to him, but was so changed in his appearance by fatigue and anxiety, as to be recognised with difficulty. The voyage terminated towards the middle of December, having occupied eighty days. It may be readily performed now in twenty.

Under the orders of Hephæstion, the greater part of the troops were sent along the shore of the Persian Gulf to Susa, an indirect route being preferred because of the greater facilities which the country afforded for obtaining provisions. Nearchus was directed to ascend the river with the fleet to the same city; and Alexander proceeded thither by a nearer but more difficult road, taking with him the cavalry and light infantry. He visited Pasargada, and commanded the tomb of Cyrus, which had been violated during his absence, to be restored to its original state. He passed through Persepolis, and is said to have viewed with regret the blackened ruins of the royal palace. The

whole force was collected at Susa in the early part of the year B.C. 324, and the winter capital of the Persian kings became the scene of magnificent festivities.

The attention of Alexander was immediately called to rectify disorders and punish offenders, chiefly his own officers, who had been appointed governors of provinces, or satraps. As usual when the supreme authority is far distant, they had presumed upon rendering their administration oppressive with impunity, impoverishing the wretched people to enrich themselves. Some, perhaps, calculated upon really becoming independent princes, by fatal accident removing their chief in his perilous expeditions; and the worst features of oriental despotism were freely exhibited by the miscreants. But they were called to a severe account on the return of Alexander; for the honourable distinction belongs to him of never turning a deaf ear to the complaints of the commonalty, or suffering the misconduct of subordinates to pass unnoticed. Further to conciliate his new subjects, and found his empire upon a permanent basis, he seems to have deliberately formed the plan, creditable to his political sagacity, of destroying the distinction between Asiatic and European, Persian and Macedonian. To amalgamate the conquerors with the conquered, and originate a new people, free from the prejudices and peculiarities of either race, by encouraging intermarriage, was henceforth one grand object of his arrangements. Hence, to set the example,

as well as to give himself and his descendants some pretence to an hereditary title to the throne, he married Statira, daughter of Darius; and eighty of his principal officers were induced at the same time to take wives of the daughters of the chief nobility. These nuptials were celebrated with great pomp at Susa in the summer, and a large number of the private soldiers imitated the example of the monarch and his generals. That capital also witnessed another spectacle, of a wholly different nature, never perhaps exhibited before or since in its neighbourhood. Calanus, one of the ascetic recluses met with in India, having accepted an invitation to join the retinue of the king, had accompanied the army to Persia. Being old, and becoming infirm, he resolved to anticipate the decree of nature by a horrible act of self-immolation. Having failed in every attempt to shake his purpose, Alexander allowed the deed to be executed, but refused to witness it, though multitudes crowded to the sight. A pile of odoriferous woods was prepared, upon which the infatuated victim placed himself, and was consumed in the sight of the whole army. The custom may be supposed not to have been uncommon at that period in India; and the event is somewhat remarkable, as in modern times women have been the sole victims of the suttees, along with the dead bodies of their husbands. This tragedy was followed by a drunken festival, in which the king participated, the baneful habit of intemperance returning with the leisure

to indulge it, and acquiring increased dominion over him.

The policy of Alexander did not give satisfaction to his countrymen, even to many of those who had apparently sanctioned it by contracting marriage; while to others it was deeply offensive. The pride of conquest and of blood could ill brook being associated on equal terms with a vanquished race, accounted barbarian by the Greeks; and discontent ripened into resentment, at some preferences in favour of the Persians. The marriages had been celebrated according to oriental form; and, with the entire approval of the king, one of his high officers learned the Persian language, and adopted the Median dress. Magnificent gifts were made to the soldiers to stifle murmuring; but they only purchased a transient calm. Impatience became insubordination, upon an intention being manifested of extensively recruiting the army with Asiatics, trained in the arms and discipline of the victors, and admitting them into the most distinguished bodies, both of horse and foot. It was proposed, by means of this new force, to dispense with the services, or control the wilfulness of the veterans, as occasion might require. The measure was, therefore, viewed with unbounded dissatisfaction; and the old complaint was loudly raised of Greece being subjected to Asia, not Asia to Greece. To divert the troops, they were led to the Tigris, where the intention was announced of releasing from active duty those

who had become unfit for it by age, hardship, or wounds. This intimation produced a mutiny. Seditious cries broke from the ranks, that "he might dismiss them all, and go to war with the aid of the god, his father." Alexander met this danger with great promptitude and courage. He instantly placed some of the most disaffected under arrest, and overawed the remainder by the execution of the culprits, while conciliating them with a skilfully worded address. Such was his personal influence, that the soldiers were brought with tears to implore his forgiveness as heinous offenders; and soon afterwards, the disabled veterans were honourably sent back to Europe, under the command of Craterus, each with full pay till his arrival at home, and an additional gratuity as a parting present.

Though successful in reducing the insubordinate to submission, incidents of this kind must have occasioned no little mortification and anxiety to Alexander. His own experience was thus no exception to the rule, that cares, perplexities, and dangers, are associated with every position of life, however powerful and exalted; and he was speedily called to know, that friendships are not more permanent between persons in elevated than in humble stations. Proceeding from the Tigris by a leisurely march into Media, he inspected on the road the sculptured rock of Baghistane, and the garden of Semiramis, both traditionally ascribed to the Assyrian queen. The

remarkable rock is a naturally-scarped precipice, fifteen hundred feet in perpendicular height, now known under the name of Besitoun. The sculptures remain, but largely defaced by time, or mutilated by violence; and it has recently been discovered by the deciphering of the inscriptions that they commemorate the triumphs of Darius Hystaspes, the third monarch of the Medo-Persian dynasty. On reaching Ecbatana, a splendid court was established in the Median city, and Alexander gratified the inhabitants with theatrical exhibitions, pageants, and revels. In the midst of the festivities, Hephæstion, his great personal friend and companion, was seized with fever, which rapidly proved fatal. The event deeply affected the mind of his master, though not in a salutary manner. His grief was violent, and sought expression in paying extravagant honours to the memory of a worthless minion. The sacred fires were quenched in all the Persian sanctuaries till the funeral was over; the sound of music ceased in the camp; a general mourning was appointed; and Alexander ordered the body to be conveyed to Babylon for pompous funeral rites, which he proposed to attend in person, little thinking that the death of his favourite was to be speedily followed by his own decease.

CHAPTER VIII.

LAST DAYS OF ALEXANDER.

(B.C. 323.)

Alexander at Babylon—His improvements and projects—His sudden death—Official diary of his illness—Scene of his decease—Interview with the soldiers—Burial at Alexandria—Personal appearance of Alexander—His abilities, energy, and campaigns—His claims to the title of Great—His moral character—Guilt of his conquests—Designs of Providence—Successors of Alexander—Fulfilment of prophecy—Mission of the apostle Paul.

AFTER a progress through Media, and a brief stay in Ecbatana, its splendid capital, where honours to the dead and amusements for the living occupied the attention of Alexander, he directed his steps to Babylon, which he designed to make the metropolis of his vast dominions. Various circumstances determined him to constitute this city the political centre of the empire: its position on a wide and fruitful plain—its contiguity to two mighty rivers, the Euphrates and Tigris, connected together by numerous canals, and navigable from the sea, facilitating inland and foreign trade—and above all, its greater proximity to Europe than the other capitals of the Persian monarchs, Susa, Ecbatana, and Persepolis.

While within a few days' march of the

renowned site, the camp was visited by a deputation of Chaldæan priests and astrologers, who practised a profitable imposition upon the public by pretending to a knowledge of future events, obtained by studying the aspect of the heavens, as well as by supernatural communications. Their mission referred to the advancing conqueror. They came with the startling announcement, that if he entered Babylon, the step would be attended with danger to himself, as some impending calamity was presaged by indubitable evidence. They besought him, therefore, not to pass within its gates, but turn aside to some other quarter. But his counsellors upon this occasion were far more concerned for their own safety than for his welfare. During a former visit, he had ordered the great temple of Belus to be repaired, and naturally committed the work to the superintendence of the priests. Having neglected the task, and applied the revenue assigned for the purpose to their own use, they dreaded being called to account, and hoped to avoid exposure and punishment by securing his personal absence. The warning was an artifice employed to effect this object. It was nearly successful; for the evil augury deeply affected Alexander, and brought him to a pause, his own mind having become predisposed to gloomy forbodings. This might be owing in part to personal toils, mental anxieties, and vicious indulgence, enfeebling the nervous system. But it was doubtless in no slight

degree the result of conscious guilt; for under a sense of wrong-doing, real dangers are magnified, and imaginary ones are readily entertained. After a period of suspense, the resolve was taken to pass the gates of Babylon. But as if to combine boldness with prudence, Alexander made a circuit, and endeavoured to enter within its walls at an opposite point to the one intended. Morasses, formed by the neglected inundations of the Euphrates, prevented the execution of this project, and he took possession of the capital as originally designed, its acknowledged master, but the slave of superstitious fears and secret misgivings.

On arriving at the great city, energy of character alternated with enervating dissipation in the conduct of Alexander, magnificent schemes with frivolous or debasing pursuits. He applied himself vigorously to the work of restoration and improvement; for Babylon had not only been neglected by its former masters, but subjected to extensive damage, while an oppressive rule had rendered the people indifferent to the decay of their public buildings. He ordered a dock to be constructed, capable of containing a thousand ships of war, and sent to distant quarters to have the ablest seamen enlisted in his service, intending to render his metropolis the emporium of eastern commerce, and the rival of ancient Tyre. He began also to repair the dykes and canals, by which, in the prosperous days of Babylonia, the periodical overflow of the rivers had been

so regulated as to protect the country from destructive inundations, and confer upon it the benefit of sufficient irrigation. Foreign projects were likewise entertained; among others, the exploration of the Caspian Sea, and the conquest of Arabia. It was proposed, in the course of the latter expedition, to circumnavigate the peninsula from the Euphrates to the Gulf of Suez, and thus bring Egypt into maritime communication with Persia and India. The preparations for this campaign had been completed, and a time fixed for the march of the army, when the vanity of human projects, and the uncertainty of sublunary grandeur, were most impressively exemplified.

Alexander came to Babylon to die, and not to reign. He entered the city early in the year, and before the summer was over, the triumphant conqueror was a corpse. His sudden illness and death gave rise to rumours that poison had been used—a common surmise when the great and mighty are rapidly brought to the grave—but the allegation is not sustained by evidence or probability. There is nothing at all peculiar or at variance with modern experience in the circumstances of his death; for kings can no more expose themselves to injurious influences, and act imprudently with impunity, than the meanest of their subjects. In order to restore the country to its ancient condition, he personally examined the swampy plains and unwholesome morasses of the Euphrates, and returned to the capital probably with the seeds

of marsh fever in his frame. While in this state he continued his intemperate habits, and after immoderate indulgence at a banquet, followed by a midnight revel, the fever broke out with fearful and irresistible energy. We have a minute account of his last illness, transcribed by Arrian from the official diary, by which the movements and health of the king were made known to the public. This may be regarded as the first series of royal bulletins extant. It is given as follows by Mr. Williams, reduced from the indirect to the direct form :—

"The king banqueted and drank wine with Medius ; he then rose from table, bathed, and slept.

"He again dined with Medius, and drank till late at night ; on rising from the table he bathed, and after bathing, ate a little, and slept there, for he was now in a fever.

"He was carried on a couch to the place of sacrifice, and sacrificed according to his daily custom. After finishing the service, he lay down in the public room until it was dark. During the day he gave orders to the leaders concerning the march and voyage ; the land forces were told to be ready to commence their march on the fourth, and the fleet, which he proposed to accompany, to sail on the fifth day. He was then conveyed in a litter to the river-side, where he was placed on board a vessel and ferried across into the park. There he again bathed and went to rest.

"Next day he bathed and offered the usual

sacrifices; he then returned to his chamber, where he lay down and conversed with Medius. Orders were given to the generals to attend him next morning. After this he dined sparingly, and was carried back to his chamber. During the whole of this night, for the first time, there was no intermission of fever.

"Next day he bathed and sacrificed, then gave orders to Nearchus and the other leaders to be ready to sail on the third day.

"Next day he bathed again, offered the appointed sacrifices, and finished the service, and although there was no remission in the violence of the fever, he yet called in the leaders and ordered them to have everything in readiness for the departure of the fleet. In the evening he bathed, and after bathing was very ill.

"Next day he was removed to the house close to the great swimming-bath, where he offered the appointed sacrifices. Ill as he was, he called in the principal officers, and gave orders about the expedition.

"On the following day, it was not without difficulty he was carried to the altar and offered the sacrifice; he would nevertheless give further orders to the great officers concerning the voyage.

"Next day, although extremely ill, he offered the appointed sacrifices, and ordered the generals to remain assembled in the court. Being now dangerously ill, he was carried from the park into the palace. When the generals

entered, he knew them, but said nothing, as he was speechless. The fever was very violent during the night.

"And the following day and night.

"And the following day."

It is an interesting labour to trace out the scenes of great events, but it rarely happens, in the case of occurrences of ancient date, that this can be done with so much success and certainty as in the instance of Alexander's death. It appears from the preceding record, that he was assailed with mortal sickness in the western quarter of the city; for it was on the opposite side of the Euphrates to the palace of the Babylonian kings, which stood on the eastern bank. Being conveyed in a palanquin to the river, he was ferried across the stream to the park or pleasure-grounds attached to the royal residence, of which the celebrated hanging gardens once formed a part. There some days were passed in a pavilion close to a reservoir, or fountain. He was finally removed into the palace itself, to breathe his last within its walls. There are imposing remains of this building still extant, under the name of Al Kasr, reviving in the mind of the traveller the memory of Nebuchadnezzar its founder, and the fate of the Macedonian victor.

Upon the hopeless condition of Alexander becoming known, the soldiers insisted upon seeing him, partly under the influence of affection, and partly yielding to a vague apprehension of unfair treatment. They were allowed

to enter the palace, and pass in succession through the chamber of departing royalty; but the tongue which had so often animated or awed them, was silent. The king had not strength to utter a single word, but recognised his companions-in-arms by movements of the hand and impressive glances. Soon afterwards he expired, on the eleventh or twelfth day of his illness, about Midsummer B. C. 323, being in the thirty-third year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. It is somewhat surprising that no mention is made of any physician having attended him, and no remedies appear to have been adopted but abstinence and cold bathing.

All the principal generals were in the city at the time of his decease. Shortly before the fatal event occurred, he drew his ring from his finger, and gave it to Perdiccas, one of the number. What this action was intended to signify—whether a mere expression of regard, or an investiture with authority—it is impossible to say. It was interpreted in the latter sense by the friends of the officer, and a proposal was made in the assembly of the generals to invest him with supreme power. But this view of the case was opposed by his aspiring comrades, and he was simply chosen one of four regents appointed temporarily to administer the royal authority. The troops bewailed with unaffected sincerity the loss of their king and captain; but anxiety for the future speedily mingled with sorrow for the

past. Babylon presented a strange spectacle when Alexander was no more. Fear, uncertainty, and suspicion, visited almost every mind. The Macedonians remained under arms the whole of the following night, as if in the midst of enemies, expecting an attack. The peaceable citizens were equally ill at ease. Apprehending an outbreak of military violence, they lighted no lamps in the evening, vacated the streets, and remained in their dwellings, awaiting the morrow in darkness and silence. This conduct of both parties was a tacit confession that a great controlling mind had passed away from the earth.

The royal corpse lay for some time unburied in the palace. Having undergone the process of embalment, it was there placed under guard. But the respect usually inspired by the presence of death did not restrain the passions of the living; for owing to the conflicting views of the military, quarrels arose, swords were drawn, and blows exchanged in the anti-chamber. Alexander is said to have left orders to be conveyed to the temple of Jupiter Ammon for interment, and the funeral procession travelled in that direction. A magnificent car was prepared to convey the body towards the western coast. It was drawn by eighty-four mules, but more than a year elapsed before it reached the centre of Syria. Ptolemy there took possession of the relics, and transported them from Damascus to Memphis in Egypt, then to Alexandria, the city which his master had

founded, where the body was buried. The particular site has been unknown for centuries, though a splendid monument was erected upon the spot. A beautiful sarcophagus, brought from the church of St. Athanasius, in Alexandria, now in the British Museum, has been named, without authority, "the coffin of Alexander."

It might have been expected that surviving members of the house of Darius would hail the death of their great enemy with unmingled joy. But this was not the case. Of all the tributes to the memory of the conqueror, the most honourable and affecting was paid by Sisigambis, the mother of the sovereign he had vanquished; for while acting the part of a political foe, he had carefully avoided the appearance of personal enmity. In fact, in private life, to the mother of Darius he had placed himself in the position of the son she had lost, soothed her feelings, and provided for her wants; and probably she looked upon the downfal of her race as an event ordained by superhuman power, not to be complained of, but submitted to. When bereaved, therefore, of her last earthly protector by the decease of Alexander, she seated herself on the ground, covered her head with a veil, and in a few days was consigned to the grave. Athens strikingly contrasted in its scenes with Babylon. The anti-Macedonian party, long restrained by fear from the expression of their sentiments, received with unbounded exultation the intelligence of the king's decease. Demosthenes,

his inveterate political foe, who had been sent into banishment, was recalled by his fellow-citizens. They gathered in the public places with mutual congratulations. War was instantly determined, though till the tidings should be confirmed beyond all possibility of doubt, cautious men proposed delay. "If he is dead to-day," said Phocion, "he will be still dead to-morrow, and the next day; so that we may deliberate at our leisure, and the more securely." But instead of witnessing the re-establishment of political independence, Greece was destined eventually to fall, along with Macedonia, under the Roman yoke.

The king is said to have had a handsome person. He was neither tall nor large, but well proportioned, combining a perfect muscular development with a delicate contour, the usual characteristics of the Greek form. His countenance, as pourtrayed on extant medals, exhibited great masculine beauty. He had a fair complexion, with an eye remarkable for its vivacity and intelligence. His whole appearance suggested the idea of superiority, and was calculated to captivate, impress, and subdue, as feeling might dictate or occasion require. On one of the most important days of his life, that of the battle of Arbela, he wore a short tunic, girt close around him ; over that was a linen breastplate, strongly quilted, held by a belt embossed with figures of beautiful workmanship, a present from the Rhodians, the most superb part of his attire. He had a

helmet of polished steel, surmounted with a white plume; a neck-piece or gorget of the same metal; a light slender sword of excellent temper, with a shield and lance. Both on the field of battle, and ordinarily in the camp, his dress and arms were distinguished by fitness for service and substantial excellence, rather than for display.

The natural abilities of Alexander were obviously of the first order, and under the guidance in early life of the best instructors which the age afforded, with application of his own in mature years, he became one of the most accomplished men ever known. Few have equalled him in political sagacity, far-sighted views, military skill, and daring enterprise. None have surpassed him in capacity to brave danger, endure hardship, and bear fatigue in the pursuit of a cherished object; and perhaps no individual of the human race, cut off at such an early period, ever crowded so many extraordinary achievements into so brief a space. He showed equal fortitude in painful as in perilous circumstances, and encountered with indomitable spirit the fierce sun of the tropics, the hot blasts of the Libyan desert, the burning sands of Beloochistan, the rains of the Punjab, the marshes of the Indus, and the snows of the western Himalaya. The distances travelled in his campaigns, the rapidity of his movements, the difficult character of many of the countries traversed, and the arduous task of leading an army through them, give sufficient assurance

of his capacity to endure toil, and of the unwearied energy of his character. The following calculation of the routes of Alexander has been made by colonel Chesney, who is perhaps better acquainted with the scenes of his marches than any other European :—

	Miles.
Routes in Europe	1,280
„ in the Lesser Asia . . .	1,702
„ in Syria	580
„ in Africa	922
„ through Syria and Mesopotamia	1,642
„ in Persia	3,555
„ in Bactriana	3,804
„ in the country of the Indus .	2,186
from the Indus to Susa, and remaining routes . . .	3,457
	19,128

It has been remarked, that when we read the lives of distinguished men in any department, whether warriors, statesmen, or philosophers, we find them almost always celebrated for the amount of labour they have performed. Alexander, Demosthenes, Cæsar, Henry IV., lord Bacon, sir I. Newton, Franklin, Washington, Napoleon, and Wellington, different as they were in their intellectual and moral qualities, as well as in their spheres of action, were all remarkable as hard-workers. Labour is, indeed, the function of man, his distinction, and his privilege, when directed to the achievement of right ends by legitimate means. Unhappily, many of the individuals who are most memorable on the page of history, have aimed at the accomplishment of inferior or improper objects, and been little scrupulous as to the

measures to be pursued for the attainment of them. Still their case illustrates the truth of the maxim, that success is the offspring of diligence, and eminence the fruit of steady application and laborious effort. The Christian may profitably attend to this moral; and the inspired saying will be found an invariable rule, both in the ordinary callings of this life, and the high vocation of preparing for another, "The hand of the diligent maketh rich."

Chiefly on the grounds stated, posterity has by common consent applied to Alexander the flattering appellation of the Great; and he is far more justly entitled to the distinction than most of those who have been similarly distinguished from the majority of their race. Great he undoubtedly was in arranging, arming, and marshalling armies; in raising the courage of his troops, filling them with hopes of victory, and dispelling their fears by his own undaunted bearing; in wresting advantages from enemies, and anticipating even their suspicions of his measures; and especially great was he, in the collateral aims connected with his conquests, such as the extension of commerce, the foundation of new cities in situations favourable for them, the consequent excitement of industry, the opening of channels of communication between distant countries, and the establishment of a vast monarchy, which for the first time unfolded the prospect of progressive improvement to its subjects, instead of dooming them to permanent degradation. But the true

greatness of man is not found in military glory, territorial aggrandizement, political wisdom, or intellectual triumphs. It consists in the moral elevation of his nature; in conquering, instead of being conquered by, depraved passions and brutal appetites, for "he that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city;" in living not for ourselves, but so as to do the greatest amount of good to the largest number; cultivating truth, justice, and kindliness towards the meanest as well as the highest of our species; in looking beyond objects visible to the eye, limited by time, and confined to the earth, to things spiritual, immortal, and Divine; above all, in imitating, as far as it is possible for finite beings, the perfections of an infinite Creator.

In a moral point of view, what was Alexander? As a man, he lived to become the slave of his own lusts. Though naturally high-minded and generous, he yielded to the rule of appetite, till the better qualities of his nature were extinguished, and he wallowed in the slime and pollution of gross and brutal pleasures. In the intensity of his self-love, he forgot the faithful services of Parmenio, and procured his treacherous assassination lest he should cross his purposes; and under the influence of intemperance, he became the murderer of his friend Cleitus. No propensity, however debasing, was stifled; no desire, however criminal, was resisted; till from being the slave of his passions, he became their victim,

and sudden death seized him at the very table of his revels. As a conqueror, Alexander was but a splendid savage—a bandit upon a gigantic scale. In adding realm to realm, he violated the rights of nations, plundered them of their property, and mercilessly slaughtered those who ventured to resist his will. It is true that he showed a commendable desire to improve the condition of the subdued populations; but his own renown, and not their advantage, was the impelling motive. Even if it had been his primary object to elevate their character, and endow them with beneficial institutions, this would not remove from him the charge of guilty ambition, or excuse the original iniquity of his invasions. No prince has a right to enter the territory of his neighbours, in order to compel them by force of arms to receive a new form of government, and submit to fresh usages, however meritorious in themselves. It is flagrantly wrong to do this by the simple display of overwhelming power; and perfectly horrible to employ that power in desolating the homes of a people, thinning their numbers, and reddening the land with their blood. If Alexander was great in all those natural gifts and capacities which can elevate one man above his fellows, he was ingloriously distinguished by the abuse of noble faculties, by sensuality, blood-guiltiness, and absorbing selfishness. In reviewing his career, and comparing it with that of kindred individuals, there is need of

constant care, lest we lose sight of its intrinsic wickedness, owing to the extraordinary nature and surprising magnitude of his operations.

It is doubtless some extenuation, in the instance of the Macedonian king, that his military ambition was in harmony with the prevailing sentiments of his age; and that on moral and religious topics, he had no guidance beyond the feeble light of reason and nature. He has gone to his account, and that Being by whom all circumstances are comprehended, has pronounced a true and righteous judgment. He will do the same in the case of every individual. But be it remembered, that no palliation of the kind mentioned can be offered for those in the present day who enter and abide in the paths of transgression; for we have the Bible, with its plain revelations of right and wrong, truth and error, recompense and punishment. It makes known to us a Saviour, through faith in whose meritorious sacrifice pardon is offered to the most guilty of our species. It promises the Spirit of truth and holiness to enlighten the understanding, renew the heart, and sanctify the life, if humbly and believingly we draw nigh to the throne of grace. It clearly illustrates the whole duty of man, his responsibility to the Most High, and his destiny beyond the grave; placing before him an immortality of blessedness, or an eternity of woe, according as he reveres or despises the counsels of his Maker. If evil is therefore now preferred to good, vice to virtue, sin to holiness, it is not done

ignorantly, but wilfully, and we are without excuse. It is a solemn thought, that the distance between us and the irrevocable decision of the infinite Judge is ever lessening, and must be annihilated in the course of a few brief years. It becomes the Christian to "be diligent," in order to be "found of him in peace;" while it behoves the worldling to reflect, "What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"

The extraordinary man whose career has been reviewed in these pages, was unquestionably an instrument employed by Providence to accomplish definite purposes; and without presumption his appointed mission may in part be apprehended. "I," said a more vulgar conqueror, Nadir Shah, "I am he whom the Almighty has sent in his wrath to chastise a world of sinners." Such was Alexander. But he was something more than a scourge. As that Being who sends forth the tempest to ravage the earth, causes it at the same time to confer a blessing by bringing the atmosphere into a healthier condition, so did the destructive course of the victor-king eventually contribute to benefit the nations he visited. They were brought into more frequent intercommunication, and some previously unknown to each other were made acquainted; knowledge spread; commerce was promoted; a despotism under which improvement was impossible was overthrown; and the way was prepared for the establishment of His kingdom, whose right it

is to rule the world. Before the age of Alexander, the Greek civilization had merely touched the edges of the Asiatic shore; but he diffused it over a wide area of the east by his wonderful campaigns and numerous colonies. The language of Athens, which can best express the highest thoughts of the intellect, and the worthiest feelings of the heart, was planted on the banks of the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Oxus, the Orontes, and the Nile. It was subsequently cultivated by the native races, not merely on account of the literature to which it supplied the key, but as a medium by which commercial transactions could be readily conducted between foreigners, from the shores of the Mediterranean to those of the Caspian Sea and Persian Gulf. Hence, when the original records of the New Testament were written, containing "the words of eternal life," they were intelligible documents to a large section of the human race, as soon as they were placed within their reach. This result of the battle of the warrior, wholly unsuspected by him, is an instance of the truth of the reflection, "Surely the wrath of man shall praise Thee!"

No definite instructions were given by Alexander respecting the choice of a successor. It is stated that, upon being asked to whom he bequeathed his empire, he replied, "To the strongest;" or, as otherwise reported, "To the worthiest;" adding the very natural prediction, that he foresaw a bloody competition

at his funeral games. He left no born legitimate offspring, but his wife Roxana was, at the time of his decease, about to become a mother. Both she and the child to which she gave birth fell victims to the jealousy of one of the competitors for his throne. After a struggle of more than twenty years between contending parties, his vast dominions were divided into four great kingdoms by four of his principal generals. Cassander took Macedonia, with part of Greece; Lysimachus established himself upon the throne of Thrace; Seleucus became master of Syria and nearly all the countries which had composed the Persian monarchy, founding the dynasty of the Seleucidæ; and Ptolemy became king of Egypt, commencing the line of the Ptolemies. Thus was fulfilled the interpretation given to the prophet Daniel of his symbolic vision:—"The rough goat is the king of Grecia: and the great horn that is between his eyes is the first king. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power." With the same fidelity every word which the mouth of the Lord has spoken will be accomplished, whether the promise of mercy to the penitent sinner, the assurance of everlasting blessedness to the humble believer, or the announcement of eternal woe to those who obstinately reject the message of his grace.

We have recorded in these pages the career of a Macedonian, who became the European

conqueror of Asia, and extended by means of his conquests the language and literature of Greece to remote regions, while rendering the land of his birth famous on the page of history by remarkable deeds. But far greater interest belongs to the country of Alexander than that of having numbered him among its sons ; and when reduced to the condition of a mere province of the Roman empire, it acquired a more honourable celebrity than that of being the seat of an overpowering sovereignty. It was a "man of Macedonia" who appeared to Paul on the shore of Asia, a supernatural visitant in the visions of the night, pleading the spiritual wants of his people, and of the entire western world, and inviting relief :— "Come over, and help us." Divinely commissioned to proceed thither, and promptly executing the commission, the apostle became the Asiatic conqueror of Europe, not using carnal weapons, not fighting vulgar battles, but attacking a miserable heathenism with the "sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God," and gaining bloodless victories over error, superstition, and sin. It will be recollected, that the memorable vision occurred at Troas, or according to its full name, Alexandria Troas, a city named in honour of Alexander, from which, across the waters of the Ægean, the distant hills of his native land might be seen. The record of the successful mission of Paul to that country now forms a remarkable portion of the inspired volume, which the

mention of Philippi, Thessalonica, and Berea, will at once call to mind. Thus Macedonia, regarded as little better than barbarous by the statesmen and philosophers of the most e lightened age of Greek civilization, was first European district to invite and receive gospel of Christ. This is an incident in history of greater interest and importance th. the rise of a worldly warrior within its limi.. because the knowledge of Christianity, with obedience to its precepts, can alone secure the true grandeur of nations, and the greatness and happiness of man.

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58